UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

A HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

JAMES MULHERN

A THESIS

IN EDUCATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1933

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PREFACE

The educational interests, attitudes, and activities of any people are so intimately related to their civilization, that in them are reflected not only the causative forces that produce historical phenomena, but a clearer and more complete representation of the phenomena themselves. As a measure or index of the nature and characteristics of society, the school is more universally useful and applicable than any other single institution, for in it all social forces converge. Not merely, then, from the standpoint of educational policies, problems, and procedures, but from the broader standpoint of history, in its most liberal connotation, an adequately documented account of educational theories and practices in the past becomes a work of considerable interest and importance.

The present study was undertaken with the conviction that it would result, not only in a better understanding of modern educational practices in Pennsylvania, but also in a more accurate and complete evaluation of a rich historical past and of an inheritance transmitted from that past to present and future generations in the State. In it is traced the evolution of secondary or intermediate education from its colonial beginnings until the close of the nineteenth century. It was originally hoped that it would be possible to embody in one volume a complete account of developments down to the present day. It was found, however, that the expansion of secondary education in the present century has been so considerable, and the records of that growth so numerous, that any attempt to bring the story up to date would result not only in an abbreviated and, consequently, imperfect account of earlier developments, but of the more recent ones as well. The decision was, therefore, reached to present, in considerable detail, the narrative of events until the close of the nineteenth century. In order to link this past with the present, and to suggest to the would-be historian of recent changes what remains to be done, there has been embodied in the final chapters some brief reference to present-day practices. A student interested in the history of educational institutions during the past thirty years will find this a rich field for research, and presenting enough material to make a fairly large volume.

When this study was first undertaken, some five years ago, an investigation revealed that the field had been practically untouched by earlier writers. James P. Wickersham, in *A History of Education in Pennsylvania,* had, it is true, presented much material dealing with secondary education in the period prior to 1886, when his work was published. Very poorly documented, at best, however, and, consequently, giving rise to doubt regarding its reliability, it was evident that it left a gap in the field of educational history which needed to be filled. In spite of the obvious defects of Wickersham's work from the viewpoint of historical technique, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to it as furnishing leads to further investigation and discovery. In the past few years other studies have appeared: George F. Dunkelberger's *The Public High Schools of Pennsylvania,* 1927, and Louise G. and Matthew J. Walsh's *History and Organization of Education in Pennsylvania,* 1928. Dunkelberger's study was compiled as a doctor's dissertation in New York University, but has not been published. While it treats of the growth of secondary schools which preceded the high school, the author did not undertake an original investigation of this earlier field. Its findings with regard to the high school, with which it is mainly concerned, are based almost entirely upon official publications and printed educational sources, and are to a large extent statistical in character. Local records of school districts were not consulted, and many assertions appear throughout the text for which no documentary evidence is furnished. Walsh's study, a text-book, compiled mainly from secondary sources, is but a brief résumé of developments in elementary, secondary, and higher education from their earliest beginnings until recent times.

These are the only studies dealing in a general way with developments in secondary education in Pennsylvania, at the time when the present work goes to press. Thomas Woody, in his *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania,* has dealt with the early history of secondary education among Friends in the colonial period. Since he used the manuscript and other reliable records of Quaker activities, the present writer has found this study helpful both in discovering materials, and as a check upon the accuracy of his own findings. He is similarly indebted to another work, by the same author, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, to which reference is frequently made throughout the text. The present study, however, is not, in any sense, based on others that have gone before, but on the original records themselves, many of which have never been used by any previous writer. Both in its perfections and its imperfections, it is presented as the result of an independent investigation of historical documents, many of them local in character. Built upon a foundation entirely its own, and upon which it must depend, its merits and its faults are those of its own plan and structure.

In the preparation of this study a wide field of literature, general in character, dealing with Pennsylvania from its earliest beginnings, has been explored. State, county, and local histories, the publications of historical societies, church histories, histories of various national or racial groups, as well as studies dealing with educational developments in a general, special, or local sense, have, among other works, been suggestive for the present investigation. From references to schools in such sources as these, there was gradually compiled a list of institutions, the exact location of which in the several counties was carefully established. The *Reports* of State superintendents, and those of the United States commissioners of education, were found to be of considerable value in compiling this list. From this beginning, a search for the original records of these institutions was undertaken. Frequently the search was fruitless, and too often it was found that the manuscript records were destroyed or lost. Wherever such records have been discovered, the reader will find them cited in the body of the text, and their location indicated in the bibliography. The investigator was surprised to find how little regard local public school authorities have had for their manuscript documents. In one case, the wife of an ex-secretary of a school board consigned a pile of them to the furnace, because she had grown tired of seeing the dust accumulate on them; in another, the janitor was fairly certain that he burned them, when he was ordered to get rid of a quantity of old books, "and such rubbish," that had been collecting for many years. These are but typical of the experiences which the investigator in the educational field may expect.

In addition to the sources already mentioned, such others as legal documents, county records, catalogues, and newspapers, have been carefully consulted. Newspapers and periodicals were found to be of considerable value in determining the nature of the educational environment, as well as in furnishing, in their advertising columns, the announcements of many schools, other records of which could not be found.

While, in presenting the material, the chronological basis of organization has been adhered to, within the frame-work of each particular period a logical order and sequence has been aimed at and, we hope, attained. In recognition of a changing institutional development, the whole work is presented in three parts, each dealing with a type of institution predominant during a particular period. An attempt has been made to describe the several aspects of the environment in which each type appeared. In view of the fact that many phases of this educational background have not been, as yet, adequately dealt with by the historian, the present treatment is presented with full cognizance of its shortcomings. Yet, in spite of evident inadequacies, the chapters dealing with the environment are essential, since such material furnishes the best basis for an understanding of our educational institutions and the changes that have marked their development.

When the work of collecting material had been completed, it was found that the purely proprietary school was deserving of greater recognition than writers in the past have accorded it. While Robert Francis Seybolt, to whose studies reference is made in appropriate places throughout the text, has contributed in a very excellent way to our knowledge of the private colonial school, it was considered advisable, both for the sake of the unity and completeness of the present study, as well as for that of supplementing what Seybolt has done, to give a brief chapter to this type of institution in the colony. An additional chapter, in which is recorded the development of the proprietary secondary school from the beginning of our statehood until modern times, presents a hitherto neglected phase of our educational history, and one that merits greater attention, doubtless, in other states as well.

The subject of girls' secondary education has been given separate treatment. This was found to be necessary, because, as a result of traditions and environmental forces, educational attitudes toward girls and boys have differed at times to a very marked degree, and practices have conformed with attitudes.

To a veritable host of individuals, historical societies, and libraries throughout the State the writer acknowledges his great indebtedness, and regrets that he cannot pay the fitting tribute of special and individual recognition. To name all, whose assistance has made possible the completion of this work, would add considerably to the size of a volume that has already exceeded desirable limits. To the librarians of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of the University of Pennsylvania the author expresses a special indebtedness. To the librarians of the State Library, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and, among many others, of the public or free libraries in Athens, Bloomsburg, Erie, Easton, Carlisle, Johnstown, Meadville, Montrose, Williamsport, and of the libraries of Bucknell University, Washington and Jefferson College, and Pennsylvania State College, thanks is due for assistance in locating useful material. To the American Baptist Historical Society, the historical societies of Berks, Blair, Bradford, Bucks, Cambria, Chester, Montgomery, Susquehanna, Tioga, Washington, and York counties, the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, The Historical Society of the Reformed Church in the United States, and the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, he is considerably indebted. To the custodians of many invaluable documents, such as the manuscript records of Quaker meetings and of Presbyterian synods and presbyteries, of the minutes of academy trustees and of boards of education, many courtesies and the privilege of access to their archives are gratefully acknowledged.

To Thomas Woody, who suggested the study, whose inspiration and guidance as a teacher, whose example as a student, and whose continued and unchanging interest have provided the enthusiasm essential to the completion of this work, and without which greater goals cannot be attained, the author owes a tribute which cannot be adequately expressed. To Arthur J. Jones and James C. Miller, for reading the manuscript and offering helpful criticisms and suggestions, he is likewise grateful. To Hiram H. Shenk, for his continued interest and assistance, he extends a thankful acknowledgment. To George H. Kain, Albert C. Myers, O. Frederick Nolde, George M. Schultz, William A. Sohl, Chester Stocker, and A. D. White, and to a long list of others, some of whom are mentioned in appropriate places throughout later pages, there is due an expression of gratitude for many forms of assistance. Lastly, to Maude Mulhern, the author acknowledges a very special debt for untiring help in collecting material, in the reading of the manuscript, and in its final preparation for the press.

JAMES MULHERN

November 24, 1931

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A HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

1

CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL ENVIRONMENT

I. *Economic Aspects*

While the first permanent settlement within the present limits of Pennsylvania was made by the Swedes in March, 1638,[1] the development of the colony on a large scale did not begin until the coming of Penn in 1682.[2] The economic was the most compelling motive which turned the eyes of the earlier settlers toward Pennsylvania. The desire for profit and the hope of economic rewards brought the Swedes to the Delaware.[3] Moreover, most of the pamphlets, published by Penn or with his knowledge and consent, and for the purpose of attracting immigrants to the colony, stressed the economic advantages of the new country.[4] A considerable amount of such advertising was used to attract German immigrants.[5] These publications continued to appear until the colony was fairly well settled. Gabriel Thomas' *Account,* which was published in 1698,[6] embodied the spirit and purpose of the others. In it, Pennsylvania was pictured as a land teeming with milk and honey; where every want found an abundant supply; where artisans and laborers were exceedingly prosperous; where lawyers and physicians lived in want because the country was peaceful and healthy; where there was "no Persecution for Religion . . . 'tis this that knocks all Commerce on the Head;"[7] where women were richly remunerated for their labor; where old maids did not exist; and where children were born in abundance.

While these writers were turning the eyes of Europeans toward Pennsylvania, the colony was rapidly increasing in population, industries, and wealth.[8] Commerce began to develop early.[9] As early as 1721 "An office of Publick Insurance on Vessels, Goods" was opened in Philadelphia.[10] Foreign trade, while not very extensive, was, nevertheless, noteworthy.[11] Wheat and wheat products were the chief articles of export. As sources of this foreign trade, agriculture and manufacturing had been developing from an early date. The building of ships was undertaken almost immediately after Penn's arrival.[12] Flour mills arose along the rivers in great numbers.[13] The iron industry was beginning to thrive.[14] Tan-yards were plentiful enough, in 1739, to cause some tender-nosed citizens to petition the Assembly for their removal.[15] Linen and paper industries prospered in Germantown, almost from the time of its founding,[16] and Kalm saw in these industrial developments the dawn of economic independence.[17] An early visitor to the colony observed: "There are also various flour-mills, saw-mills, oil-presses, fulling-mills, powder-mills, paper-mills, lime and brick-kilns, and not a few tanneries and potteries. Even glaziers and scissor-grinders are already going around, which appears very strange and ridiculous to the English people."[18]

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[1] Johnson: *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware,* I, 117.

[2] *Infra,* 7.

[3] Johnson: *Op. cit.,* I, 54–5, 71, 185, 211–12, 336, 339; *Pa. Archives,* Sec. Ser., V, 760; Clay: *Swedish Annals,* 20–1.

[4] *Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* IV, 189 *ff.*; 329 *ff.*; 445 *ff.*; V, 37 *ff.*; VI, 311 *ff.*

[5] Sachse, Julius F.: Literature Used to Induce German Emigration. [*Pa. Ger. Soc., Procs.,* VII, 175–98]; *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht von Pensylvania,* 8–12; for facsimiles of the title-pages of fifty-six publications circulated to attract German immigrants see *Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.,* VII, 201–57.

[6] Reprinted in Myers: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* 317–333.

[7] *Ibid.,* 329.

In addition, the coal industry was appearing in 1758.[19] "This Country Steel" was declared, in 1769, "Equal, if not Superior, to any imported from England,"[20] and the silk industry was developing in 1771.[21]

Poor roads, however, and primitive modes of transportation, joined with the high cost of passenger and freight hauling, retarded the economic development of the colony. In the newspapers of the time one may find evidence of the existence of such obstacles to economic growth. "This is to give notice to the Public," reads an announcement, "that the Flying Machine . . . performs the Journey from Philadelphia to New York in two Days."[22] The colonial fathers, however, travelled much,[23] and interest in the development of roads and waterways gradually increased.[24] Various acts were passed in 1771 declaring rivers public highways and providing for the building of roads.[25] Thus were the first hundred years of developments, a period of increasing economic activity and interests.

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[8] *Ibid.*, 317–8. Make due allowance for exaggerations of an enthusiast, if not a propagandist.

[9] Sachse: *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht*, 193.

[10] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, May 25, 1721, 3.

[11] For records of shipping 1735–46, see Kalm: *Travels in North America*, I, 53–4; *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 5, 1730–31, 1; *Ibid.*, April 8, 1736, 3. For nature and amount of goods traded in, see *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, April 29, 1731, 3; Acrelius: *Hist. of New Sweden*, 142.

[12] Penn: A Further Account of the Province. [Reprinted in *Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, IX, 64–5]; Swank: *Progressive Pa.*, 21; Kalm: *Op. cit.*, I, 53–4.

[13] See account of Schuylkill flood that destroyed many.—*Am. Wkly. Mer.*, June 29, 1721, 3.

[14] See adv. of Abington Furnace—*Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 2, 1731, 2.

[15] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Aug. 16, 1739, 1.

[16] Frame: *A Short Description of Pennsilvania.*

[17] *Op. cit.*, I, 89.

[18] Mittelberger: *A Journey to Pa. in 1750*, 101–2.

[19] See adv. for a "Good Collier" —*Pa. Gaz.*, April 20, 1758, 4.

[20] *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1769, 1.

[21] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1771, 4—adv. of Phila. Filiature.

This development of economic activities explains the need for that type of education which was supplied mainly by the private teachers, who, in the first half of the eighteenth century, established many schools in Philadelphia for the purpose of teaching those subjects which the practical demands of the time made necessary.[26]

II. *Social Aspects*

In the records of colonial society one finds many references to Negro slaves, white servants, artisans, farmers, small merchants, the clergy, and the greater merchants, forming a social pyramid apparently in about the order mentioned. What Mittelberger says of the status of the clergy certainly did not apply to them all: "Most preachers are hired by the year like the cowherds in Germany. . . . I would, therefore, rather perform the meanest herdsman's duties in Germany than be a preacher in Pennsylvania."[27]

There was a slave in the colony as early as 1648.[28] In 1722, a teacher offered to teach, free of charge, "his poor Brethren the Negroes to read the Holy Scriptures."[29] Of two hundred and eighty-eight persons, who died in Philadelphia during a smallpox epidemic, in 1731, sixty-four were Negroes.[30] Slave trade developed, but not to any considerable extent. Thirty Negroes, lately from Africa, and who "had the Small Pox" were offered for sale in 1759.[31]

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[22] *Pa. Chronicle,* July 6, 1767, 4.

[23] See Pa. colonial newspapers for increasingly frequent advertisements, and also Adams: *Provincial Society,* 259.

[24] *Pa. Gaz.,* Sec. 28, 1769, 1; *Ibid.,* Jan. 4, 1770, 1.

[25] *Ibid.,* March 14, 1771, 1.

[26] *Infra,* 90 *ff.*

[27] *Op. cit.,* 63.

[28] Johnson: *Swedish Settlements,* I, 335–6.

[29] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Feb. 12, 1722, 4.

[30] *Pa. Gaz.,* July 8, 1731, 3.

Above these were the redemptioners and indentured servants,[32] who sold their services for any period up to fifteen or eighteen years to pay for their passage to Philadelphia.[33] The law provided fifty acres of land for them at the termination of their servitude.[34] Their masters often announced that they had "Run Away."[35] In one issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* in 1730, ten masters so advertised.[36] From various other sources, and frequent newspaper announcements of their arrival and public sale, one is led to believe that they must have constituted a considerable part of the total population throughout the entire colonial period.[37]

A glance into the *Pennsylvania Archives* shows that farmers were fairly adequately supplied with land, servants, and live stock,[38] and Kalm observed their houses were sometimes of stone "but most of them were wooden."[39] The small merchant was probably more comfortable than the average farmer. He sold everything from "silk stockings"[40] to "Ready-made Coffins."[41] He soon had straw carpets on his floors, but an early visitor saw that they attracted flies and "vermin."[42]

On the upper level of society stood, not a landed, but a commercial aristocracy. Some earlier land grants, it is true, amounted to three thousand acres,[43] and taxes on property in Philadelphia county, in 1683, ranged from £30 to £1300.[44] Yet, "The rich men of Pennsylvania and those who deemed themselves its aristocracy were nearly all merchants or merchants' sons."[45] These resided in great mansions, and had their warehouses on old King Street.[46] Mittelberger describes the fashionable ladies of the day: "Their gloves are made of velvet, silk, and the like, usually trimmed with silver or gold lace, and beautifully embroidered . . . when they ride on horseback they have costly whips . . . and they keep them in their hands even in church."[47] To satisfy the demands of this group, rich merchandise from Europe was frequently advertised for sale,[48] horse-racing became popular,[49] the French dancing master made his appearance, and the fencing master came to teach "gentlemen" the art of defense.[50]

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[31] *Pa. Gaz.,* July 26, 1759, 6.

[32] For distinction see Swank: *Progressive Pa.,* 43–4.

[33] A Partial List of the Families Who Arrived at Philadelphia Between 1682 and 1687. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* VIII, 328–40]

[34] *Col. Rec.,* I, 27.

[35] *Pa. Gaz.,* April 30, 1730, 4; *Ibid.,* Dec. 14, 1769, 4; *Ibid.,* Nov. 18, 1771, 3.

[36] *Loc. cit.,* April 30, 1730, 4.

[37] See Bittinger: *Germans in Colonial Times,* 217–9; Mittelberger: *Op. cit.,* 25–8, 37–8.

[38] Third Series, XII.

[39] *Op. cit.,* II, 155.

[40] *Pa. Gaz.,* 20th of the 1st month 1729, 4.

[41] *Ibid.,* June 12, 1760, 3.

[42] Acrelius: *Hist. of New Sweden,* 156–7.

[43] Hazard: *Annals of Pa.,* 448, 459–60.

[44] *Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* VIII, 82–105.

[45] Jenkins: *Pa. Colonial and Federal,* I, 513.

[46] For good description see Lippincott: *Early Phila.,* 30 *passim.*

It must be remembered that the great mass of the population was engaged in agriculture throughout the colonial period. The population, at the coming of Penn, probably did not exceed five hundred.[51] The increase was rapid from this time on. Fifteen thousand Quakers are said to have come between 1681 and 1700.[52] The population of Philadelphia, for 1744, has been estimated at 13,000,[53] and, in 1770, at 25,000 to 30,000.[54]

In 1753, the population of Pennsylvania was said to have been about 150,000.[55] Franklin estimated the population in 1766 at 160,000[56] and, in 1774, he again estimated it, this time at 350,000.[57] Considerable discrepancies exist in the various estimates of population which were recorded from time to time. Smith placed the figures in the early seventeen-fifties at 220,000.[58] Mr. Barton, the Episcopal minister at Lancaster, estimated the population of Lancaster county, in 1764, to be 40,000,[59] and that of Dauphin county, in 1789, was said to be sixteen or eighteen thousand.[60]

III. *National Origins*

With regard to the national origin of the people who made up this numerically doubtful population, Penn himself stated, in 1685, that they were "French, Dutch, German, Sweeds, Danes,

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[47] *Op. cit.*, 116–17.

[48] *E.g.*, *Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 10, 1730, 4.

[49] *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1760, 1.

[50] See description of the work of private masters, *Infra*, 109 *ff*.

[51] Dunaway: English Settlers in Col. Pa. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LII, 322]

[52] Lippincott: *Early Phila.*, 20–23.

[53] Watson: *Annals*, II, 404.

[54] *Ibid.*, 406.

[55] Colonial Population — 1753. [*Niles Register*, I, 234]

[56] Watson: *Annals*, II, 405.

[57] Ford: *Scotch Irish in America*, 264–5.

[58] *A Brief State of the Province of Pa.*, 10.

[59] Perry: *Hist. Collections of Am. Col. Church*, 366–7.

[60] Original Letters and Documents. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, VI, 115]

Finns, Scotch, Irish, and English.''[61] One student of the problem of national origins states that the English led in number throughout the colonial period, while the Germans and Scotch-Irish fell into second and third places respectively.[62] Smith, however, estimated the German population to be one-half of the whole, or about 110,000.[63] Wherever the preponderance lay, the English, the Germans, and the Scotch-Irish were the chief national groups in the province.

IV. *Religious Aspects*

Mittelberger describes the religious atmosphere of the province thus:

> Coming to speak of Pennsylvania again, that colony possesses great liberties above all other English colonies, inasmuch as all religious sects are tolerated there. We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Mennonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh-Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Newborn, Freemasons, Separatists, Freethinkers, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans, Negroes, and Indians. The Evangelical and Reformed, however, are in the majority. But there are many hundred unbaptized souls there that do not even wish to be baptized. Many pray neither in the morning nor in the evening, neither before nor after meals. No devotional book, not to speak of a Bible, will be found with such people. In one house and one family, 4, 5, and even 6 sects, may be found.[64]

Freedom of religious worship, guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the colony,[65] explains this great variety of sects and beliefs. Not all sects, however, enjoyed the same privileges, for political disqualifications were decreed against all except members of Protestant groups.[66] To what extent the churches lost their influence over the people as a result of the acceptance of the principle of religious freedom by the government is difficult to determine, but Mittelberger's observations are supported by other writers.[67] It is, moreover, an interesting question as to how far this freedom of conscience operated against or in favor of educational development, at a time when religious groups controlled the leading educational institutions.

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[61] See Reprint of his *Account*. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, IX, 65]

[62] Dunaway: *Loc. cit.*, 340–1.

[63] *A Brief State of the Province of Pa.*, 10.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 54–5.

[65] *Col. Rec.*, I, 41.

[66] Stille: Religious Tests in Provincial Pa. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, IX, 365 *ff*.]

[67] *E.g.*, Perry: *Hist. Colls. Am. Col. Church*, 206; *Pa. Gaz.*, April 23, 1730, 3.

Of all these sects, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the Moravians, the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, and the Reformed were the most active educationally, and in about the order indicated. Records of births and burials lead to the conclusion that in the city of Philadelphia the Quaker was, for some decades, numerically the leading group, the Episcopalian, second, and the Presbyterian, third.[68] The earlier Quaker power in the colony soon gave way to that of others. One writer says: "By 1760 the Churchmen and Presbyterians held the reins and had things 'pretty much their own way.' It was generally considered, in certain circles, that one could be a 'Christian in any church, but could not be a gentleman outside the Church of England.' "[69] There developed many misunderstandings, jealousies, and suspicions of unfair practices among the leaders of these three groups,[70] which were reflected in their anxieties regarding education, a fact which will be referred to elsewhere.[71] Outside of the three original counties—Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks—the Lutheran, Reformed, and Presbyterian groups soon predominated: the Lutheran and Reformed in York, Lancaster, and Berks; the Presbyterian in Cumberland and Northumberland counties.[72] Before the Revolution the last-named group had crossed the Alleghenies and had effected settlements in the southwestern part of the State, where they soon predominated[73] and where their educational ideals found embodiment in institutions, that appeared and became notable after the country had secured its independence.

The Quakers were the first to establish educational institutions in the province. Woody establishes the fact that their leaders were imbued with ideals of liberal education,[74] and their educational institutions reflect these ideals. Penn himself, however, thought of education chiefly as an instrument of social well-being,[75] and, in the laws of the colony, during the period of Quaker predominance, one may see mirrored this social purpose. It was probably as a result of an earnest desire to improve society that so many laws prohibiting petty vices were enacted that the Privy Council, in 1709, refused to ratify many of them on the grounds that "they restrain her Majesty's subjects from innocent sports and diversions."[76] When the other religious groups began to attain numerical superiority, the early Quaker ideals of public education changed and, while many of their schools were kept open to the children of every religious persuasion, there developed an anxiety to safeguard their own children from the evils that might result from the examples given by those less carefully disciplined.[77] John Todd, teacher in one of the Quaker schools, was, in 1777, forbidden to take any but Quaker children until the enrollment in his school was properly reduced.[78] In the establishment of a secondary school the Quakers led the way, and their schools continue to this day to occupy a prominent place in the field of secondary education in Pennsylvania.

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[68] *Pa. Gaz.*, May 3, 1722, 4; *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, July 5, 1722, 2; *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1722, 2; *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1722, 2; *Ibid.*, March 7, 1731, 3; *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1732, 4.

[69] Jefferys: St. Peters Church, Phila., 1753–1783. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLVII, 338]

[70] Perry: *Op. cit.*, 32–9, 294, 368, 405–6, 427.

[71] *Infra*, 75 *f.*

[72] Dunaway: *Loc. cit.*, 338–9; Stille: *Life and Writings of John Dickinson*, 46; Perry: *Op. cit.*, 315, 366–7; Heim: The Ep. Church of Reading. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, IV, 66–78]

[73] Dunaway: *Loc. cit.*, 329–30.

[74] *Quaker Education in Pa.*, 26–40.

Next to the Quakers, in order of time, the Presbyterians played a significant part in the beginnings of secondary education in Pennsylvania. Their demand for a liberally educated ministry brought into existence a small group of colonial secondary schools, one of which, that at New London, may be regarded as a forerunner of the Philadelphia Academy, in that it embodied an attempt to offer a richer curriculum than that of the traditional classical school.[79] The philosophy, expressed in the words "on earth there is nothing great but man. In man there is nothing great but mind," is said to be of the essence of Calvinism.[80] And the same speaker proclaimed: "When Presbyterianism ceases to educate man for man's sake, mind for mind's sake, she will have forfeited her birthright."[81] The early *Minutes* of the Synod of Philadelphia seem to justify this claim.[82] Presbyterian schools arose chiefly as a result of a religious urge for an educated ministry. While, from the *Minutes* of the Synod of Philadelphia, for 1757, it appears that provision was made, in Presbyterian schools, for the poor of other denominations, the purpose of general social improvement was not so evident as in the case of the early Quaker institutions. Presbyterian colonial schools aimed to supply the rapidly increasing Presbyterian congregations with educated ministers, and to preserve the liberal educational ideals which have been the tradition of Calvinism.

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[75] See charters granted to Friends Public School, *Infra*, 32 *f*.

[76] *Pa. Arch.*, First Series, I, 155; See also *Col. Rec.*, I, 41.

[77] *Infra*, 36 *f*.

[78] *P. C. S. M.*, II, 67.

[79] *Infra*, 77 *ff*.

[80] Wilson: *Addresses Delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Presbytery of Redstone*, 65.

[81] *Ibid.*, 56.

So closely related in religious principles are the Reformed and Presbyterian churches that, in 1743, the Synod of Holland suggested to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia the desirability of uniting into one body the Presbyterian, German Reformed, and Dutch Reformed groups.[83] Like the Presbyterians, the Reformed Church demanded an educated ministry. In membership, the Reformed congregations in the colony numbered probably about one-half that of the Presbyterian group.[84] Yet, the educational activity of the Reformed Church in the colony might have been notable, if it had not been for the fact that it was controlled by the church "fathers" in Holland, who opposed all attempts to establish a college here. Letters of protest arrived from Holland after the "fathers" had heard of the founding of Franklin College, and it was not until 1791 that the Coetus here declared its independence. In 1790, the Coetus wrote to Holland: "It is not our purpose to separate from Holland. Our purpose in founding the school was principally to this end, that our German youth might be instructed in the languages and sciences, and that they might be prepared to hold offices in the republic; and that possibly in later times . . . young men might be prepared for the ministry."[85] In 1791, the Coetus at last broke finally with Holland. It was then "Resolved, that the Coetus has a right at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland.''[86] The attitude of the ''fathers in Holland'' was probably the biggest obstacle. Yet, the lack of funds, political misunderstandings, and religious jealousies in the colony thwarted their efforts to establish a ''gymnasium'' at an early date, and probably prevented the establishment of a synod independent of the church in Holland. Franklin College closed, even as late as 1789, for lack of funds.[87] This was, in its control, as much a Lutheran as a Reformed institution.[88] The Germans were not at this early day willing to contribute much hard-earned money to preachers,[89] or teachers. The Lutheran Synod bewailed this fact as late as 1814: ''The Synod laments that our Germans in many sections are too parsimonious in the support of their preachers and school-teachers, so that many good and useful men must suffer actual want.''[90] The fruition of an advanced educational philosophy depends, in the final analysis, on something more than its general acceptance. Those who accept it must be willing to part with their money, if anything good is to result. The official attitude of the Lutheran and Reformed churches may have demanded an educated ministry, but their German adherents in the colonial wilderness were not willing to provide the financial support which is needed if attitudes are to assume a material form and expression. Besides, the German layman, regardless of religious affiliation, felt it was wrong to make children wiser than their parents, and his practical educational philosophy was expressed commonly in the words ''*Wie geleherter, wie verkerter.*''[91] The leaders of the Reformed Church evidently hoped that out of the charity school movement, begun in 1753, a ''gymnasium (college)'' would evolve. They soon, however, suspected the motives of its English supporters and their hopes for a higher school ended in disappointment. In a letter of William Stoy to a special Coetus in 1755, it is said: ''The only object of these schools is the introduction of the English Language among the Germans, which is purely a political matter. . . .

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[82] See Communication with President Clapp of Yale, *Infra*, 67, 79.

[83] Dubbs: The Founding of the German Churches of Pa. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XVII, 247]

[84] Smith: *Life and Correspondence of William Smith*, 220.

[85] *Min. and Letters of the Coetus Ger. Ref. Church, Pa.*, 262–3; for earlier similar expression see *Ibid.*, 247–8.

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[86] *Ibid.*, 265.

[87] Dubbs: *Loc. cit.*, 262.

[88] See Plan for a German College and Charity School [*Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 13, 1786, 3]; also Charter—*Laws of Pa.*, 1787, 184.

[89] See Mittelberger's observation, *Supra*, 5.

[90] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 467.

[91] Knauss: *Social Conditions Among Pa. Germans*, 94.

"What has appeared to us especially wonderful and strange is, that the direction and management of these schools under the auspices of the Trustees has been entrusted—the Reformed in Lancaster, for example having been passed over—to Moravians, Quakers, Separatists, perchance even Deists and others of this class. Can you think of a wolf caring for the pastures of fleece-bearing sheep." The letter went on to attack William Smith's remarks, "The Fathers in Holland have nothing to do in it," and "The Lutherans are nigher to the Church of England than the Presbyterians are," and it plaintively concluded, "The gymnasium (college), for which we hoped, has come to naught."[92] In 1756, the Coetus addressed a letter, written in almost identically the same tone and spirit of opposition, to the "Most Honorable and Learned Sirs, Venerable Fathers, Zealous Deputees of the Synods of North and South Holland."[93]

The Lutherans, too, felt that ministers ought to be educated men. Many of the colonial Lutheran ministers were educated at the Pietist University of Halle, an institution which may be considered the cradle and inspiration of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. The association between these two institutions, the University in Germany and the Church in Pennsylvania, became finally established when Francke, at the request of Lutheran congregations in America for several preachers, sent Heinrich Muhlenberg to Pennsylvania in 1748.[94] Muhlenberg became the organizer and patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America.[95] While, Dubbs tells us, some Lutheran ministers were ordained here before the coming of Muhlenberg,[96] and others after his coming,[97] the Lutherans, like the Reformed, made only a feeble effort to establish a higher educational institution before the Revolution. This effort, first evident in 1769,[98] resulted in the establishment of Kunze's *Seminarium* in Philadelphia in 1773.[99] The purpose was expressed thus: "And since a beginning has already been made for a German Seminary in Philadelphia, capable subjects might be prepared there in the necessary languages and knowledge, etc., and some of the most capable and promising be received into such institutions, further instructed and practised in theoretical and practical divinity, and, under God's assistance, be set apart and prepared as teachers, catechists and country preachers, as also for 'oeconomie.' "[100] This school was mentioned for the last time in the Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Convention in 1785, but here it was said to have been "discontinued."[101] Unlike the Presbyterians,[102] the Lutheran officials required in candidates for ordination a knowledge only of the ancient languages and theology: "Mr. Henry Muhlenberg appeared and Rev. Vorght acted as examiner. First the original text of the first Psalm was translated into Latin, and then various analytical and exegetical questions were added in the same language, all of which were accurately answered. The examiner especially admired his very evident skill in the Hebrew language. . . . Altogether . . . the learning of this young Mr. Muhlenberg, considering his age and length of stay in Halle, not quite seven years, is remarkable."[103] This was in 1770. In 1781, the requirements remained the same.[104]

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[92] *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus Ger. Ref. Church, Pa.*, 138–9.

[93] *Ibid.*, 143.

[94] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 3.

[95] *Ibid.*, 3–161.

[96] *Loc. cit.*, 245.

[97] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 25.

[98] *Ibid.*, 119.

[99] *Ibid.*, 143.

Not handicapped, as was the Reformed Church, by any foreign system of control, the official Lutheran attitude toward the education of ministers was offset largely by lack of support from the German laity, who seem not to have been yet anxious to reward either the preacher or the teacher.[105]

The educational institutions of the *Unitas Fratrum,* Moravian Brethren, had their beginnings in the seventeen forties,[106] but the period of their greatest influence dates from 1785, with the arrival of Carl Gotthold Reichel, as pastor of Nazareth and founder of a *Paedagogium.*[107] The spirit of these early schools must have been deeply religious. A proclamation of Count Zinzendorf appeared in 1743, pronouncing certain children full of devils and damned, and calling upon their parents to surrender them.[108] Their earliest schools were probably places of spiritual refuge. Yet little is actually known of them before the

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[100] *Ibid.,* 145.

[101] *Ibid.,* 203; see Haussmann: *Kunze's Seminarium,* 17.

[102] *Infra,* 66 *f.*

[103] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.,* 123.

[104] *Ibid.,* 174.

[105] *Supra,* 12.

[106] The German Moravian Settlements in Pa. [*Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.* IV, 71]

[107] *Min. Provincial Helfer Conferenz,* Dec. 15, 1784.

[108] *Am. Wkly Mer.,* Aug. 14, 1743, 1–2.

Revolution. One writer says that children were taken from their parents at the age of two years and reared in these schools.[109] The Moravians were few in number as compared with the other groups.[110] While they had congregations in various places east of the Susquehanna, the most notable educational institutions which belonged to them were established at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz in the seventeen-forties.[111] The school for girls at Bethlehem was probably the second of this type to be established in the United States, the Ursuline nuns at New Orleans having established the first in 1727.[112] The importance which they attached to the education of their children is seen in the fact that in 1746, while they were few in numbers and widely scattered, they established probably as many as fifteen schools.[113] These were all boarding schools, because they desired to remove their children from the spiritual dangers of the world.[114] A description of Nazareth Hall, about 1759, has been left us by Hannah Callender, a Quakeress, who visited the school. There is no evidence here that Nazareth Hall was in any sense a secondary school,[115] but it was the beginning of the Nazareth Hall which became famous in years to follow. Their ideas, however, regarding education are well known. John Wesley, in his *Journal,* has left a good description of the school of the mother settlement at Herrnhut in 1742–43. Here we find a school embodying the classical traditions of humanism, as well as the ideals of the practical educational philosophy of the early scientific movement.[116]

In addition to these larger groups, a number of lesser sects, designated usually by the general term of Pietist,[117] settled in Pennsylvania between 1683 and 1734.[118] Many of these were mystics. Their lives they dedicated to study, prayer, charity, and preparation for another world. The early leaders of the Pietist movement in Germany were Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke, whose institution at Halle sent many religious leaders to colonial Pennsylvania.[119] Legislated against and persecuted, they, nevertheless, established themselves in Halle, and from this centre the exodus to Pennsylvania may be said to have begun. There can be little doubt that the memory of religious persecution at home, and the promise of religious freedom here, had much to do with their settlement in the colony. Francke himself, however, was interested in economic considerations in addition to that of religious freedom.[120]

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[109] Bittinger: *Germans in Col. Times,* 179.

[110] Smith: *Life and Correspondence of William Smith,* 220.

[111] The German Moravian Settlements in Pa. [*Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.,* IV, 71]

[112] Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in the U. S.,* I, 108.

[113] The Ger. Moravian Settlements in Pa. [*Loc. cit.,* 68]

[114] For description of Moravian communism see Henry: *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character,* 39–40.

[115] Quoted in [Phila.] *Evg. Bulletin,* Sept. 20, 1929, 8.

[116] Extract from the Journal of Rev. Mr. John Wesley. [*Pa. Gaz.,* Feb. 24, 1742–43, 1]

[117] The Moravians also belong to this general group.

[118] For complete accounts see Sachse: *German Pietists in Pa.;* Bittinger: *Germans in Col. Times,* 6 *ff.*

The deeply religious mysticism and character of the Pietists who settled here may be seen expressed in the motto of the Rosicrucians who settled on the Wissahickon: *Deo Omnipotenti sit Laus, Honos, et Gloria in Seculorum Secula, Amen.*[121] The inscription on the tomb of Conrad Beissel at Ephrata reveals the same spirit: "Here rests an offspring of the Love of God, Friedsam, a solitary, but later become a leader, guardian, teacher of the solitary and of the Congregation of Christ in and about Ephrata."[122]

It is well known that some of the Pietists were deeply concerned about the education of their children. Daniel Falckner, one of the settlers on the Wissahickon, wrote in 1694: "We are now beginning to build a house, and the people lend us all possible help. We place this to the public good, and expect not a foot's breadth on our own account. For we are resolved, besides giving public instruction to the little children of this country, to take many of them to ourselves and have them day and night with us, so as to lay in them the foundation of a stable permanent character."[123]

The Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata were also among the early educators of Pennsylvania. William M. Fahnestock, who became a member of their society,[124] has compiled evidently from the *Minutes* to which he refers,[125] a brief history of the Ephrata community.[126] References in this history to the publications which issued from the Ephrata press give an inadequate picture of the intellectual activity of the monks of Ephrata. It was the writer's privilege to see the late Martin J. Brumbaugh's collection of Ephrata publications—a considerable number, indeed, and yet many others have probably been lost. Fahnestock says: "In the revolutionary war . . . three wagon loads of books, in *sheets,* were seized and taken away for *cartridges.*"[127] Most, if not all, of their publications were original, and of a religious nature. Watson in his *Annals* says of their learning: "They were remarkable as a community in being fine Latinists—writing and speaking Latin as readily as their vernacular tongue. . . . I have known some educated . . . who used to correspond with some of the brotherhood in Latin. Above all they were peculiar for their superior music and singing."[128] That they established a classical school seems certain. Fahnestock says: "Many of the brethren being men of education, they established, at a very early period, a school, which soon gained for itself an honorable reputation, many young men from Philadelphia and Baltimore being sent there to be educated."[129] Their educational activities seem to have ended during the Revolution.[130]

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[119] Sachse: *Ger. Pietists of Pa.*, 49; for facts *re* Francke's correspondence with colonial leaders see Sachse: *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht*, 39 *ff*.

[120] See list of 103 questions regarding Pa., propounded by Francke to Falckner in 1698 or 1699, in Sachse: *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht*, 47 *ff*.

[121] To Almighty God may there be Praise, Honor, and Glory unto the Ages of the Ages, Amen. Latin from Sachse: *The German Pietists of Pa.*, 9.

[122] Bittinger: *Germans in Col. Times*, 104.

[123] Seidensticker: The Hermits of the Wissahickon. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XI, 441]

The Schwenkfelders, likewise, showed, in their official attitude, a regard for education in the languages and sciences. Among their documents we find the following, dated 1764:

> Whereas, the faithful training of the young in reading, writing and the study of the languages and useful sciences, according to sex, age and standing and their instruction in the principles of morality, virtue and true religion contribute very much to the prosperity and welfare of every community; which can be accomplished in no better way than by the establishment of schools under wise and proper regulations adapted to such undertaking. . . .
>
> Therefore they took the matter to heart and met on the first day of March, 1764, . . . and concluded that it would be most

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[124] Watson: *Annals*, II, 259.

[125] Fahnestock: An Historical Sketch of Ephrata. [*Hazard's Register*, XV, 165]

[126] *Ibid.*, 161–7; 208.

[127] *Ibid.*, 166.

[128] *Op. cit.*, II, 259.

[129] *Loc. cit.*, 165.

[130] *Ibid.*, 165.

convenient to collect and establish a fund from the proceeds of which . . . the expenses for the support of such schools could be met.[131]

In the period 1790–92, the classics, English and other subjects were taught here, but it is not clear that the work before the Revolution was above elementary grade.[132]

The leaders of the greater religious groups in colonial Pennsylvania, and of some of the smaller groups, took a very definite and favorable stand on the question of classical and scientific education, if not for every one who might seek it, certainly for those who were to be their religious and educational leaders. The German layman, however, was not so favorably disposed toward higher education in general. Christopher Sauer was the voice of this group. Editor of an influential German newspaper, he took occasion, in 1754, to attack the educational plan embodied in the College of Philadelphia. After enumerating the various linguistic and scientific subjects which were proposed to be taught in the College, he attacked the whole program on the ground that it stressed too much the satisfaction of the material needs of man, and thus hindered the fullest development of the true Christian. Instead of instructing youth in the way of seeking the kingdom of God, the new education, he said, offered opportunities mainly for the fostering of pride, self-sufficiency, and avarice. And he recalled the scriptural admonitions regarding the difficulty of the rich in entering the kingdom of God, and the foolishness of the world's wisdom. The plan, he noted with apparent approval, made no provision for the education of preachers, lawyers, and doctors, for the first two needed only well-developed vocal organs, and of the last there were already too many in existence, many of them acquiring their knowledge through the loss of life[133] which they cause. Thus the attack reflected his views regarding the necessity for religious education and the futility of advanced academic instruction.[134] And his grandson, Samuel Sauer, many years later continued the attack against higher education because it led to deism and atheism, and because ''colleges were the assembling places of rascals.''[135]

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[131] Quoted by Kriebel: The Schwenkfelders in Pa. [*Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.*, XIII, 123]

[132] *Ibid.*, 132, 134–5.

[133] *Verlust des lebens.*

[134] Knauss: *Social Conditions Among Pa. Germans*, 86–7.

[135] *Ibid.*, 88.

V. *Political Aspects*

Principles and systems of government have been the themes of many philosophers since Plato propounded his views of an ideal state in his *Republic.* Among the mightier offerings in this field are those of the founder of Pennsylvania:

> Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws. . . .
>
> Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. . . .
>
> That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz.: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by the virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for private patrimonies.[136]

That Penn realized that the success of his "holy experiment" depended upon a public school system for the propagation of political principles is evident from a law passed by him in Chester, December 10, 1682, requiring that the laws of the province "be one of the books taught in the schools of the province and territory thereof,"[137] and from *The Frame* of 1682.[138]

With regard to actual political conditions in the colony, we find before the Revolution men who were known as freemen, and men who were not free. Women, not having a political existence, were not considered in the scheme. Political freedom and right to vote in elections and hold public office depended chiefly upon ownership of a limited amount of land or of wealth.[139] Servants were provided with fifty acres of land at the end of their service and thus joined the ranks of freemen.[140] There were, however, limitations on religious grounds. Only those who "profess faith in Jesus Christ" could elect or be elected to public office in the Council or Assembly,[141] and as political practice developed only Protestants were admitted to the privileges of citizenship.[142]

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[136] *Col. Rec.*, I, 31.

[137] Linn: *Charter of Wm. Penn and Laws of the Province of Pa., 1682–1700*, 123.

[138] *Infra*, 27.

[139] *Col. Rec.*, I, 37, 50.

[140] *Supra*, 6.

[141] *Col. Rec.*, I, 40.

[142] *Supra*, 8.

The Government, according to *The Frame* of 1682, was vested in a Governor, a Provincial Council, and a General Assembly.[143] The last body, representing the people, had been granted very little power. It could not propose laws. Legislation originated in the Governor and Provincial Council. Although elected by the freemen, the Council represented the proprietary interests, and in its sessions, the Governor presided and had a "treble voice."[144] The General Assembly had the right only to reject the laws.[145] A struggle for democratic government began almost immediately. The Assembly soon became aggressive, and the rule of the people was gradually established.[146] Penn's Charter of 1701 established the Assembly as the chief legislative agency in the colonial government,[147] but strangely enough this triumph of popular power in 1701 marked the end of Penn's public school policy, for this charter does not even mention education. The democracy of the early eighteenth was not the democracy that demanded and created the public school system of the nineteenth century. It was a religious democracy, predominantly Quaker; a democracy that could refuse, evidently on religious grounds, a gift of £350 to the King for the purpose of erecting forts in New York.[148] It was a democracy that respected the rights of conscience; a democracy that was not yet ready to accept the educational philosophy of the modern secular state.

VI. *Colonial Culture*

To say that the colony was lacking in liberally educated leaders would be far from the truth. James Logan, who came here as Penn's secretary, was a man of great scholarly attainments. He was well versed in the classics, mathematics, and some of the modern languages. At his death he bequeathed his library of three thousand volumes—a collection of classical and scientific works—to the city.[149] In his autobiography[150] he describes his education. The classics he studied in the schools, the mathematics, French, Italian, and Spanish, without any instruction, except three months' training in pronunciation of French under a French master. George Keith and Thomas Makin, once principals of the Friends' Public School, Kelpius, Falckner, Pastorius, and a host of other early colonists were all liberally educated men. It has been said of Pastorius that he was "the most learned man of his day in America—not forgetting Cotton Mather—and he was far in advance of the New England divine in the breadth of his education."[151]

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[143] *Col. Rec.*, I, 32.

[144] *Ibid.*, 33.

[145] *Ibid.*

[146] Eshleman: The Struggle and Rise of Popular Power in Pennsylvania's First Two Decades (1682–1701). [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XXXIV, 158–61]

[147] *Col. Rec.*, II, 59.

[148] *Ibid.*, II, 30–1.

[149] Sharpless: *Political Leaders of Pa.*, 152.

[150] Copy No. 108 in Smith *MSS.*, I, 1678–1743—Phila. Lib. Co.

Aside from the consideration of individuals of scholarly interests, there remains appreciable evidence of considerable general intellectual activity in the colony. Books were imported in great numbers and variety.[152] An advertisement, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of one importation of books, covers an entire page.[153] Many books and pamphlets were published in the colony itself. Most of these were of a religious nature.[154] The Library Company of Philadelphia had a considerable collection of books on a wide variety of subjects—history, religion, arts, sciences, logic, travel, natural philosophy, navigation, bookkeeping, biographies, etc. On the list appeared "An Essay upon the Education of Youth by John Clarke, Master of the public Grammar School in Hull, 1730," and "An Essay upon the Education of Children, by Mr. Lock."[155] The Juliana Library Company, in Lancaster, had also a similar collection in 1760.[156] Locke's treatises on government were on this list.[157] Bacon's *Essays* were recommended in 1735.[158] In 1764, the public read such authors as Addison Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, Harvey, Plato, Pope, Prior, and Ben Jonson.[159] The interest in the establishment of libraries in the colony was on the whole very remarkable. The Philadelphia Library Company was established by Franklin in 1731.[160] Others followed. Hatboro is said to have had a library in 1755.[161] In 1760, two other library companies in Philadelphia were in operation.[162] These had been some years old at this time.[163] In 1753, German citizens established the Germantown Library Company.[164] The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster was organized in 1759.[165] It was in operation in 1760,[166] and was chartered by Thomas and Richard Penn in 1763.[167] The Newtown Library, in Bucks county, is said to have been established in 1760.[168] In 1762, the Blockley and Merion United Library Company was in existence,[169] and ten years later it was still functioning.[170] A similar company was organized, and a library established, in Chester in 1769.[171] Thus, in spite of pioneer conditions, our colonial forebears were far from being devoid of intellectual interests.

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[151] Adams: *Provincial Society*, 7; also Learned: *Life of Francis D. Pastorius.*

[152] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Nov. 25, 1725, 2; *Pa. Gaz.*, June 1, 1738, 3.

[153] *Loc. cit.*, Feb. 22, 1759, 5.

[154] For complete list of publications see Hildeburn: *The Issues of the Press in Pa. 1685–1784.*

[155] *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Co. of Phila., 1741–54.*

[156] Landis: The Juliana Library Company of Lancaster. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLIII, 163 *ff.*]

[157] *Ibid.*, 178.

[158] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Sept. 4, 1735, 1.

[159] *Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 13, 1764, 3.

[160] *Autobiography*, 92–3.

Penn[172] and Pastorius[173] were the first of our colonial realists, men imbued with a utilitarian philosophy. The rapid development of colonial scientific interests is evidenced in the membership of the American Philosophical Society, which included, in 1744, a botanist, a physician, a mathematician, a geographer, and a natural philosopher.[174] Franklin's *Proposal* for the establishment of this society was made in 1743.[175] His program of activities, as embodied in this plan, are described elsewhere.[176] The success of the society itself is evidence of the interest in scientific investigation that had developed. Nor was the colony without its poets. The list is even a long one, and a few women have a place on it.[177]

VII. *Foreign Influence*

The fact that foreign influence had much to do with the educational theories and practices of the colony is self-evident. The educational theories of the Reformation leaders, Luther and Calvin, shaped the practices of their followers in early Pennsylvania. Luther was a humanist, but the study of the classics he stressed "for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures and carrying on the civil government."[178] He adds: "For a time no one understood why God had revived the study of the languages; but now we see it was for the sake of the Gospel. . . .

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[161] Wharton: *In Old Pennsylvania Towns*, 61.

[162] *Pa. Gaz.*, April 24, 1760, 3.

[163] Lamberton: Col. Libraries of Pa. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLII, 193 *ff*.]

[164] *Ibid.*, 222–3.

[165] *Ibid.*, 227.

[166] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1760, 3.

[167] *Record Book*, H, 185. [Lancaster county]

[168] Davis: *Hist. of Bucks Co.*, 241–2.

[169] Lamberton: *Loc. cit.*, 232.

[170] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 26, 1772, 1.

[171] Lamberton: *Loc. cit.*, 233–4.

[172] *Infra*, 24 *f*., 114 *f*.

[173] Learned: *Life of Pastorius*, 24.

[174] Franklin's Letter to Hon. C. Colden in Bigelow: *Works of B. Franklin*, II, 1.

[175] Bigelow: *Op. cit.*, II, 67–71.

[176] *Infra*, 176 *f*.

[177] Williams: Pa. Poets of the Provincial Period. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XVII, 1–33]

"In the same measure that the Gospel is dear to us, should we zealously study the languages."[179] Classical schools with a strong religious leaning were soon authorized for Lutheran Germany. The plan of the Latin schools of Saxony and Wurtemberg have been preserved. The former, published in 1528, provides almost exclusively for a study of Latin, with much emphasis on grammar, etymology, and syntax.[180] The second plan, while having a strong classical bias, gives a little opportunity for a study of arithmetic, astronomy, logic, and rhetoric.[181]

Calvin proclaimed: "God has furnished the soul of man . . . with a mind capable . . . of discovering by the light of reason what ought to be pursued or avoided,"[182] and he went on to say that, while his natural talents have been corrupted by sin, "we perceive in the mind of man some desire of investigating truth, toward which he would have no inclination, but from some relish of it previously possessed."[183]

The plan of the Calvinist College of Geneva has been preserved. The course was almost entirely classical, logic, rhetoric, the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul being the only other subjects.[184] Attention has been already called to the Calvinist influence in Pennsylvania,[185] and further reference shall be made to it in succeeding chapters.

What has been said regarding the foreign influence coming through Lutheran and Calvinist channels is equally true of the Quakers.[186] Thus, while the Reformation influence may be said to have supplied the motive back of our colonial secondary schools, humanism determined their academic character. The

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[178] *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen,* in Painter: *Luther on Education,* 183.

[179] *Ibid.,* 184–5.

[180] Barnard's *Journal,* IV, 749–51.

[181] *Ibid.,* IV, 426–34.

[182] *Institutes,* I, 131, as translated by Allen.

[183] *Ibid.,* 244.

[184] Woodward: *Studies in Education during the Renaissance,* 159–60.

[185] *Supra,* 10 *ff.*

[186] *Infra,* 37 *ff.*

Latin schools of Europe, just described, were the type best known to the early colonists. The English Latin Grammar Schools did not differ from those on the Continent.[187] While in theory the formal humanism of the Latin Grammar Schools had been overthrown by a long array of writers, from Rabelais[188] and Montaigne[189] to Locke[190] and Milton,[191] practice was only beginning to change at the time when Penn founded his colony. The Friends' Public School, as we shall see, was of the Latin Grammar type.[192] The needs of civilized man in the colonial wilderness soon began to alter his theories of education, and Pastorius must have felt the greater value of Francke's schools in Halle when he proclaimed from the wilds of Germantown: "I myself would give several hundred rixdollars, if I had devoted the precious time, spent in learning Sperling's Physic Metaphysic and other sophistical argumentations and disputations, to engineering and printing, which would now be more serviceable to me, and more useful and interesting to me and my fellow Christian than all such physic and metaphysic and all Aristotelean *Elenchi* and Syllogismi, by means of which no savage or unchristian man can be brought to God, much less a piece of bread be earned."[193] New theories of education from abroad soon made their appearance in the colony. Franklin, as we shall see, was familiar with the views of many European theorists, and was probably influenced by them.[194] Francke's institution at Halle, which looked to the practical needs of life, was well known to the German colonial scholars as we have seen,[195] and the trustees of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1751, had a lengthy description of it translated.[196] The influence of these new ideas of education will be discussed in later chapters.

VIII. *Penn's Educational Philosophy*

While attention will be called in appropriate places to the views of other colonial educational theorists,[197] it is fitting that here some of those of the founder of the colony should be mentioned.[198] The following advice regarding the education of his own children is an expression of, probably, his deepest convictions regarding what children ought to be taught: "For their learning, be liberal. Spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and the mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation; but agriculture especially is my eye. Let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example."[199] In the early Quaker schools of the colony, that philosophy was not embodied. Nor, with the exception of the schools of private masters,[200] do we find much evidence of it, until Franklin found the time ripe for a re-emphasis of its utilitarian principles and the founding of the Philadelphia Academy.[201] The colony had been in existence for well nigh a century before the educational views of its founder were generally embodied in institutions.

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[187] See curriculum of St. Paul's School, London, in 1518, in Lupton: *Life of Colet*, 279, and of Eton, before 1850, in Lyte: Eton College. [In *Great Public Schools*, 12]

[188] *Gargantua and Pantagruel.*

[189] *Essays,* (a) *On Pedantry,* and (b) *Education of Children.*

[190] *Some Thoughts Concerning Education.*

[191] *Tractate on Education.*

[192] *Infra,* 41 *ff.*

[193] Learned: *Op. cit.*, 187.

[194] *Infra,* 178.

[195] *Supra,* 13.

[196] See copy preserved in Archives of the University of Pennsylvania.

[197] *Infra,* 42 *ff.*, 120 *ff.*

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[198] See also *Supra,* 18; *Infra,* 27 *ff.*

[199] Penn: *Letters to Wife and Children,* 6 *f.*

[200] *Infra,* 95 *ff.*

[201] *Infra,* 176 *ff.*

CHAPTER II

THE WILLIAM PENN CHARTER SCHOOL

I. *Laws Affecting Colonial Secondary Education*

The history of law and legal systems is the history of civilization itself, for law is but the expression of the needs or ideals of a people or their rulers. Changing needs and ideals gradually find embodiment in new laws, which in turn reflect the changes that have been going on in society. Laws represent a struggle to satisfy some new need, to realize some greater good, as conceived by those who are responsible for their enactment.

That the founder of Pennsylvania intended to create a more ideal commonwealth than those then existing in Europe is evident from the first laws relating to the province. Persecution because of religious tenets he banned in his earliest laws.[1] Rights of conscience were not to be violated.[2] Dealings with natives must be conducted on fair and just principles.[3] Servants were to be treated justly and kindly.[4] Copies of the fundamental laws were required to be exhibited in public places, and annually read and approved by the Council and Assembly.[5]

Limitations, however, to the growth of law in the province were established by the Charter of Charles the Second, in 1682. This instrument required that provincial laws "bee not repugnant or contrarie, but as neere as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes, statutes and rights of this our Kingdome of England."[6]

The educational laws enacted by Penn, like many of his other laws, were the expression of his Quaker religious principles, as well as of his political philosophy. If they were lacking in idealism, or failed to accomplish their purpose, the fault lies not with the great legislator himself, but with the charter which limited his legislative authority, and more especially, perhaps, with the fact that his Quaker commonwealth rapidly became a cosmopolitan state, where different cultures and philosophies soon found many adherents.

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[1] *Col. Rec.*, I, 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, 50.

[3] *Ibid.*, 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, 40.

[5] *Ibid.*, 41.

[6] *Ibid.*, 20.

The earliest enactments which affected secondary education in the colony are embodied in *The Frame* of 1682, in which the following provisions appear: "That the governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province."[7] To make effective his political purposes, one of four committees of the Provincial Council was entrusted with the oversight "of manners, education, and arts, that all wicked and scandalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts."[8] These provisions were embodied again in *The Frame* of 1683.[9] Governor Markham's *Frame* of 1696, however, shows evidence of an abandonment of Penn's plan for public schools. In this the words "public houses" are substituted for "public schools." Otherwise the provision for education remains the same.[10] This change probably means that the government had adopted a new policy with regard to education, for the designation "public house" was that usually applied to an "Ordinary, Tavern, or House of Public Entertainment,"[11] while there is no evidence to show that it was ever applied to an educational institution. In Penn's *Frame* of 1701 education is not even mentioned,[12] and Penn's dream of a public school system had to await a more general acceptance and a clearer understanding of a more democratic theory of government before it could be realized.

Penn's conviction regarding the value of useful education found expression, too, in his early enactments. By the laws passed before he left England, in 1682, it was provided "That all children within this province of the age of twelve years, shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want."[13]

That it was probably the intention of Penn and some members of his Council to establish a public school of a grade above the elementary appears from the minutes of the Provincial Council. At a meeting on "y^{e} 26th of y^{e} 10th month, 1683," Penn and the

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[7] *Ibid.*, 34.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 44.

[10] *Ibid.*, 53.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 59.

[12] *Ibid.*, 56–60.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 40.

Council employed Enoch Flower as teacher of a school in which reading, writing, and bookkeeping ("Cast accot") were to be taught.[14] On "y^{e} 17th of y^{e} 11th month, 1683," the question of the establishment of a school higher than that of Enoch Flower was raised. The minutes read: "Proposed that care be Taken about the Learning and Instruction of Youth, to Witt: a Scool of Arts and Sciences."[15] Moreover, the interest of some of these early legislators in general enlightenment is evident in another proposal made at this same meeting: "A Law proposed for makeing of severall sort of Books, for the use of Persons in this Province."[16] It must be noted that these were, however, but proposals. Nor is the discussion of them recorded anywhere. The Council adjourned without acting on them, and the minutes are silent on the subject of education from this time until 1693. An entry, for this year, reveals the continuance of public legislative interest in education, if not a measure of public control over the Friends' Public School, which had been established by the Quaker Monthly Meeting in 1689: "Thomas Meaking, keeper of the ffree schoole in the towne of philadelphia, being called befor the Lt. Gor and Councill, was told that hee must not keepe schoole wtout a Licence. Ansrd that hee was willing to Comply, and to take a Licence: was therfore ordered to procure a Certificate of his abilitie, Learning & diligence, from the Inhabitants of note in this towne, by the Sixteenth instant, in order to the obtaining a Licence, which he promisd to doe."[17] Evidently it was not sufficient that the teacher of the Friends' school had been found worthy and approved by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. In the Quaker colony, even an approved Quaker teacher may not teach without a license from the civil authorities. It may have been this interference by the secular power and the danger of further interference that prompted the members of the Monthly Meeting to insert, in their petition for a charter for the public school, in 1697, a clause guaranteeing their right to "make choice of & admitt such and so manie persons as they shall think fit, to be overseers, masters, ushers, mistrisses & poor children of y^{e} sd school, and the same persons, or anie of ym, to remove and displace, as often as the said meeting shall see occasion.'"[18] The Quakers evidently had reason to see the dangers in Penn's advanced position on public education, and it was probably as a result of their objections that the Charter of 1701 is silent on education. That the overseers were anxious to extend their educational activities through the province appears from a memorial sent to the Assembly in 1759. In this, they showed that their revenues had increased; that, since they took charge of the schools, they had extended their benefits to children of all denominations; that the morals of the youth of the province were in danger of corruption because of "the bad Example and Principles of . . . ignorant and irreligious Tutors;" and that they were ready to remedy these evils "by contributing out of the Estate under our Care toward the settling Schools under virtuous sober Tutors, instructing the Poor free of expense in such Parts of the Province where we may find Persons willing to join with us therein."[19] Education they thus consider the prerogative and duty of their corporation, and this on a very broad scale. Quaker opposition to state interference in the matter was expressed in a later "Memorial and Address of the Religious Society of Quakers" sent to the General Assembly in 1779. In that year the schools under the overseers were closed because of a law passed by the Assembly.[20] The overseers refused to comply with the law, and decided not to re-employ any teacher who complied with it.[21] The memorial reminded the legislators of the new State that the Quakers in America had always educated their own children and the poor of other sects; that they must follow the dictates of conscience as the voice of God; that they must, for this reason, continue to oppose war, and oaths; that "the matters we have now freely laid before you are serious and important which we wish you to consider wisely as men, and religiously as Christians, manifesting yourselves Friends of true liberty and Enemies of persecution by repealing the several penal Laws affecting tender Consciences, and restoring to us our equitable rights, that the means of Education and the instruction of our Youth which we conceive to be our reasonable and religious duty may not be obstructed, and that the oppressed may be relieved."[22]

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[14] *Ibid.*, 91.

[15] *Ibid.*, 93.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, 383.

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[18] *Ibid.*, 532.

[19] *P. C. S. M.*, 10–17–1759.

[20] *Ibid.*, 11–25–1779.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

That the government of the colony had definitely cast aside the public for the religious control idea, is evidenced by the laws of 1712,[23] 1715,[24] and 1730–31.[25] These acts gave permission to Protestant congregations to hold land and receive bequests for school purposes. The earliest one was repealed by the Queen in Council in 1713–14,[26] and the second by the Lords Justices in Council in 1719.[27] The third was never considered by the Crown, and became law by lapse of time.[28] Thus, by colonial law, the State relinquished its early control of education, and Protestant churches and private business adventurers, of many descriptions, entered the field of secondary education.

II. *The First Secondary School in Pennsylvania*

A careful examination of all the available records, documents, and literature dealing with the Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware has failed to disclose the establishment of a secondary school among them before the coming of Penn. Acrelius deplored their neglect of the very rudiments of education. Writing in 1758, he said: ''Forty years back, our people scarcely knew what a school was. The first Swedish and Holland settlers were a poor, weak and ignorant people, who brought up their children in the same ignorance.''[29]

Nor is it more than probable that a secondary school existed in the colony before The William Penn Charter School was founded, in 1689. Historians, following Wickersham,[30] assert that Christopher Taylor established a classical school on Tinicum Island which was the first such school in Pennsylvania. Christopher Taylor was a Quaker and a classical scholar who has left us at least one publication in Latin.[31] He was a teacher in the school at Waltham Abbey, England, in which George Fox was much interested.[32] In 1682, he came to Pennsylvania,[33] and his name frequently appears on the *Minutes* of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting,[34] and as a member of the Provincial Council, from 1682 until 1686.[35] That he kept a school on Tinicum Island is evident from a deed of property to John Taylor, dated "this Tenth Day of the First Month 1684." Christopher granted to John "Three acres of cleared land . . . and alsoe one Logge house wherein the said Christopher Teacheth Schoole at the day of the date hereof."[36] This is the only deed of Christopher Taylor in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that mentions his school, and is evidently the one to which Wickersham refers, for both carry the same date. There is no reference in the deed to the grade of the school, nor do the words "Tinicum *alias* College Island" appear anywhere in the deed, although Wickersham so infers.[37] Little, probably, will ever be known about his school. That he did not spend much of his time in teaching is evident from the fact that he was busily engaged in other affairs. The Provincial Council met on about four days in each week, sometimes oftener, between January 1683 and December 1685, and Taylor seldom missed a meeting.[38] Moreover, it must have required a considerable amount of time to travel by rowboat or otherwise from Tinicum Island to the chambers of the Council in Philadelphia, a distance of about five or six miles. All we know with certainty is that he was a classical scholar, and kept a school here, where he possibly taught the classics.

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[23] *Stat. at Large of Pa., II*, 424–5.

[24] *Ibid.*, III, 37–8.

[25] *Ibid.*, IV, 208–10.

[26] *Ibid.*, II, 425. Footnote.

[27] *Ibid.*, III, 38. Footnote.

[28] *Ibid.*, IV, 210. Footnote.

[29] *History of New Sweden*, 351–2.

[30] *History of Ed. in Pa.*, 81.

[31] *Institutiones Pietatis.*

[32] Bettle: *Historical Sketch of the Overseers of the Public School*, 1 [unpublished]; Woody: *Quaker Ed. in Pa.*, 225.

[33] Bettle: *Op. cit.*, 1.

[34] *E.g.*, *Min.* 5–4–1683; 6–5–1684; 9–2–1685; 2–5–1686.

III. *The William Penn Charter School*

That Penn and some of the leading men in the colony intended to establish a school of higher than elementary grade, has already been pointed out. Yet nothing was done to establish such before 1689. It is said that in this year William Penn wrote to Thomas Lloyd, President of the Provincial Council, instructing him to set up "a Public Grammar School" in Philadelphia,[39] promising to grant it a charter later. Lloyd probably took the matter up with the Monthly Meeting of Friends, for George Keith was employed by the Meeting to take charge of a school on "Fifth month 26th, 1689."[40] Thus began the Friends' Public School, which in time came to be called The William Penn Charter School.

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[35] *Col. Rec.*, I, 57–167.

[36] From original in collection of H. S. P., *Taylor Papers,* XVI, No. 3304.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 81.

[38] *Col. Rec.*, I, 57–167.

[39] Janney: *Life of Penn,* 347; Woody: *Op. cit.*, 47; Bettle: *Op. cit.*, 4.

[40] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*

The government of the school was vested in the Monthly Meeting, and there is no evidence that any special committee had charge of it for some years. All business relating to the school was transacted by the Meeting. This arrangement must soon have been found unsatisfactory, and the control was soon vested in a board of overseers. "Att a Council Held att philadelphia die Sabbatti, 12th Febry, 1697–8," the following petition was read:

> The Humble petion of Samll Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, James ffox, david Lloyd, William Southbee & John Jones, in behalf of themselves & the rest of the people called Quakers, . . . Sheweth: That it hath been & is much desired by *Many,* That a School be set up & upheld in this town of philadelphia, where poor children may be freely maintained, taught & educated in good Literature, untill they are fit to be put out apprentices, or Capable to be masters or ushers in the said school.
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> And for as much as by the Laws & Constituons of this governmt, It is provided & enacted That the Governor and Council shall erect & order all publick schooles, & encourage & reward the authors of usefull sciences & Laudable inventions, in the said province and Territories, Therefore, may it please the Governor & Council, to ordain and establish that at the said town of philadelphia a publick schoole may be founded, where all children and servants, male & female, whois parents, guardians & masters be willing to subject ym to the rules & orders of the said schoole, shall from time to time, with the approbaon of the overseers thereof for the time being, be received or admitted, taught and Instructed; The rich at reasonable rates, and the poor to be maintained & schooled for nothing. . . . And that the overseers and schoole aforesaid, may for ever stand & be established & founded in name & in deed, a Body politick and Corporate, To Have Continuance for ever, by the name of The Overseers of the publick schoole founded in Philadlphia, at ye request, costs & charges of the people of God called Quakers. . . . And that the said Overseers . . . may, with Consent of the said Meetting have power & capacitie to demise & grant, by writting, under their hands & Comon seal, any of the sd Lands & tenements, & to take & purchass any other Lands, tenements or Hereditaments, for the best use & advantage of the said schoole. And to prescribe such Rules and ordinances for the good order & governmt of the same schoole . . . as to the members of the said monethly meetting for the time being, or the major part of ym, shall seem meet; . . .

The Governor and Council doe grant this petition as is desired.[41]

The privilege thus granted by Governor Markham vested the control of the school in the Monthly Meeting, the overseers being appointed by it and acting as its agents. It seems likely that no formal charter was granted at this time, the Governor and Council merely approving the petition as presented. In 1701, "those of the . . . pertitioners that are living" asked Penn to confirm the action of Markham, and he granted a charter, in this year, which continued the control in the hands of the Monthly Meeting, acting through its agent, the overseers.[42]

That the school was a burden to the Monthly Meeting would appear from the minutes of "Twelfth month 27th, 1701," when "It is agreed that any person having anything upon his mind concerning the school or the management thereof hereafter apply themselves to the preparative meeting to be satisfied." Yet the Monthly Meeting was not ready to relinquish its authority, for, early in 1701, it appointed a committee to "Treat with the Governour about a Grant for a free School,"[43] and the charter of this year continued the Monthly Meeting in control. In 1705, this Meeting appointed Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, David Lloyd, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Anthony Morris, and William Hudson, overseers of the school.[44]

A second charter was granted by Penn, in 1708, which created a radical change in the control of the school. This charter created a board of fifteen trustees with complete control over the school. They were to be self-perpetuating. They were, however, to be "discreet & religious persons of the people called Quakers."[45] A still further important theoretical change appeared in the last charter granted by Penn to the school in 1711. An old *MS* document in the school archives records a discussion by the trustees in 1709, in which doubt is expressed regarding the advisability of closing the trusteeship to non-Quakers, and Penn's new charter created "fifteen discreet & religious psons" overseers of the school, no longer requiring that these overseers be Quakers.[46] The desire, however, to continue the school under

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[41] *Col. Rec.*, I, 529–33.

[42] *Patent Book*, II, 202, Dept. of Int. Affairs, Harrisburg.

[43] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 1–28–1701.

[44] *Ibid.*, 6–31–1705.

[45] *Patent Book* A, IV, 185, Dept. Int. Affairs, Harrisburg.

[46] *Ibid.*, 280.

Quaker control is evident from such expressions as that of a committee of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, in 1772, which follows:

> That as the Public School founded by Charter in this City, was so founded at the request, cost & charges of this Monthly Meeting, & was supported and maintained before & after the obtaining of the first Charter, by the Voluntary Contributions of the Members thereof, and continued under the direction of the Meeting many years, we hope and desire it may ever be the care of the Overseers of the said School, whenever by the Decease of any of them or otherwise, any vacancy may happen, & a new nomination become necessary, to choose such Members of our Religious Society to succeed as Overseers of the School, who will be really concerned to support it on its original foundation, & continue a religious care for the education of our children, in a manner consistent with our Christian profession & principles.[47]

IV. *General Characteristics*

The William Penn Charter School, as it developed, in the colony was not a single school, but a system of schools, at the head of which was a school usually spoken of as the Latin School. When George Keith was appointed master, and for some years thereafter, it seems to have been but a one-room school.[48] In 1698, the *Minutes* refer to the "public schools"[49] and, in 1725, it would appear that there were a number of schools kept on one plot of ground,[50] if not in one building, which was erected in 1701,[51] and evidently not added to until 1736.[52]

Just as the control of the school was vested in the Quaker Meeting, so also the support devolved upon it. Subscriptions,[53] yearly rents, legacies,[54] and loans,[55] for which the Meeting held itself responsible, were the means employed to provide and equip the building and pay the teachers. Since 1711, when the control passed from the Monthly Meeting to the corporation of overseers, this latter agency has been responsible for providing support for the school and looking after all matters pertaining to it. The *Minutes* of the Monthly Meeting from this time forward have increasingly fewer references to the schools which formed the system under the overseers, until the period of the Revolution, when renewed anxiety for the education of Quaker children is evidenced by entries in the *Minutes* of the overseers and of the Monthly Meeting.[56] Here we have evidence of intense activity and anxiety for a more guarded education of Quaker youth. The income from these sources of support was supplemented by the tuition paid by the students. In 1753, the students of the Latin School paid tuition at the rate of four pounds per year.[57] In 1784, the rate in the Latin School, under Robert Proud, was "one Guinea Entrance," and "six pounds a year for each Scholar."[58]

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[47] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 4–24–1772.

[48] *Ibid.*, 5–26–1689; *Ibid.*, 1–28–1690; *Ibid.*, 11–28–1697.

[49] *Ibid.*, 2–29–1698.

[50] *Ibid.*, 3–28–1725.

[51] *Ibid.*, 2–25–1701.

[52] *Ibid.*, 4–25–1736.

[53] *Ibid.*, 9–27–1690; 11–28–1697.

[54] *Ibid.*, 12–27–1707/8; 8–30–1712.

[55] *Ibid.*, 9–28–1701.

The William Penn Charter School from the beginning was free to the poor. The agreement between the Meeting and George Keith reads in part: "The said George also promiseth to teach the poor (which are not of ability to pay) for nothing."[59] Thomas Meaking was described, in 1693, as "keeper of the ffree schoole."[60] In 1697, it is again referred to as a "free School."[61] In the charters, it is referred to as the "Publick School," where poor children are to be "freely" educated in "good literature,"[62] or elementary and higher studies, such as the "languages, arts & Sciences."[63] How many poor students actually received instruction in these more advanced studies, there is no way of determining. References to the number of free pupils in the various schools under the overseers appear from time to time in the minute books, but seldom is it stated in what type of school they were being educated. The following list of free scholars in the Friends' schools, in 1765, throws some light on this aspect of the Quaker system: Quaker, 72; Church of England, 33; Baptist, 5; Moravian, 1; Presbyterian, 8; Roman Catholic, 8.[64] In 1724, provision was made for four in the higher department[65] and, in 1738, Robert Buller was directed to teach Latin to six poor boys gratis.[66] In 1741, orders were issued to procure enough poor boys "till the whole School shall consist of Thirty Scholars."[67] This practice of admitting poor children, regardless of the denomination to which they belonged, continued. In 1835, there were thus provided for thirty-one children of Friends and ninety of other denominations[68] and, in 1839, the numbers stood at fourteen and one hundred and fifteen respectively.[69]

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[56] *E.g., Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 4–24–1772; 7–31–1778; 7–30–1779; 1–30–1784; *P. C. S. M.*, 2–5–1777; 3–29–1777; 7–9–1779; 11–25–1779. Also *Supra*, 31 *ff.*; *Infra*, 36 *f.*

[57] *Report of the Latin School for the year 1753.* [*MS.*, P. C. S. Archives]

[58] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 1–30–1784.

[59] *Ibid.*, 5–26–1689.

[60] *Col. Rec.*, I, 383.

[61] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 10–31–1697.

[62] Charter of 1701.

[63] Charters of 1708 and 1711.

[64] *P. C. S. M.*, 8–29–1765.

[65] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 2–24–1724.

[66] *P. C. S. M.*, 9–1–1738.

While the overseers were thus generous in providing for non-Quaker children, both they and the Monthly Meeting frequently expressed the gravest concern in regard to the proper training of their own children. The overseers opposed the admission of non-Quakers into John Todd's school, in 1777.[70] In 1778, the following communication, addressed to the "Quarterly Monthly and Particular Meetings among Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey," received the consideration of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting:

> We of the Committee appointed by our last Yearly Meeting Relating to the Education of youth amongst Friends believing it to be a Subject of great Importance to the well being of our Religious Society and that much Corruption hath been Introduced amongst us in the present Generation for want of more Care in that of mixing in Schools for our Children where there has not been a Regulation Consistent with our holy Profession and the Principles of Truth. As it was the Concern of our primitive Friends both of the Yearly Meeting of London and that of these Provinces to Recommend a watchful Christian Care herein, so we think it necessary tenderly and pressingly to advise our Friends Brethern and Sisters in profession, now in this Time of Calamity when Reformation is loudly called for amongst us, to be very careful of placing or sending their children to such Schools under Masters and Mistresses who do not maintain a Religious Care to Walk and Act consistent with the Profession of Friends.[71]

In the following year the Monthly Meeting asked the overseers:

> What has been done, or may be practicable toward the effectual preservation of Friends children from a corrupting connection with the children of such who in their example and conduct appear not to be influenced by the pure principles professed by us? . . . Are the children of Friends taught separate from others?[72]

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[67] *Ibid.*, 12–18–1741/2.

[68] *Ibid.*, 1–30–1835.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1–25–1839.

[70] *Ibid.*, 2–5–1777; 3–29–1777; 2–27–1777.

[71] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 7–31–1778.

[72] *P. C. S. M.*, 7–9–1779.

The overseers evidently sympathized with these efforts to guard the children of Friends, for the Meeting wrote, a few months later:

> Having conformable to the Tenor of our appointment, united in an Enquiry, into the Causes of the Evident Degeneracy and Corruption in the Manners and Deportment of many of the Youth among Us, and endeavoured to Obtain information under what Regulations they receive their School Education; in order whereto we have mett and Conferred with the Overseers of the Public School, and find in that Board a disposition to concur with the Monthly Meetings in such practicable Salutary Measures as may tend to the Religious preservation and more pious Instruction of Friends children: and that though an Opinion has prevailed that there would be a Use in admitting a Mixture in the Schools, of the children of persons of other Religious denominations; yet this on Experience being found instead of Answering the good Purposes hoped for, to have rather an Opposite Tendency; the Overseers have for some Time given their Attention to a more Select Mode of Tuition . . . that the Disposition in the Corporation to Unite with the Monthly Meetings in the Religious Care for the Essensial Good of Posterity; and in all their proceedings to Continue and maintain a Connection and Harmony with them, is clearly Consistent with the Nature and Original Foundation of their Trust.[73]

In 1798, when the question of admitting non-Quaker pupils was still being discussed, a committee of the overseers, which studied the question at that time, said that the Quaker schools were primarily for members of the society, but that it was to be wished that "the Poor of other Religious Denominations may have such share of our Care and Income, as is fully consistent with the original design and the express or general tenor of the Charter."[74]

V. *Early Secondary Department*

From the laws already referred to, the petition of the Monthly Meeting,[75] and the charters granted by Penn, it is evident that the "languages arts and sciences" were to be taught in the school system thus established. No document, however, has been preserved to show what the internal work of the school was for some years after its establishment. There is no evidence to show that Keith was expected to teach the classics,[76] nor is it clear that he taught them. Robert Proud, however, says of Keith that he "was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, a man of Learning."[77] Keith surrendered the mastership of the school in 1691 or 1692,[78] more probably in the latter year. He recommended to the Meeting that his usher, Thomas Makin, be chosen as his successor,[79] and Makin, as we have seen, was teacher of the "free school" in 1693.[80] The silence of all Quaker records regarding the school, until 1697, would seem to indicate that the school was not in operation during these years. In 1696, the Monthly Meeting authorized four special meetings each year "for the Education and Establishing of our Youth"[81] and, in 1697, the Meeting appointed "Daniel Pastorius & Thomas Makin for keeping a public school" to begin "the first of the first month next," the school to be held "in the Inner Chamber, over the Meetinghouse."[82] The whole tenor of the documents, recording the appointment of these two teachers at this time, would lead one to conclude that the school had been suspended for some years, and that it was now re-established.[83]

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[73] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 7–30–1779.

[74] *P. C. S. M.*, 6–7–1798.

[75] *Supra*, 26 *ff.*, 32.

[76] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 5–26–1689.

What was actually taught in the school under such men as Keith, Pastorius, and Makin remains, after careful investigation, largely a matter for the imagination. Keith and Pastorius were educated at the universities of Aberdeen, Scotland, and Altdorf, Germany, respectively.[84] And Thomas Makin has bequeathed to posterity a Latin poem descriptive of Philadelphia.[85] All of these men were capable of teaching at least the classics, but the first mention of Latin as a subject of the school appears in a letter of Israel Pemberton to Thomas Makin, dated "5 mo, 22, 1698." Because it throws some light on the character of this earliest of our colonial secondary schools, as well as on the curriculum and method used by Pastorius in dealing with his pupils, it is here reproduced in part:

Deare Master

Thomas Meakin Lest through mistake the abuse J Receiued at the schoole being noised abroad should be taken to be thee J made bold to write these few lines for the clearing of thee thy Jnstructions were so mild and gentle as that J never Received one blow or stripe from thy hand during my stay there tho my dullness at times might have given thee occation for if J wanted Jnformation with boldness J cold come to thee being always friendly Received but from another J always found Rough answers where J Quickly left to trouble him not finding the kindnes as from thee & Jndeed what he did for me from first to last is to be seen in that little Latin book J write at his first comeing which J have for got at schoole behind me if thou would be pleased to send it by some of the boatmen to be left at Sam^{ll} Jenings.''[86]

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[77] *Notes on the rise, design and progress of Friends Public School in Philadelphia*—in *Jonah Thompson Collection*, II, 151. H. S. P.

[78] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 3–29–1691; *Ibid.*, 6–26–1692.

[79] *Ibid.*, 3–29–1691.

[80] *Supra*, 35.

[81] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 7–5–1696.

[82] *Ibid.*, 11–28–1697.

[83] *Ibid.*, 10–31–1697; 11–28–1697.

[84] Sharpless: *Political Leaders of Pa.*, 62; Learned: *Life of Francis D. Pastorius*, 63 *ff*.

[85] Reprinted in part in Scharf and Westcott: *History of Phila.*, I, 1; Proud: *History of Pa.*, II, 371.

In a letter of Thomas Makin to Phineas Pemberton, Israel's father, dated ''28: 2 mo 1699,'' further light is thrown on the curriculum of the school at this time. Makin complains because Phineas intends to send his son to another school: ''J can not but resent it,'' he says, ''as some diminution of my Credit, since thou first comitted him to my Paedagogie, now to putt him to another, who J suppose will sett him to learn all Arithmetick de novo, so that a considerable time must needs be taken up in going over that w^{ch} J suppose he well understands alreadie. Jf thou may think o$^{'r}$ School is too throug. that he may be promoted so well as elsewhere, be assured that J have not Jmploy half enough for Arithmetick, which Ff: D:P: never undertakes. He began to understand y^{e} Rules of Practice (y^{e} only Rules for business) before he was taken away last sumer, w^{ch} J would undertake to make him thoroughly capable of as soon as another.''[87]

There were thus two departments in this school, one in charge of Pastorius, who taught Latin; the other under Makin which specialized in arithmetic as a preparation for business. The students, however, as in the case of Israel Pemberton, probably studied under both masters, the Quaker regard for a practical education being duly observed. The two departments were evidently entirely separate, for, otherwise, Makin could not invite young Pemberton to return on the grounds that Pastorius never undertook to teach arithmetic, which implies that there was no occasion for students in arithmetic to come into contact with him.

Whether this earlier Latin department was continued for the years immediately following is not clear. Pastorius had left the school before the beginning of 1700,[88] and the school was turned over to John Cadwallader and Thomas Makin.[89] In 1706, these teachers represented to the Meeting that the school did not afford "a competent livelyhood."[90] At the same time the Meeting expressed the opinion that there was "want of a man well qualified for keeping a school," and instructed Isaac Norris, who was leaving for England, to find a suitable teacher there.[91] There is no record that he found one, and the next master, who had a lengthy tenure, was William Robins, who came in 1711,[92] and left in 1719.[93] It is only probable that the school maintained its classical character during these years. An entry for 1712 reads:

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[86] From original in *Etting Papers, Pemberton MSS.*, I, 76, in H. S. P. For complete letter and account of Pastorius' cruelty see Learned: *Op. cit.*, 46, 178.

[87] *Etting Papers, Pemberton MSS.* I, 83, in H. S. P.

> Tis ordered that an Enquiry be made into the State of the School now Kept by William Robins, what Number of Scholars are in it, what they are taught, & what the Profits from it are, & whereas there is lately arrived here a young Man well Qualified for teaching the Languages, & other parts of Learning, who comes particularly Recommended by the Proprietor, and is Inclinable to that Employment, Tis ordered that he also be Discoursed, Concerning his Coming into ye s^{d} School in case there be found Occasion for him.[94]

The result of the inquiry has not been recorded. Nor is it clear that Robins was given an assistant. For 1714, we find the following entry which would seem to indicate that the organization of the school had changed since the time of Pastorius: "The request of Thomas Makin in relation to teaching a School in the other end of the Schoolhouse being further considered, friends think it will not be convenient to have two boys Schools so near one another."[95] The school was, probably, at this time a one-room school, over which one teacher had exclusive control, for the following record, of 1719, would seem to support this view: "Upon the removal of William Robins late Schoolmaster out of this Province, the School being now vacant and no master presenting here, It is judged necessary that to supply the Place, Endeavours be used to procure a proper Person from Brittain or Ireland."[96] The practice of applying to Friends in England, and importing teachers was frequently resorted to.[97]

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[88] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 1–29–1700.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Ibid.*, 1–29–1706.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] *Ibid.*, 5–27–1711.

[93] *P. C. S. M.*, 1–22–1719/20; see also Woody; *Quaker Ed. in Pa.*, 56.

[94] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–8–1712.

[95] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 1–26–1714.

[96] *P. C. S. M.*, 1–22–1719/20.

[97] *Ibid.*, 3–29–1735; *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 6–6–1748.

This earlier period of The William Penn Charter School was one of slow growth. The students were probably always few in number. The teachers seldom remained for any length of time,[98] and the organization of the school, with its one room and one teacher of all subjects, was not a guarantee of excellent scholarship. The high praise bestowed upon the classical department by Thomas Makin, in 1729, was probably more poetry than truth:

> Here schools for learning, and for arts, are seen;
> In which to many I've a teacher been:
> But one, in teaching, doth the rest excell,
> To know and speak the Greek and Latin well.[99]

Makin, although not the most scholarly of the earlier teachers, seems to have been the most picturesque. A few years after he praised Pennsylvania in Latin verse, appeared the following newspaper announcement of the pathetic end of a useful, though evidently not a well-rewarded, life:

> On Monday Evening last, Mr. Thomas Meakins fell of a wharff into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again, was drowned. He was an ancient Man, and formerly liv'd very well in this City, teaching a considerable School; but of late years was reduc'd to extream Poverty. The following Lines were made by himself some time since:
>
> Some purchase Land, some stately Buildings raise,
> To memorize their Names to future Days;
> But I've a lasting Monument will stand,
> When Building's fall, and Sales are made of Land:
> A certain Rock of Skuylkill's eastern Side,
> Which bears my Name, for Ages will abide;
> This Rock, well-known, which Angler's do frequent
> When I am gone, will be my monument.[100]

VI. *Later Developments*

Of the nature of the school from the seventeen-forties on we have much more definite knowledge. The Latin School appears as an almost distinctly classical institution. English was required as a subject in the rules of 1753, but its mastery was to be attained through a study of the classics. Through exercises in Latin the student's taste for English literature was expected to develop. The overseers in this year stipulated:

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[98] Woody: *Op. cit.*, 56–7.

[99] Translated from his *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae* by Proud: *History of Pa.*, II, 371.

[100] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 29, 1735, 5.

> That the foremost of the Latin boys be required to give in writing the most elegant Translation or Versions into English of the Latin authors they have read whether prose or verse, that their capacities will allow, to be fairly transcribed and kept as copy books: by this practice they'll more strongly impress on their memories the language and subjects they are reading, improve their handwriting, stile & spelling, learn readily to write their native language with elegance, Invite them to read history in English, give them a relish for the best English authors, whether serious or entertaining, and induce them to an imitation of their stile and sentiments when they come to be exercised in composing English themes, or upon any Occasion in Publick or Private life.[101]

Yet, in spite of rules, English seems to have been much neglected, and the school remained for many years almost exclusively classical. In the *Minutes* of the overseers it was always spoken of as the Latin School. Rules were drawn up for "the scholars in the Latin School," in 1748.[102] Robert Willan was appointed master of "the Latin School," in 1749.[103] A new "master for the Latin School" was sought, in 1760,[104] and John Wilson, in 1769, tendered his resignation as tutor in the Latin School for the reasons he assigns in the following letter to the overseers:

> The employing so large a part of your funds upon the Latin School and the indiscriminate receiving into it all Sorts of Boys without regard to Capacity or Behaviour, appears to me a Measure extremely imprudent & such as has made me strongly doubtful whether I am not a party in a glaring misappropriation of Money devoted to charitable uses.
>
> You use Care & Caution in admitting poor children to learn English which ought to be taught to all, but little or none in admitting Latin scholars which is a Science that none ought to learn but Boys of Capacity . . . I shall not altogether censure an application to the Languages in such Boys as have either extraordinary Capacities or whose Calling in Life may more particular require it, or such as being intended for no Calling may saunter away their Time in a School with less injury than anywhere else, those might employ one Master, sometimes furnish us with Doctors & Lawyers, Criticks & Commentators, fathom

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[101] *P. C. S. M.*, 4–26–1753.

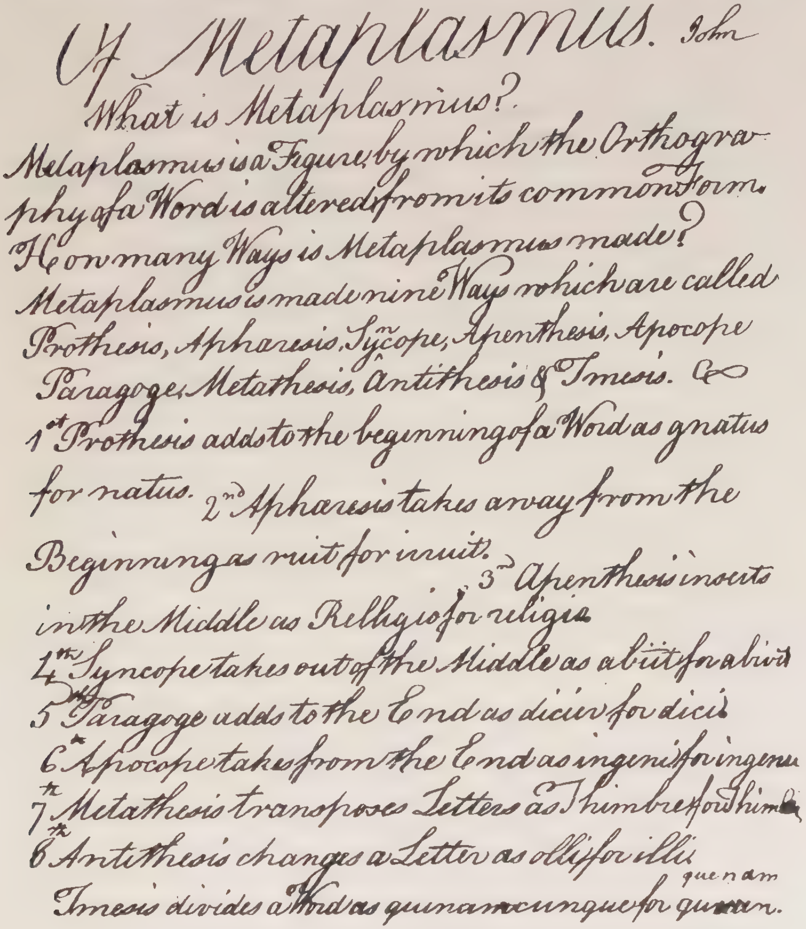
[102] *MS.* in P. C. S. Archives.

[103] *P. C. S. M.*, 1–30–1749.

[104] *Ibid.*, 1–31–1760.

all the depths of ancient Folly & pore on musty Manuscripts & defaced Inscriptions, till they spoil both Eyes and Understanding.

But the generality of our Youth have no great relish for such learned Trifles, but all are intended by the wise Author of Nature to act a part in social Life & generally alloted by their



Of Metaplasmus. John
What is Metaplasmus?
Metaplasmus is a Figure, by which the Orthogra-
phy of a Word is altered from its common Form.
How many Ways is Metaplasmus made?
Metaplasmus is made nine Ways which are called
Prothesis, Aphaeresis, Sỹcope, Apenthesis, Apocope
Paragoge, Metathesis, Antithesis & Tmesis.
1st Prothesis adds to the beginning of a Word as gnatus
for natus. 2nd Aphaeresis takes away from the
Beginning as ruit for iruit. 3rd Apenthesis inserts
in the Middle as Relligio for religio
4th Syncope takes out of the Middle as abiit for abivit
5th Paragoge adds to the End as dicier for dici
6th Apocope takes from the End as ingeni for ingenu
7th Metathesis transposes Letters as Thimbre for thimb[illegible]
8th Antithesis changes a Letter as olli for illi
quenam
Tmesis divides a Word as quinamcunque for qu[illegible]n.

(*Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*)

Extract from a Colonial Latin Exercise Book of a Student in The William Penn Charter School, from the Original in the Norris of Fairhill Collection in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Parents for Mercantile or Mechanick Employments, the puzzling Youth indiscriminately with uncouth Terms and intricate distinctions of dead Languages of little importance in their use &

essentially different from their native Tongues, is the grossest absurdity that ever was practiced & has contributed more to promote Ignorance Lewdness & Profanity in our Youth than anything I know besides.[105]

Side by side with this Latin School, but distinct from it and under a different master, stood a boys' school sometimes called "the English School,"[106] in which a variety of subjects of practical value were taught. In 1742, Anthony Benezet was employed,[107] to teach "Writing, Arithmetick, Acco^ts^ & the French Language."[108] The overseers, evidently, requested him to teach German and mensuration, for in a letter to Israel Pemberton, who interviewed him for the overseers,[109] Benezet says he would teach the German language "so far as that the learner might read, and perfectly understand the bible, and talk it so as to be inabled to buy, sell & talk of common things, but i would not undertake to teach anyone, the whole variation of the nouns, and irregular verbs."[110] And he continues: "i also have some knowledge of mensuration viz in measuring timber, brick work, Land, & gaging, but i will not engage to teach anything but what i seem assured i can bring to perfection."[111] This school was the "English School" of 1753, and Benezet was still its master.[112] He was probably teaching "to perfection" all of the subjects he had learned. At the close of the colonial period, John Todd and Joseph Yerkes were masters of schools teaching, among more elementary subjects, some branches of the mathematics.[113] It is also noteworthy that, from 1700 until 1777, there is no evidence that the Latin School students attended the English School. In the latter year the overseers arranged for such an interchange.[114] The Latin School students seem to have received all their instruction in the Latin School.

Attempts to combine the classics and mathematics in the Latin School always proved disappointing. The reasons seem to have been that, in the first place, it was difficult to find masters equally qualified to teach in both fields and, in the second place, that neither overseers nor teachers in the school were yet ready to give to the mathematics the same attention given to the classics, with the result that students went elsewhere for instruction in the former branches. The greater importance attached by the overseers to the work of the Latin School is evident from the salaries paid to the masters. The master of the Latin School, in 1751, had £150 per year, while the master of the English School had only £50—£10 less than the usher in the Latin School received.[115] In 1760, the overseers asked the Latin master to instruct his pupils in "Writing, Arithmetick & some Branches of the Mathematicks at certain stated Times,"[116] but a few months later the master married and decided "to follow merchandize."[117] The overseers consequently wrote to Friends in England to engage "a Person of our Religious Society qualified to teach the Latin & Greek Languages, some Branches of the Mathematics, & if he would undertake to teach Writing, Arithmetick, and the French Tongue it would be much more agreeable to us."[118] In 1770, John Thompson came from England as master of the school. He was engaged to teach Latin, Greek and mathematics.[119] The quality or quantity of instruction in the mathematics evidently did not satisfy the overseers, for, in 1772, they again discussed the subject with the Latin master.[120] John Wilson's condemnation of the Latin School, in 1769,[121] may have influenced the overseers. When Robert Proud returned as master of the school after an absence of ten years, he found the "Grammar & Mathematical School" occupying one room, and suggested that they be separated. In 1786, mathematics had again been eliminated from the program of the Latin School, and Proud reported that "every Thing in that Line, which used to be attended to in the Latin School, is now so far discontinued as not to be taught there."[122]

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[105] Letter to the overseers, 12–28–1769. *MS.* in P. C. S. Archives.

[106] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–27–1753.

[107] *Ibid.*, 11–31–1742.

[108] *Ibid.*, 11–27–1742.

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] From letter dated 11–24–1742. *MS.* in P. C. S. Archives.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–27–1753.

[113] *Ibid.*, 2–27–1777; *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 7–30–1779.

[114] *P. C. S. M.*, 5–?–1777.

VII. *Organization*

The writer, after a careful search, has not found a single document to show the age at which the students generally entered

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[115] *Ibid.*, 1–29–1750.

[116] *Ibid.*, 1–24–1760.

[117] *Ibid.*, 2–5–1760.

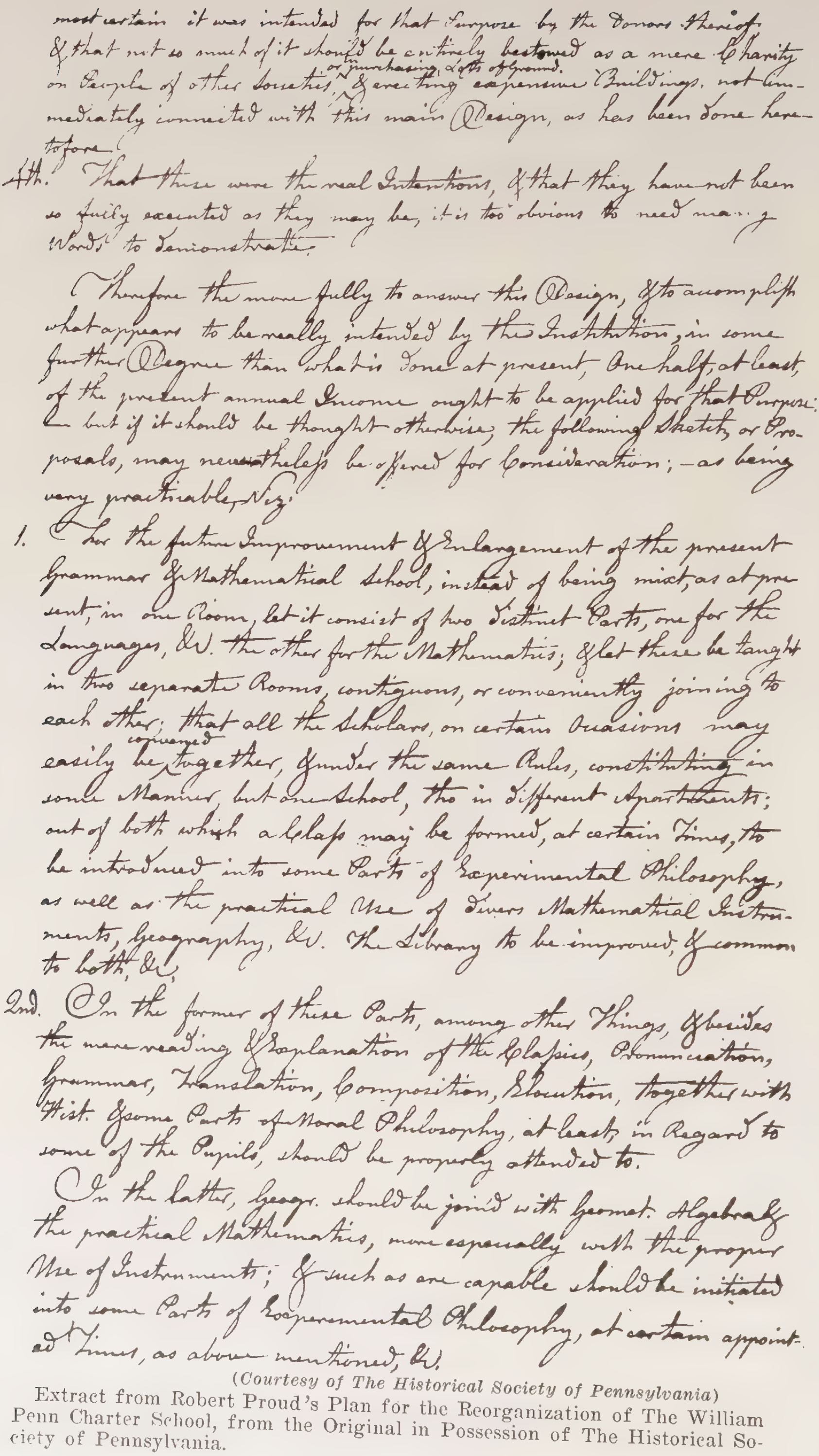
[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Ibid.*, 11–29–1770.

[120] *Ibid.*, 5–28–1772.

[121] *Supra*, 42 *ff.*

[122] Letter to the overseers—*Proud MSS.*, Box 2, H. S. P.



most certain it was intended for that Purpose by the Donors thereof; & that not so much of it should be entirely bestowed as a mere Charity on People of other Societies, or purchasing Lots of ground, & erecting expensive Buildings, not immediately connected with this main Design, as has been done heretofore.

4th. That these were the real Intentions, & that they have not been so fully executed as they may be, it is too obvious to need many Words to demonstrate.

Therefore the more fully to answer this Design, & to accompliſh what appears to be really intended by the Institution, in some further Degree than what is done at present, One half, at least, of the present annual Income ought to be applied for that Purpose: — but if it should be thought otherwise, the following Sketch, or Proposals, may nevertheleſs be offered for Consideration; — as being very practicable, Viz:

1. For the future Improvement & Enlargement of the present Grammar & Mathematical School, instead of being mixt, as at present, in one Room, let it consist of two distinct Parts, one for the Languages, &c. the other for the Mathematics; & let these be taught in two separate Rooms, contiguous, or conveniently joining to each other; that all the Scholars, on certain Occasions may easily be conveened together, & under the same Rules, constituting in some Manner, but one School, tho in different Apartments; out of both which a Claſs may be formed, at certain Times, to be introduced into some Parts of Experimental Philosophy, as well as the practical Use of divers Mathematical Instruments, Geography, &c. The Library to be improved, & common to both, &c.

2nd. In the former of these Parts, among other Things, & besides the mere reading & Explanation of the Claſsics, Pronunciation, Grammar, Translation, Composition, Elocution, together with Hist. & some Parts of Moral Philosophy, at least, in Regard to some of the Pupils, should be properly attended to.

In the latter, Geogr. should be join'd with Geomet. Algebra & the practical Mathematics, more especially with the proper Use of Instruments; & such as are capable should be initiated into some Parts of Experimental Philosophy, at certain appointed Times, as above mentioned, &c.

(*Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*)

Extract from Robert Proud's Plan for the Reorganization of The William Penn Charter School, from the Original in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

this school. They entered probably when very young and without much training even in the elements of English. Parents sometimes employed private tutors to prepare their sons for the Latin School. Phineas Pemberton's early education is described by his father. This youth was born, his father states, in February 1753: "Before he fully attained the seventh year of his age I placed him under the instruction of Robert Proud who had lately arrived from London well recommended and undertook to teach a few boys in the Latin & Greek Languages, Arithmetic etc."[123] Phineas entered the school when Proud became master in 1761. He was then about eight years of age.[124] This was probably a common procedure. In the school the students were probably grouped, throughout the greater part of the period, in classes according to their attainments in the classics. In 1755, there were six classes and, in 1759, five classes, with the students distributed as follows:

1755

Classes	Students
1	1
2	6
3	1
4	10
5	7
6	2

1759

Classes	Students
1	4
2	2
3	7
4	7
5	6[125]

The student enrollment was probably always low. Proud tells us that, in 1761, he "Undertook the Pub. Lat. School & continued till 9 m 1st 1770, when I resigned, being abt nine years in which Space of Time I had 109 Scholars."[126] The figures cited above show students to have numbered twenty-seven, in 1755, and twenty-six in 1759. In 1757, the number rose at one time to thirty-five.[127] The number in the Latin School at any time before the Revolution does not seem to have risen above forty. The enrollment was designedly limited by the overseers. John Thompson, who became master of the school, in 1770, agreed not to admit any more than twenty-four unless he employed an usher to assist

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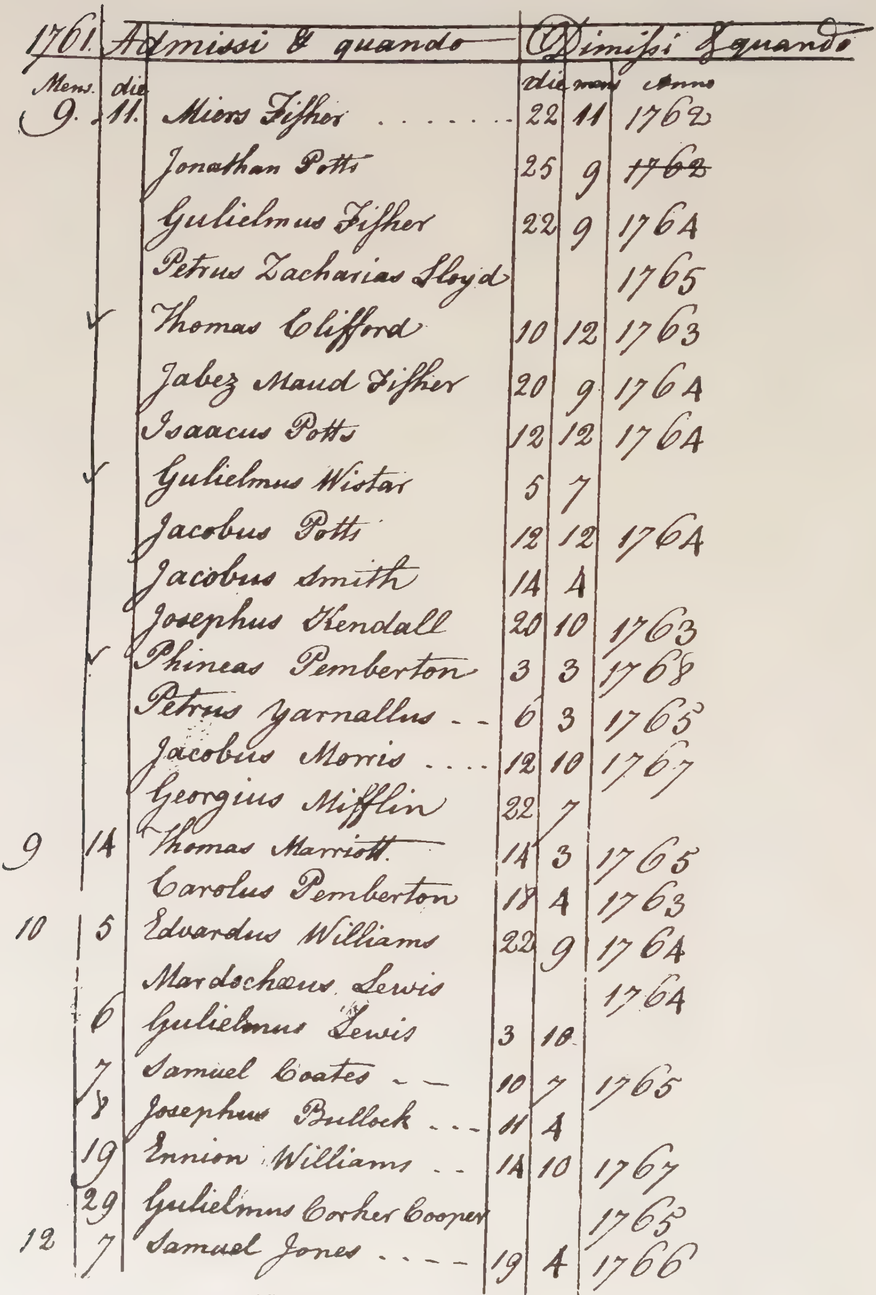
[123] *A Short Account of my beloved son Phineas my first born.* [*Pemberton MSS.*, XXXII, 84. H. S. P.]

[124] See *Catalogus Discipulorum Roberti Proudi, Infra,* 48.

[125] *MS.* lists of scholars in the Latin School. P. C. S. Archives.

[126] *Catalogus Discipulorum Roberti Proudi,* 4.

[127] *P. S. C. M.*, 12–29–1757.



1761.	Admissi & quando		Dimissi & quando		
Mens.	die		die	mens	Anno
9.	11.	Miers Fisher	22	11	1762
		Jonathan Potts	25	9	~~1762~~
		Gulielmus Fisher	22	9	1764
		Petrus Zacharias Lloyd			1765
	✓	Thomas Clifford	10	12	1763
		Jabez Maud Fisher	20	9	1764
		Isaacus Potts	12	12	1764
	✓	Gulielmus Wistar	5	7	
		Jacobus Potts	12	12	1764
		Jacobus Smith	14	4	
		Josephus Kendall	20	10	1763
	✓	Phineas Pemberton	3	3	1768
		Petrus Yarnallus	6	3	1765
		Jacobus Morris	12	10	1767
		Georgius Mifflin	22	7	
9	14	Thomas Marriott.	14	3	1765
		Carolus Pemberton	18	4	1763
10	5	Edvardus Williams	22	9	1764
		Mardochæus Lewis			1764
	6	Gulielmus Lewis	3	10	
	7	Samuel Coates	10	7	1765
	8	Josephus Bullock	11	4	
	19	Ennion Williams	14	10	1767
	29	Gulielmus Corker Cooper			1765
12	7	Samuel Jones	19	4	1766

(*Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*)

Record of the Dates when Students Entered and Left The William Penn Charter School, Taken from the *Catalogus Discipulorum* of Robert Proud, in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

him.[128] Evidently the number soon exceeded twenty-four, for, in 1771, James Dickinson was appointed usher “to instruct such of the children as John Thompson may from time to time direct either in the learning Latin or some Branches of the Mathematics.[129] In the English or Mathematical School the master was likewise required to limit the number of students admitted. George Smith was employed, in 1777, “to teach writing, arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, and the most useful branches of the mathematics, any number not exceeding thirty scholars at one time.”[130] The overseers obviously did not consider large groups conducive to good results. By 1778, the number of students in the English or Mathematical School had so increased that the overseers required the masters to limit enrollment to fifty in each division.[131] The students differed widely in age and probably in attainments. Some, as we have seen, entered while yet very young. One, Charles Sumption, in 1764, was admitted at the age of twenty-five years into one of the Friends' free schools.[132] This was probably an exceptional case, but it is evident from it that the overseeers had established no definite age requirements for students. In the Latin School some of the students remained as long as seven years, as is evident from Proud's *Catalogus Discipulorum.* Those in the English or Mathematical School probably remained a shorter period.

VIII. *Teachers and Teacher Training*

Abundant evidence exists to show the concern of the overseers in the matter of teacher qualifications. The three requirements demanded in the teacher were (a) membership in the Society of Friends, (b) mastery of the subjects which he was to teach, and (c) ability in teaching. In 1746, the overseers appointed a committee “to write some Friends in England to engage a Person of Reputation among Friends (skilled in the Latin & Greek Languages & capable of teaching the same) to come over & keep our school here.”[133] In 1760, they wrote for “a Person of our Religious Society” having similar teaching qualifications.[134] Moreover, the overseers undertook to train their own teachers. Samuel Eldridge, in 1756, entered the service of the overseers as a teacher's apprentice, to be instructed in "the Latin and Greek Languages, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts and some branches of the Mathematics."[135] Eldridge's indenture:

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[128] *Ibid.*, 11–29–1770.

[129] *Ibid.*, 1–9–1771.

[130] *Ibid.*, 5–?–1777.

[131] *Ibid.*, 1–29–1778.

[132] *Ibid.*, 6–28–1764.

[133] *Ibid.*, 12–26–1746.

[134] *Ibid.*, 1–31–1760.

> Witnesseth, That Samuel Eldridge son of Obediah Eldridge of the City of Philadelphia Hath put himself, by these Presents, by & with the consent of his said Father, doth voluntarily, and of his free Will and accord, put himself apprentice to the overseers of the Publick School, founded by Charter in the Town & County of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania to learn the Art, Trade and Mystery of a School Master after the manner of an Apprentice . . . for, and during, and unto the full End and Term of four years & five Months next ensuing. During all this Term the said Apprentice his said Masters faithfully shall serve, their Secrets keep, their lawful commands everywhere readily obey. He shall do no damage to his said Masters nor see it to be done by others . . . He shall not contract matrimony within the said Term. At Cards, dice, or any other unlawful Game, he shall not play, whereby the said Masters may have Damage . . . He shall not absent himself Day or Night from his said Masters' Service without their Leave; nor haunt Ale houses, Taverns, or Playhouses.[136]

A similar agreement was entered into with another youth at about the same time.[137] In 1761, James Dickinson was similarly indentured.[138]

So careful were the overseers in selecting masters of the Latin School, that they usually employed them on trial. In 1738, Alexander Buller was engaged to teach "Writing, the Mathematicks etc . . . on trial of his Abilities & Conduct."[139] When employing teachers through Friends in England, they also made clear that the master must come on "Tryal," and if he "should not give satisfaction therein to members of the corporation,"[140] he might consider his services at an end.

The ushers spoken of frequently in the records of the school acted as assistants to the masters. They were employed all through the colonial period. Thomas Makin was the first usher. He entered with Keith, in 1689.[141] Samuel Eldridge was appointed to serve "as an Usher or Assistant as he may be capable of."[142] The distinction must be left to the imagination of the reader. James Dickinson, who was indentured to the overseers, in 1761, was appointed usher on a three-month-trial basis in 1771.[143] The Latin School had usually not more than one usher, but sometimes it had two. David Glading, in 1751, was spoken of as "the second Usher in the Latin School."[144] Some ushers seem to have worked for "Boarding & Cloathing,"[145] evidently receiving no further compensation. In 1751, the usher was paid sixty pounds,[146] and, in 1762, eighty pounds per year.[147] There is no mention of an usher being employed in any other than the Latin School prior to the Revolution.

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[135] *Ibid.*, 3–6–1756.

[136] *Indenture of Samuel Eldridge.* P. C. S. Archives.

[137] *P. C. S. M.*, 10–1–1756.

[138] *Indenture.* P. C. S. Archives.

[139] *P. C. S. M.*, 9–1–1738.

[140] *Ibid.*, 12–26–1746.

[141] *Supra*, 31.

Enough has already been said about the qualifications demanded in the masters.[148] Of the later masters of the Latin School, Robert Proud was by far the most notable. Prior to the Revolution, he was master from 1761 until 1770.[149] He returned as master of the school in 1780, remaining until 1790.[150] One writer, who, if not a contemporary himself, refers to the testimony of Proud's contemporaries and students, says of him: "He took great delight in the languages—was well acquainted with the Latin & Greek, & had also a considerable knowledge of French & Hebrew. With the Latin he was so familiar that he thought he could understand a subject better in that language than in his own."[151] Proud, however, is best known as the author of a *History of Pennsylvania,* a decidedly meritorious work.

The Latin master and his school were the chief objects of care to the overseers. The master was paid a good salary. Willan received £150 per year, in 1750,[152] and Proud £200 per year in 1762.[153] While the annual reports of the masters refer to the "profits" of the school,[154] the tuition paid by the students amounted only to a little more than half of the master's salary.[155] The "profits" were shown by including in the income of the school the salaries of the masters, which were paid out of the treasury of the overseers.

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[142] *P. C. S. M.*, 3–6–1756.

[143] *P. C. S. M.*, 1–9–1771.

[144] *Ibid.*, 3–30–1751.

[145] *Ibid.*, 1–29–1750.

[146] *Ibid.*, 1–28–1751.

[147] *Ibid.*, 12–30–1762.

[148] *Supra*, 49.

[149] Proud: *Catalogus Discipulorum*, 4.

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] Thomson: *Notices of the Life and Character of Robert Proud*, 1826. *MS.* in H. S. P.

[152] *Supra*, 45.

[153] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–30–1762.

[154] *E.g., Ibid.*, 8–29–1754.

[155] *Ibid.*, 12–30–1762.

IX. *Supervision and Rules*

That the overseers took a greater interest in the Latin School than in any other in the system, is evident from the frequency with which rules were drawn up for the conduct of the school and its students, and from the fact that it was sometimes the only school visited by committees of the overseers, whose duty it was to look into the work of the various schools.[156] Supervision was undertaken as early as 1698,[157] and was regularly continued. The visiting supervisors were chiefly interested in the evidences of religious and moral improvement of the students. They inquired about the value of the rules in force for the school, and how well they were being observed.[158] They recommended that the overseers admonish the master to have his students read the Bible frequently;[159] they themselves admonished the students regarding their conduct "both in and out of school and in our Religious Meetings;"[160] and they would compel the masters "to bring the Scholars with them to Meeting and sit with them there to engage their orderly behaviour."[161] Visitors, regularly appointed, were fined by the overseers for neglecting their duty of visitation.[162] After 1755, it was required that they visit all of the schools once each month,[163] although they sometimes did not visit any but the Latin School.[164] Before this year visitations were made quarterly.[165]

While the rules, drawn up by the overseers, sometimes dictated the methods of teaching to be employed,[166] they usually had to do with regulating the personal conduct and life of the students. The following are typical:

> Rules to be observed by the Scholars in the Latin School Vitz.
>
> That they carefully observe to be at the School at the times appointed.
>
> That no Boy shall presume to absent himself from the school without producing a note from one of his Parents, signifying the Cause of his Absence.

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[156] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, 8–30–1759.

[157] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 4–21–1698.

[158] *Ibid.*

[159] *Ibid.*, 3–30–1751.

[160] *Ibid.*, 2–21–1771.

[161] *Ibid.*, 2–22–1776.

[162] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–25–1755.

[163] *Ibid.*, 10–2–1755.

[164] *Ibid.*, 8–30–1759.

[165] *Ibid.*, 11–25–1749.

[166] *Ibid.*, 4–26–1755.

That strict obedience shall be paid to the Monitors in the discharge of their office, and that none shall take the liberty of entering into any disputes with them, but if any Boy conceives Himself agriev'd he shall make his complaint to the Master.

That in coming to School and returning home every one shall behave with Decency and Sobriety, without giving the least cause of Offence to any.

That in all their Conversation they shall use the Plain Language, of the singular number to one Person, and shall be careful never to utter any rude or uncivil Expression, nor to call their Schoolmates or others by any Nickname or Term of Reproach.

That in their hours of Leisure, they shall avoid ranting Games and Diversions and every occasion of Quarelling with each other.

That none shall at any time play or keep Company with the rude Boys of the Town, but shall Converse, as much as they can, with their own Schoolfellows, and shall live in Harmony & Friendship together.

That no Boy of this School shall be allowed to go into the Back yard during the school time, unless he be sent on an errand by the Master.

That they all shall come to School, on y^e^ fifth day mornings, prepar'd to go to Meeting.

Read & approved at a Meeting of the Overseers of the Public School.

Sign'd on their behalf
29/10/1748. Isrl Pemberton Jun^r^ Clerk.[167]

That such rules were not allowed to become inoperative is evident from various inquiries regarding their observance,[168] and from the facts that masters were admonished to enforce them, and that a committee of the overseers would assist in their enforcement.[169] Students were required to be in school at "seven o'clock in the morning till the beginning of the eighth month,"[170] and the masters were advised "to be in the schoolhouse as much as they can conveniently before the school hours, by which means an orderly behaviour will become familiar and in time habitual to their scholars."[171] There is no mention anywhere, in the earlier documents, of the hour when the students were dismissed for the day,[172] but they probably were kept in school until late in the afternoon. In addition to the work of a long school day, the overseers thought it would be "advantageous" to the students "to have some Lesson or Version assign'd every night to be ready every morning upon their first appearing in school."[173] The reason advanced for this home work was that it "may probably conduce to wean them from so eager a desire for unprofitable amusements."[174]

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[167] *Ibid.*, 4–26–1753.

[168] *Supra*, 52.

[169] *Ibid.*

[170] *P. C. S. M.*, 3–30–1751.

[171] *Ibid.*, 4–26–1753.

[172] For practice in 1795, see *Infra*, 352 *f.*

Yet in spite of the rigor of the law the Latin School boys indulged in many pranks. We are told that once they bored a hole through the ceiling, and with a pin-hook, suspended on a cord, carried aloft, from the head of Robert Proud, the wig which he continued to wear long after such head decorations had gone out of use. On another occasion they are said to have taken apart a farmer's wagon, and carried it in pieces to the top of a chimney stack, in process of construction, where they rebuilt it, to the consternation, if not amusement, of the onlookers.[175] Evidently purely intellectual activity was not sufficient nourishment for the whole nature of a colonial Quaker boy.

X. *Student Activities*

When the school building of 1744 was planned, one room was designed for a library.[176] The first contribution to it was one hundred and ninety-five "Books and Writings of our Ancient Friends," a gift of "Friend Peter Collinson of London."[177] This library may have developed into that of the Monthly Meeting, of which John Todd was appointed custodian in 1765.[178] The books were probably readily available to the students of all the schools. The Latin School, however, had its own library, in 1752, as the following document evidences:

A List of books delivered to Rob^t^ Willan for the use of the Latin School 8th 11 mo 1752

Prideau Connection
Rycauts History of Turks
Dupens Universal Library
Pustendorf's Introduction
Memoirs of Marlborough's Life
Randaller Geog
Varenius's Geog
Ditto Latin
Watts Logic
Caves Primitive Christianity
Seneca's Morals
Tatlers

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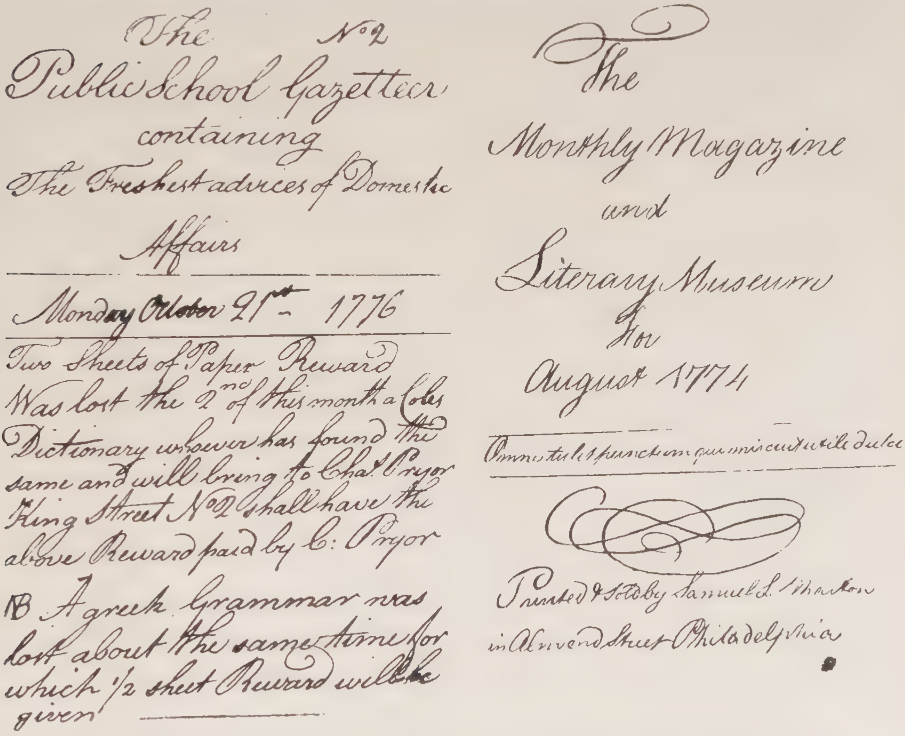
[173] *P. C. S. M.*, 2–26–1755.
[174] *Ibid.*
[175] Watson: *Annals*, I, 282.
[176] *P. C. S. M.*, 8–27–1749.
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 10–25–1765.

Prideaux Life of Mahomet
Laws Serious Call
Christian Perfection
Penn's no Cross no Crown
Cyropedia
Brwals History of the House of Nassau[179]

Additions were made to "the Library" of the Latin School from time to time.[180] There is no evidence that the "English School" had any special library, but lists of the books used in the school have been preserved.[181] To what extent the books in the library of the Latin School were accessible to the students, we cannot say. Nowhere in the records that have been preserved is there any reference to their use by the students. It may be that the library was for the exclusive use of the master and his ushers.



The No 2
Public School Gazetteer
containing
The Freshest advices of Domestic
Affairs

Monday October 21st 1776

Two Sheets of Paper Reward
Was lost the 2nd of this month a Coles
Dictionary whoever has found the
same and will bring to Chas Pryor
King Street No 2 shall have the
above Reward paid by C: Pryor
NB A greek Grammar was
lost about the same time for
which 1/2 sheet Reward will be
given

The
Monthly Magazine
and
Literary Museum
For
August 1774

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci

Printed & sold by Samuel S. Wharton
in Almond Street Philadelphia

(*Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*)

Title Pages of Journals of Students of the William Penn Charter School, from Originals in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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[179] From *MS.* document in P. C. S. Archives.

[180] *E.g.*, *P. C. S. M.*, 6–24–1756.

[181] *E.g.*, List for 1764, in P. C. S. Archives; *Infra*, 125.

Of the spontaneous activity of the students in the field of journalism, very definite evidence has been preserved. The first attempt resulted in the appearance of *The Monthly Magazine and Literary Museum,* the first issue of which appeared in August, 1774, and the last in December of the same year. It is in manuscript, and carries the motto *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.*[182] In imitation of the newspapers of the day, the title-page carried the note "Printed & sold by Samuel S. Wharton in Almond Street Philadelphia." Brief articles on such subjects as "The Spider," "the ant," "wing of a Gnat," and "a Coward" appeared in the first issue.[183] The next efforts produced *The Public School Gazetteer,* in October, 1776, and the *Public School Intelligencer* in December of the same year.[184] The *Intelligencer* appeared when the *Gazetteer* failed, and the editors of the new adventure proclaimed in their announcement: "Many attempts have lately been made to carry on a periodical Publication in the School which have made a Noise for some time, but most of them have presently fell through and disappeared like the sudden Blaze of a Meteor notwithstanding the boasting Promises and pompous Declarations of their publishers."[185] This latest meteor evidently did not shine long, for this is the only issue preserved. Two others appeared, in 1777, *The Students Gazette,*[186] and *The Weekly Intelligencer,*[187] both short-lived like their predecessors. The journals are all in manuscript and usually carry mottoes in Latin. *The Public School Intelligencer* proclaimed its ideal in the words *Litterae Hominum ornamenta sunt et Solatia.*[188] *The Students Gazette* proclaimed its pragmatic philosophy in the words *Communi utilitate consulere debemus.*[189] The editor of this last-named journal began early to strive to attain his ideal, for in the first issue we read: "On Thursday last in the Afternoon the Honble John Thompson Esq^{r} dismissed the School long before the usual Time this (we hope) is but a Prelude to the Restoration of our just Right." He evidently felt that there were other grievances in the colony than those that led to the Revolution. The principles for which the Revolutionary War was fought were beginning to have a significance even for the school. Youths began to be conscious of their "just Right," and were asserting it. With Wordsworth they evidently felt: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven."[190] Had the teachers not interfered, the boys evidently were on the point of creating a system of student government. They established a court of which the following record has been preserved:

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[182] He has carried every point who has mingled the useful with the enjoyable.

[183] Norris of Fairhill *MSS.* H. S. P.

[184] *Ibid.*

[185] *Ibid.*

[186] *Ibid.*

[187] *Ibid.*

[188] Letters are the adornments and consolations of men.

[189] We ought to be solicitous for that which is generally useful.

Proceedings of the Court

May 27 1777	At an election duly held by the Freeholders of the Latin School Mr. Geo. Foster and Richard Parker were chosen Judges by the Unanimous Consent of Votes
The court met the first time	This afternoon at five O clock the Court met. The first Indictment read was Jones ver Pryor. The Noise was great that it was impossible to hear either Plaintiff, or Defend^{t}; Evidences or Judge speak, or even oneself; indeed twoud have puzzled a Divine to have distinguished the Judge from Prisoners . . . When Geo^{r} Th-p-n hearing the uncommon Noise we made . . . commanded us to disperse immediately (despising our Authority) on pain of Punishment, no sooner said than done we retired wth the utmost Precipitation & Confusion
The flight of the Judge	The chief Judge made his Escape through a two foot Hole in the back part of the Court House with the agility of a Lamp Lighter & disappeared in a twinkling (dire disgrace) thus adjourned this august Assembly
	The same afternoon an agreement was signed for the support of the courts.
May 30.	There were several Trials this Day & I was much pleased to see they were convicted with greater decorum than the first, the principal suit was brot by Pryor ver Norris for abuse, he pleaded not guilty, evidences were produced who gave in their testimony upon Honour (Affirmation being rejected) administered by the Judge; who gave a charge to the Jury (4 Boys) and they went out; returning in a few minutes brot in their verdict not guilty.[191]

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[190] *The Excursion.*

[191] Latonia. [in *Public School Gazetteer*]. Norris of Fairhill *MSS.* H. S. P.

There is no evidence that this form of activity continued long. All attempts at independent or unrestrained expression in the students were probably frowned upon by teachers and overseers. Scientific and literary societies, however, began to appear early. In 1781, a group of students petitioned the overseers for the use of a room. Their communication was written both in English and Latin. The purpose of their society, they stated, was to promote useful knowledge, and therefore they needed a room not only for meetings but "as well for a Repository to keep the different apparatus that may become the Property of our society."[192] About ten years later, a "Philological Society" similarly communicated with the overseers.[193]

The whole spirit of the institution, arising out of the religious and educational philosophy of which the institution was a creation, opposed the development of games or physical activities. "Let not," a rule lays down, "the Scholars be allowed too frequent Play Days and none upon such days as are commonly tho' improperly called Holy days; for reasons obvious to every sober-minded Person that hath observed, the many disorderly companies that are strolling about at such times both in Town and Country: which children will be too apt to mix with, and be in danger to imitate: but rather let their relaxation from study be the reward of their diligence and extraordinary performance at their Books, and not to gratifie any Idle sauntering Disposition that will surely endanger if not ruin their morals and fortunes, if they are entitled to any, and if not will effectually prevent their raising any for themselves: such must be the consequence of an early and repeated tast of sensual pleasures and an aversion from study and business: yet when it may be thought convenient to allow them some relaxation from their studies Let it be understood not to be commendable in them often to desire it for that it's a condescendtion to encourage them to pursue their studies more earnestly when they return to their Books which are always prefer'd by men of sense before diversions or idleness, and therefore at such times especially they should have some easy Tasks appointed that will amount to less than would be their duty in the same length of school time."[194]

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[192] *MS.* in P. C. S. Archives.

[193] *MS.* in P. C. S. Archives. Exact date not recorded, but approximate date established by reference to Robert Proud.

[194] *P. C. S. M.*, 2–26–1753.

Certain forms of physical activity were particularly obnoxious to the Quakers. In 1706, the Monthly Meeting said that "Friends are generally grieved that a dancing School & fencing School, are tolerated in this place, which they fear will tend to the corruption of their children," and appointed a committee to present to the Governor a petition, signed by as many Friends as possible, condemning the practice.[195] Physical activities, then, had no part in the regular plan of the school, but the boys found an outlet for their emotions in such pranks as the dismantling of farmers' wagons or hauling away a master's wig. Wrestling was probably common: "Yesterday," reads a news item, "a very Melancholy accident happened as William Dawson & Joseph Sykes were wrestling Sykes unfortunately broke his arm which we since hear is better."[196] Hazing of new students was one of the diversions of the boys. "Our honorable Body," we hear, for 1776, "has lately been encreased by the addition of two Members, viz, Mr. Isaac Norris and Mr. Stafford Smith they both belonged to the school some time ago and upon that account the rules and Ceremonies commonly used to New Scholars were dispensed with."[197]

XI. *Purpose*

From what has been said so far of The William Penn Charter School, it is evident that its work was designed for the disciplining of the minds and hearts of boys in accordance with the principles of Quaker religious and educational philosophy. The use of the "plain language," and reading of the Bible and religious writings of Friends were frequently enjoined.[198] The Latin boys were admonished to mingle on the streets with only their own schoolmates.[199] Latin and Greek served chiefly one purpose, that of mental discipline, for there is no evidence that colonial Quaker boys entered colleges, nor were they attracted to professional life, except in the case of the few who became teachers, and these were trained as apprentices in the Quaker schools.[200] True it is that the overseers felt that discipline in Latin would bring with it a mastery of English expression, useful on public

[195] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 2–26–1706.

[196] *Weekly Intelligencer*, July 6, 1777. Norris *MSS.* H. S. P.

[197] *The Public School Gazetteer*, Oct. 21, 1776.

[198] *Supra*, 52 *f.*

[199] *Supra*, 53.

[200] *Supra*, 50.

occasions,[201] by which they probably meant political office. This mastery of English expression, too, must have been considered a desideratum, if not an essential, in business, a field in which Quakers were probably extensively engaged. Their theorists, like Fothergill and Proud, stressed habits of work, reflection, and study,[202] and the classics served well as an instrument of such discipline.[203]

The mathematical studies[204] were intended to serve a more practical purpose. Thomas Makin taught arithmetic as a preparation for business. Among the Norris *MSS.*, in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are many student exercise books, which are very probably the work of students in the Latin or English School of the Penn Charter system, just as the journals in the same collection are certainly the work of the Latin School students. The problems that are covered in these books, are in the fields of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and navigation. The subjects were treated in a practical way, although the application of the rules that students followed in the solution of problems must have called for rather strenuous mental exertion. In 1756, the overseers undertook to instruct a teacher's apprentice in ''Navigation, Surveying, Gauging, Dialling, Geography, Merchants Accounts,''[205] all of which were of very practical importance. The earliest of the exercise books referred to is in the form of a manuscript text-book in geometry. The years 1726 and 1726/7, written on some of the pages, fix the date. On the first page we read: ''Geometry is the Art of measuring bodies: In order to which end, It considers three principall things that belong to body, namely Superfice or Surface Lines & points: which in their proper notion, do Signifie, ye outside, the Edge, and Cornors of a Body; & so are real parts of it, But in ye sense that Geometry uses them, they do not properly belong to a body, only are apply'd to it by our Imagination.''[206] Another interesting book, dated 1734, in the collection is that of Isaac Griffiths on ''Plain Trigonometry,'' in which problems in navigation, gauging, and surveying are worked out.[207] In arithmetic, in 1775, Isaac Norris solved such problems as simple and compound interest, discount, purchasing of stocks, and foreign exchange. His exercise book covers the whole field of arithmetic from the elements to the more difficult problems.[208] Another exercise book in the collection shows the student's solution of about forty problems in conic sections. On its last page is written:

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[201] *Supra,* 41 *f.*

[202] Proud: *Treatise on Education. MS.* in Quaker Archives, 304 Arch St., Phila., with letter of Fothergill as preface.

[203] For Fothergill's educational views see *Infra,* 131 *f.*

[204] *Supra,* 44 *f.*

[205] *P. C. S. M.*, 10–1–1756.

[206] Norris of Fairhill *MSS.* H. S. P.

[207] *Ibid.*

> Finis Sectionum Conciarum
> James Allen Scripsit
> Figuras descripsit.

Allen was probably he who was counsellor-at-law in Philadelphia, before and during the Revolution, and who died in 1778, in the thirty-seventh year of his age.[209] This would put his school days back to about the period 1755–1760. All of these works had a practical bearing, as had also the French and German taught by Benezet.[210] In 1756, Joseph Fatham was called from England to teach chiefly the French language.[211] Colonial trade called for a knowledge of the modern languages. The private teachers of the period offered a wide variety of modern languages to their students.[212] Thus the purpose in the education of The William Penn Charter School was both utilitarian and cultural.

XII. *Method*

In the formation of character, the Quaker educator was careful to surround his students with many safeguards. The rules established for the schools,[213] a careful system of visitation and supervision,[214] an extraordinary diligence in the selection and training of teachers,[215] long school days, systematic religious instruction in school[216] and in the Meeting House[217]—all conduced to mould youth after the Quaker ideal. And when boys refused to be moulded after the ideal plan, the masters were evidently free to use violence as an aid to precept. Israel Pemberton has left us a description of Pastorius' way of educating youth. He says that he had a slight disagreement with another student, and because of this Pastorius beat him "very much with a thick stick upon my head until the blood came out & also on my armes until the Blood started through the skin & both were so swelled that the swelling was to be seen so that it caused my cloths to stand out & the flesh was bruised that it turned black and yellow & green.''[218] The methods of teaching in the schoolroom will be found described elsewhere.[219]

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[208] *Ibid.*

[209] Keith: *Prov. Councillors of Pa.*, 151.

[210] *Supra*, 44.

[211] *P. C. S. M.*, 5–27–1756.

[212] *Infra*, 46 *f.*

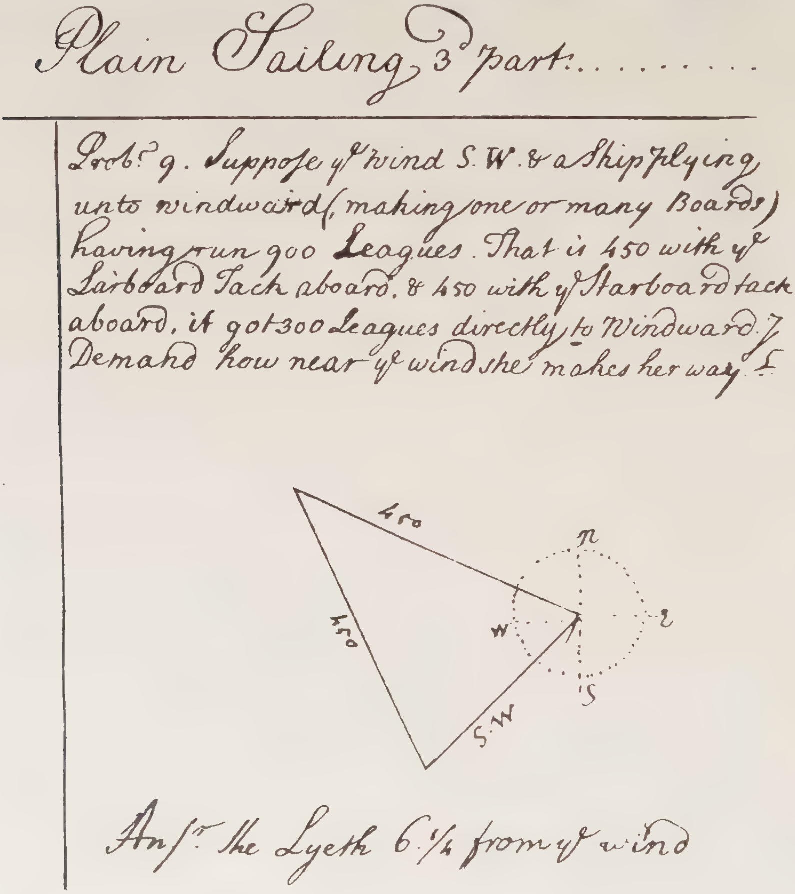
[213] *Supra*, 52 *f.*

[214] *Supra*, 52.

[215] *Supra*, 49 *ff.*

[216] *Supra*, 52.

[217] *Supra*, 52 *f.*



Plain Sailing 3d part........

Prob. 9. Suppose ye wind S.W. & a Ship plying unto windward (making one or many Boards) having run 900 Leagues. That is 450 with ye Larboard Tack aboard. & 450 with ye Starboard tack aboard. it got 300 Leagues directly to Windward. I Demand how near ye wind she makes her way. &

450
450
n
w
e
s
S.W

Ansr. she Lyeth 6 1/4 from ye wind

(Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

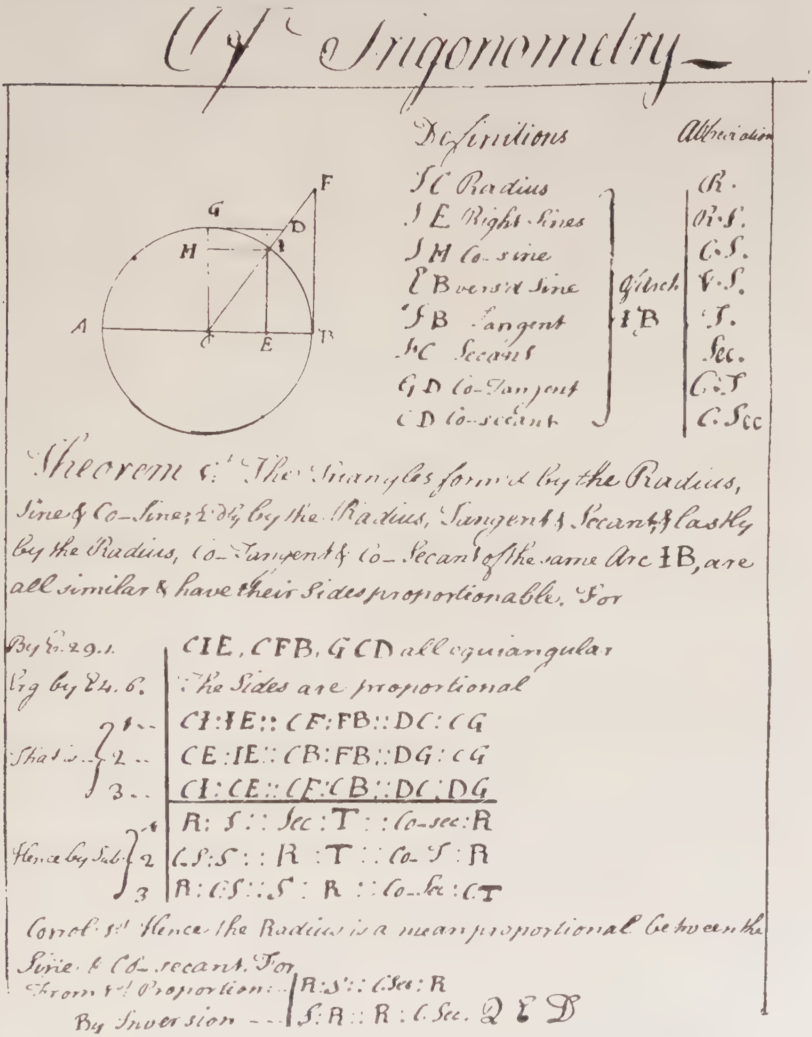
Extract from a Colonial Exercise Book of a Student in The William Penn Charter School, Taken from the Original in the Norris of Fairhill Collection, in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[218] Pemberton *MSS.* H. S. P.

[219] *Infra*, 131 *f.*, 134 *ff.*

Summary

There were two secondary schools in the Penn Charter system almost from its beginning. One of these was decidedly



Of Trigonometry

Definitions		Abbreviation
IC Radius		R.
IE Right Sines	of the Arch IB	R.S.
IM Co-sine		C.S.
EB versed Sine		V.S.
FB Tangent		T.
FC Secant		Sec.
GD Co-Tangent		C.T
CD Co-secant		C.Sec

Theorem 1st The Triangles form'd by the Radius, Sine & Co-Sine; 2dly by the Radius, Tangent & Secant; & lastly by the Radius, Co-Tangent & Co-Secant of the same Arc IB, are all similar & have their Sides proportionable. For

By E. 29.1. | CIE, CFB, GCD all equiangular
& by 24.6. | ∴ the Sides are proportional
That is 1.. | CI:IE::CF:FB::DC:CG
2.. | CE:IE::CB:FB::DG:CG
3.. | CI:CE::CF:CB::DC:DG
Hence by Sub. 1 | R:S::Sec:T::Co-sec:R
2 | C.S:S::R:T::Co-T:R
3 | R:C.S::S:R::Co-Sec:C.T

Coroll 1st Hence the Radius is a mean proportional between the Sine & Co-secant. For
From 1st Proportion.. | R:S::C.Sec:R
By Inversion --- | S:R::R:C.Sec. Q E D

(Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

Extract from a Colonial Exercise Book of a Student in The William Penn Charter School, Taken from the Original in the Norris of Fairhill Collection, in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

classical and cultural; the other modern and vocational in its content and purpose. Both of them were exclusively boys' schools. The two were separate, distinct, and not interrelated in any way. Dissatisfaction with the ultra-classical content of the Latin School was frequently expressed, but efforts to modernize it were unsuccessful. In Robert Proud's second administration, after the Revolution, it had not a single modern feature. The student body in the Latin School was never large. It attracted only a few boys from the colony itself and, as far as can be determined, only a mere handful from other colonies.[220] Boys entered the school when they were very young, were grouped in classes, and remained for widely different lengths of time. When they left the school they entered business, and not a higher institution. Nowhere in the records do we find reference to their further education at the College of Philadelphia or any other college. Increasing demands for higher education in the nineteenth century brought Haverford College into existence in the eighteen-thirties for the "guarded education" of Quaker youth.[221] In the colonial period the Latin School was in a sense the college, the institution which met the highest educational needs of the children of Friends, the nursery of gentlemen and scholars. The English or mathematical school, while it moulded character, was merely a nursery of bookkeepers, navigators, penmen, and surveyors, acquirements not yet esteemed sufficient for the making of scholars, nor highly prized except by a few theorists like Franklin.

The only essential difference between this Penn Charter arrangement and the Franklin Academy is not to be found in the organization or curriculum of the institutions, but in the fact that the latter was more public and less sectarian than the former, and thus a little closer to the high school of the nineteenth century.

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[220] *P. C. S. M.*, 9–28–1751.

[221] *Min. of the Central School,* 1830–1868, 1 *ff.*; *A Hist. of Haverford College,* 56 *ff.*

CHAPTER III

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

I. *Religious Schools Under Private Control*

Presbyterian.—The first important development in secondary education, after that of the Quakers, appeared in the establishment of a type of school, private in its support and management, and mainly religious in its spirit and purpose. It appeared chiefly among the Presbyterians, but the Episcopalians, Baptists, and Reformed were to a lesser degree active in this field.

The first of these institutions was the so-called ''Log-College'' at Neshaminy. Established by William Tennent, probably very soon after his call to be pastor at Neshaminy, in 1726,[1] it lasted until the resignation of Tennent, in 1742.[2] In this year, Tennent's farm at Neshaminy was advertised for sale.[3] Among the best items of information that now remain regarding this school is that which appears in Whitefield's *Journal.* This noted evangelist describes Tennent as ''an old grey-headed Disciple and Soldier of Jesus Christ,'' who ''keeps an Academy about 20 Miles off Philadelphia.''[4] He remarks, in addition:

> It happens very providentially that Mr. Tennent and his Brethren are appointed to be a Presbytery by the Synod, so that they intend breeding up gracious youths, and sending them out from Time to Time into our Lord's Vineyard. The Place where the young Men study now is in Contempt call'd the College. It is a Log-House, about Twenty Feet long, and near as many broad . . . All that can be said of most of our publick Universities is, they are all glorious *without.* From this despised Place Seven or Eight worthy Ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent, and a foundation is now laying for the Instruction of many others.[5]

There is no justification for the insinuation that this was a school established and controlled by the Presbytery. William

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[1] Alexander: *Biographical Sketches of the Founder of Log College,* 22, 36, 125.

[2] *Ibid.,* 30.

[3] *Pa. Gaz.,* Sept. 30, 1742, 3.

[4] *A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal,* 31.

[5] *Ibid.,* 44.

Tennent was the founder, master and controller of the institution, and there is no record of its continuance after he relinquished his duties as preacher at Neshaminy.

This was the first institution within the Presbyterian Church in America designed to prepare young men for the ministry. Before its establishment, Presbyterian students had to go to New England or European colleges for the education required for the ministry. Most of the early Presbyterian ministers were educated in Ireland or Great Britain.[6] The cost of sending students to New England, or abroad, for a college education was a serious obstacle in the path of young men inclined to enter the ministry, if not in that of the growth of the church itself. "Log College" was, then, established in response to a keenly felt need within the Presbyterian Church in the Middle Colonies. Tennent, its master, has been traditionally reputed a scholar of great attainments. One who knew him well[7] says that he was "skilled in the Latin language so as to speak it and write it almost as well as his mother tongue; a good proficient, also, in the other learned languages, and well read in divinity."[8] When his students appeared for examination before the representatives of the Philadelphia Synod they usually acquitted themselves well: "Charles Tennent came under Trayals, and after a previous Test of his ability in Prayer, examined him in the Languages, he read his Sermon upon 2 Cor 5.17 and Exegesis on y^{t} Question an X^{tus} sit solus mundi Salvator and various suitable Questions on y^{e} arts and sciences, officially Theology and out of Scripture were propounded to him."[9] Charles Tennent was William's fourth son and was educated in "Log College," as were many other more prominent clergymen.[10] The Synod demanded more in candidates for the ministry than a knowledge of Latin and divinity. Examination of candidates in the "arts and sciences" appears early in their records. The Constitution of 1788 required the Presbytery to examine each candidate "as to his knowledge in the Latin language; and of the original languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written. They shall examine him on the arts and sciences; on theology, natural and revealed, and on ecclesiastical history.''[11] Before the College of New Jersey was opened in 1747, the requirements were, obviously, not so exacting. Yet Tennent's school was not entirely satisfactory in its day, and the Synod rejected a candidate for ordination, in 1737, who was ''very skilled in the Learned Languages'' but ''altogether ignorant in College Learning, and poorly read in Divinity.''[12] This candidate was very probably one of Tennent's students. That the Synod was not satisfied with ''Log College'' as a nursery of ministers is evident from a letter addressed by them to President Clapp of Yale, bearing date, May 30, 1746. In this it is stated: ''Mr. William Tennent set up a school among us, where some were educated and afterward admitted to the ministry without sufficient qualifications as was judged by many of the Synod. And what made the matter worse, those that were educated in this private way decried the usefulness of some parts of learning that we though very necessary.''[13]

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[6] Alexander: *Op. cit.*, 33–4.

[7] *Ibid.*, 27.

[8] Boudinot: *Life of the Rev. Wm. Tennent*, 9.

[9] *Min. of Phila. Presbytery*, III, 19.

[10] Alexander: *Op. cit.*, 33, *passim.*

''Log College'' was, then, a private classical school established for the education of Presbyterian ministers. While Tennent may have attempted to teach other subjects than the classics, he evidently did not succeed to the satisfaction of the Philadelphia Synod and Presbytery. His school was not a college in any sense. It was, as Whitefield said, ''in Contempt call'd the College.'' At best it was but an excellent Latin grammar institution, in which Greek and the ''arts and sciences'' were taught with much less effect than the Latin. Samuel Finley, supposedly one of its graduates, is said to have been an excellent teacher of Greek.[14] William Tennent's own attainments in the sciences have been questioned by Alexander, who evidently inclines to praise him and his school whenever possible.[15]

The second school established by a Presbyterian minister, but one of which little or nothing is known or can be learned, was that of Mr. Roan on the Neshaminy. John Rodgers, D.D., a trustee of Princeton College from 1765,[16] is said to have studied here before going to the classical school at Fagg's Manor.[17]

[11] *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,* 399.

[12] *Min. of Phila. Presbytery,* III, 42–3.

[13] *Min. of Phila. Synod,* 1746, in *Minutes,* 1700–1758, paging misleading; see also Sprague: *Annals,* III, p. XIII *ff.*

[14] Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 306; Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 96.

[15] *Op. cit.,* 28.

[16] *Princeton General Catalogue, 1746–1906,* 16.

[17] Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 155.

The third school of a private character, established by a Presbyterian minister, was, according to a tradition, established at Derry Church, Dauphin county, in 1732. The old log building still stands, and has, within the last few years, been enclosed in glass through the generosity of Mr. Hershey. An inscription, recently attached to it, dates its origin back to 1732. One writer states that its antiquity "is well ascertained," and that the founder of Washington and Lee University, Virginia, received his early education here.[18]

The next school of the Presbyterians, in order of time, was that of Samuel Blair at Fagg's Manor, Chester county. It was established probably in 1740.[19] A descriptive tablet erected in 1911 "near" the first site by the Chester County Historical Society records the date as 1739. Blair was educated in the "Log College,"[20] and was one of the first trustees of Princeton College under the charter of 1746.[21] He died in 1751.[22] Dr. Samuel Finley, who preached his funeral oration, listed among his attainments a mature knowledge of the Scriptures, oriental languages, philosophy, geography, history, and "several branches of the mathematics, and especially, geometry and astronomy."[23] The Fagg's Manor school is said to have been a classical school "of the same general character with that of Mr. Tennent,"[24] designed to prepare young men for the ministry. It probably closed with the death of its founder, but was re-established under John Blair, in 1757,[25] and closed with his appointment to the professorship of theology and moral philosophy at Princeton, in 1767.[26] John McMillan has left us a brief mention of the school under John Blair's mastership. He tells us: "I was born in Fagg's manor, on the 11th of November, 1752. . . . Accordingly as soon as I had acquired a sufficient degree of English literature, I was sent to a grammar school, kept by the Rev. Mr. John Blair, in Fagg's manor; where I continued until Mr. Blair was removed to Princeton to superintend the college there.''[27] Among the students at Fagg's Manor, under Samuel Blair, were Samuel Davies,[28] later president of Princeton College;[29] John Rodgers,[30] a trustee of Princeton, from 1765,[31] and Robert Smith,[32] pastor at Pequea and founder of an academy there.[33] Under John Blair's mastership, 1757–1767, among the students at the school were John McMillan,[34] John Woodhull,[35] and James F. Armstrong.[36] McMillan became the master of Canonsburg Academy in Western Pennsylvania;[37] Woodhull became a master of a grammar school in New Jersey,[38] and was appointed a trustee of Princeton College, in 1780;[39] and Armstrong entered the junior class at Princeton from Blair's school,[40] and was graduated in 1773.[41]

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[18] Wickersham: *Op. cit.,* 108. This authority is not conclusive.

[19] Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 62–3; Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 267; Beam: Dr. Smith's Acad. at Pequea. [*Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.,* VIII, 149]

[20] Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 62; Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 265.

[21] *Princeton Gen. Cat. 1746–1906,* 14–5.

[22] Inscription on his tomb in Fagg's Manor cemetery.

[23] Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 255; Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 64–5.

[24] Sprague: *Op. cit.,* III, 63.

[25] Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 295; Sprague: *Op. cit.,* 117.

[26] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906,* 28; Alexander: *Op. cit.,* 295.

Fagg's Manor school was a strange combination of institutions. Under Samuel Blair, it was a school, like the ''Log College,'' educating young men in the classics, sciences and theology,[42] and affording complete preparation for the ministry.[43] Under John Blair, it not only prepared students for Princeton, but took Princeton graduates for courses in theology.[44] John Rodgers is said to have entered the school at the age of sixteen,[45] after he had probably begun his classical education under Roan at Neshaminy.[46] John McMillan, who was born in 1752, and graduated from Princeton in 1772, probably entered the school when he was about ten or twelve years old.[47] As a Princeton preparatory school its work was designed to meet at least the entrance requirements of the college, adopted in 1748:

> None may be expected to be admitted into College but such as being examined by the President and Tutors shall be found able

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[27] Printed from original manuscript by Smith: *Hist. of Jefferson College*, 413 *ff*.

[28] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 140.

[29] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 12.

[30] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 155.

[31] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 16.

[32] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 172.

[33] *Infra*, 70 *f*.

[34] Letter of McMillan, just cited.

[35] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 304.

[36] *Ibid*, 389.

[37] Smith: *Hist. of Jeff. College*, 6 *ff*., 45 *ff*.; *Infra*, 165 *f*.

[38] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 305.

[39] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 17.

[40] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 389.

[41] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 96.

[42] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 140.

[43] *Ibid.*, 140, 155, 173.

[44] *Ibid.*, 304.

[45] *Ibid.*, 172.

[46] *Supra*, 67.

[47] Reprint of his *MS*. Sprague: *Op. cit.*, 350–1; or Smith: *Hist. of Jeff. College*, 413 *ff*.

to render Virgil and Tully's Orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and to be so well acquainted with Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; & to give the grammatical connection of the words.[48]

As theological schools, Fagg's Manor, and other schools of this type, were not to be needed long,[49] for theological studies were soon offered at Princeton.[50] The writer has been unable to find a single shred of evidence to show that the "Log College" continued after the resignation of William Tennent, in 1742, although some writers suggest its continuance until the opening of Princeton.[51] Samuel Finley's school at Nottingham, Maryland, closed when its principal was called to the presidency of Princeton, in 1761,[52] but there was yet need for preparatory schools and private theological seminaries.

Another private institution of note, Presbyterian in motive, was the school of Robert Smith, established at Pequea, Lancaster county, about 1752.[53] The theological department was probably the first to open, for we find George Duffield, who graduated from Princeton in 1752,[54] commencing his study of theology under Smith, in 1752.[55] In 1757, or earlier, the classical department of the school was organized, and David Caldwell, who graduated from Princeton, in 1761,[56] is said to have taken "part of his preparatory course" in the school of Pequea.[57] Samuel Stanhope Smith, son of the founder of the school was, according to Dr. Frederick Beasley, who "was occasionally a visitor at his house,"[58] a student of the languages in his father's school when "he was only six or seven years old."[59] Beasley, at one time provost of the University of Pennsylvania, speaks as one having intimate knowledge of Robert Smith's school. He says that Smith "had employed some most accomplished teachers from abroad as his assistants."[60] and "perhaps scarcely any school in the country, at that day, furnished better advantages for becoming thoroughly grounded, especially in the classics. The only language allowed to be spoken in the school was Latin; and whoever uttered a word in the mother tongue was marked as a delinquent.''[61]

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[48] Ford: *The Scotch-Irish in America*, 428.

[49] Beam: Dr. Robert Smith's Academy at Pequea. [*Jour. of Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 149]; Alexander: *Op. cit.*, 294.

[50] *Supra*, 68.

[51] Alexander: *Op. cit.*, 294; Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 118.

[52] Beam: *Loc. cit.*, 149.

[53] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 172–3.

[54] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 83.

[55] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 186.

[56] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 87.

[57] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 263.

[58] *Ibid.*, 340.

[59] *Ibid.*, 335.

[60] *Ibid.*

The Pequea Academy, as it had been called, was one of the better schools of its type. In 1769, it is said to have had thirty students.[62] One who has made a very careful study of it has compiled a lengthy list of distinguished men who studied here.[63] Among the assistant teachers of this school was James Waddell, earlier a teacher under Samuel Finley, at Nottingham, and later a preacher and teacher in Virginia and Georgia, whose preaching and eloquence have been very realistically described in Wirt's ''British Spy.''[64] Another assistant in the school was Samuel Doak,[65] who graduated from Princeton in 1775,[66] and who, after a year or so at Pequea, was appointed tutor in Hampden Sidney College, Virginia.[67] The school at Pequea prepared many students for Princeton[68] and, like the Fagg's Manor school, took some Princeton graduates for instruction in theology, among them Samuel Doak,[69] and John McMillan, who tells us that, after John Blair was called to Princeton from Fagg's Manor, he himself ''was then sent to Pequea to a grammar school, kept by the Rev. Joseph Smith,'' to which, after his graduation from Princeton in 1772, he tells us, he returned ''and began the study of Theology under the direction of the Rev. Robert Smith, D. D.''[70] This had a longer life than other schools of its type, being established about 1752, remaining under the direction of Robert Smith until 1792, and probably continuing under the Rev. Nathan Grier at Brandywine Manor, after this time.[71] Sending many of its students to Princeton,[72] the school, in its work, evidently looked chiefly to the needs of students preparing to meet the entrance requirements of the college.[73]

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Mitchell: A Sermon occasioned by the Much-Lamented Death of the Reverend Robert Smith, D.D. [*MS.* in the Presbyterian H. S.]

[63] Beam: *Loc. cit.*, 152–3.

[64] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 235–9.

[65] *Ibid.*, 393.

[66] *Princeton Gen. Cat., 1746–1906*, 98.

[67] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 393.

[68] Beam: *Loc. cit.*, 152.

[69] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 393.

[70] Smith: *Hist. of Jeff. College*, 414–15.

[71] Beam: *Loc. cit.*, 150; *cf.* Sprague: *Op. cit.*, 464–5; Futhey and Cope: *Hist. of Chester Co.*, 303.

[72] Beam: *Loc. cit.*, 152–3.

[73] *Supra*, 69 *f.*

The last such Presbyterian institution to be mentioned is one which, it is said, was established by Alexander Dobbin at Marsh Creek, near Gettysburg, probably about 1770. It is said that "at least sixty of Dobbin's pupils became professional men, twenty of whom became ministers of the Gospel."[74] County Superintendent Sheely, in 1877, said that this school was established soon after 1773, and that it closed soon after 1801.[75] No further light on this school can now be found.[76]

Reformed Church.—An example of this type of school, within Reformed circles, appears in the following announcement:

> This is to give Notice, That the Subscriber hereof, being desirous to be so Generally useful, as he can in this Country (wherein he is a Stranger) do Declare his willingness to Teach Logick, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysicks, etc., to all such as are willing to learn. The place of Teaching, will be at the Widow Sprogel's, in Second-Street, Philadelphia; where he will attend if he has Encouragement, Thrice times a Week for that Exercise.
>
> N. B. All Persons that come, either as Learners or Hearers, will be civilly Treated. By G. M., Minister of the Reformed Palatine Church.[77]

There is left no evidence as to whether G. M. was encouraged or not, but it is probable that he established a school at this time.[78]

Episcopalian.—In 1761, "Hugh Neill, Rector of Oxford" established a classical school at Germantown. In his advertisement he announced that the school was open to all denominations, and free to five poor boys of "Genius, and moral character."[79] Neill was a very active minister in the Episcopal Church in the colony, and his name appears frequently in official communications.[80] He was minister at Oxford and Whitemarsh, and took up his residence in Germantown, in 1760.[81] Neill continued "Rector of Oxford" until 1767, when he was appointed "Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Queen Ann's County, Maryland."[82] How long he continued his school in Germantown, we do not know. Strangely enough, in his letters to London, between 1760 and 1767,[83] he does not refer to this phase of his work. The school was evidently undertaken to augment his salary, and his advertisement of it, in 1761, stressed the desirability of the location which removed youth from the vices and temptations of the city,[84] a point in salesmanship used by many other teachers after his day.[85]

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[74] Prowell: *Hist. of York County,* I, 539.

[75] *Rept. of State Supt.,* 1877, 3.

[76] S. G. Hefelbower, who is at present [1931] collecting material for a history of Gettysburg College, has been trying to procure information regarding Dobbin's school.

[77] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Feb. 10, 1729–30, 4.

[78] For other schools of Reformed and Lutheran ministers, see *Infra,* 97 *f.*

[79] *Pa. Gaz.,* Jan. 29, 1761, 3.

[80] Perry: *Hist. Collections of Am. Col. Church,* II, 286 *ff.*

[81] *Ibid.,* 287.

[82] *Ibid.,* 417.

Another Episcopal clergyman, John Andrews, later provost of the University of Pennsylvania, is said to have established, in 1770, a classical school at York, where he was pastor, a school which claims the distinction of being "the first classical school west of the Susquehanna river."[86] Two letters of Andrews to London, dated 1770 and 1771, say nothing of this school.[87] Prowell is probably wrong in his statement that Andrews established a school here as early as 1770. He was only a few years in York at this time, probably from 1770 till 1772, but returned after the Revolution, when he established his school,[88] which, as we shall see, was the forerunner of the York County Academy.[89]

Baptist.—A Baptist minister, Samuel Jones, established a school at Lower Dublin, Philadelphia, probably about 1770. In his "Century Sermon," he states that he "kept a Boarding School between twenty-nine and thirty years at Lower Dublin."[90] It is said of him that "he was remarkably considerate and judicious in his attentions to young men, especially with reference to their becoming ministers of the Gospel."[91] In 1774, Burgess Allison began his classical and theological education in this school.[92] Allison went from here to Rhode Island College, an institution in whose founding Jones played a part,[93] and his school at Lower Dublin may be looked upon as a preparatory institution for the Rhode Island College, just as Pequea Academy was for Princeton.

The importance of this type of school is evident. The churches needed it as a nursery of ministers and leaders; colleges needed it as a nursery of students; and students needed it as a nursery of hopes, desires, and ambitions. There is no evidence that this type of school ever received any public or organized support. Its support seems to have come entirely from the tuition of its students, but there is no light on the question of the amount each student was required to pay. Appearing with the "Log College," in 1726 or 1727, this type, in its theological aspect, continued beyond the period of the Revolution and, in its preparatory aspect, throughout almost the entire period covered by this study.

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[83] *Ibid.*, 286–417.

[84] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 29, 1761, 3.

[85] *Infra*, 288.

[86] Prowell: *Hist. of York County*, I, 539.

[87] Perry: *Op. cit.*, 446, 455.

[88] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, V, 246–7.

[89] *Infra*, 232 *ff.*, 239 *f.*

[90] Jones: Century Sermon. [in *Min. Phila. Baptist Assn., 1707–1807*, 465]

[91] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, VI, 105.

[92] *Ibid.*, 122.

[93] *Ibid.*, 104.

II. *Church Schools Under Ecclesiastical Control*

Episcopalian.—The first schools of this type that appeared were those attached to Episcopal churches in Philadelphia and Chester. These were supported in part by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, chartered by William the Third in 1700.[94] Of the school in Philadelphia not much is known except that it had a teacher in 1698,[95] and that the master was receiving a salary from the Crown. Evan Evans, the minister at Philadelphia, acknowledged with thanks, in 1707, "Her ma^{ties} Grant of 50£ per annum to the Church of Philadelphia, & 30£ to y^{e} Schoole."[96] This school was being similarly supported in 1725.[97] The classics were probably taught here at times. The first master, Mr. Club, knew the classics, because he was later appointed minister at Oxford,[98] and an Episcopal clergyman could not be ordained unless he were trained in the classics.[99] Mr. Skinner, who had charge of the Philadelphia school, in 1722, is said to have had scholars fit for the academy or college which an Episcopalian minister suggested the need of at this time.[100] There is no direct evidence, however, that this was a secondary school, but it becomes probable that it was from the very direct evidence that exists regarding the nature of the school of the S. P. G. at Chester.

The "Minister and Vestry of Chester," in a petition to the Society, which bears no date, but which Humphreys assigns to the year 1704, stated:

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[94] For charter in full, see Humphreys: *An Historical Account of S. P. G.*, 4–6.

[95] Perry: *Op. cit.*, II, 7.

[96] *Ibid.*, 32.

[97] *Ibid.*, 140–1.

[98] *Ibid.*, 49–50, 74–6.

[99] *Ibid.*, 231.

[100] *Ibid.*, 124, 514.

> Our greatest want is a schoolmaster to instruct our Children and Youth, which we are obliged to suffer to be corrupted with the base principles they must needs suck from Quaker Masters and Mistresses. There is a Gentleman living in this Town of very sober conversation, formerly educated in the University of Dublin, whom we are bold to commend to your hon^ble^ Body. He will engage in Service if he were encouraged with Thirty or Twenty pound Ster^l^ per Annum, payable either from yourselves or the Queen's Customs. His name is Philip Eilbeck.[101]

Nothing came immediately as a result of this petition, and, in 1705, we find St. Paul's Church, Chester, again petitioning for a schoolmaster, through whom young Quakers "might imbibe such Principles as afterwards they could not easily forget."[102] And the petition states that there are "great numbers of young Quakers in this County who are not provided for by people of their own Persuasion and whose Parents are not able to provide for them else where."[103] The Society sent a teacher to Chester and paid him "a small salary yearly,"[104] but at what time the writer has not been able to determine. The teacher or teachers must have failed to impress the Quakers for Mr. Backhouse, the minister at Chester, in his letter to the Society, in 1728, says: "I find many are gone to the Quakers, of those who professed formerly to be of the Church of England."[105] Rowland Jones was teacher in the school in 1730,[106] but at this time it was merely an elementary school stressing the catechism.

In 1741, with the advent of a new master, the character of the school changed: "Our School-master, Mr. Houston," says the minister at Chester, "last Nov^r^, left Chester for better preferment, as he thought, in Maryland, and soon after we had recommended to us one Mr. Cha^s^ Fortescue, who has hitherto approved himself the most diligent master and every way the best qualified of any we ever had in Chester, and if the Society will be pleased to confer on him their Salary as formerly on Houston, I am persuaded he will answer their gracious intentions among the poor, and be of great service to the whole congregation. I the more earnestly recommend him to the Hon^ble^ Board . . . because the Quakers, with all their power and ill offices, have endeavoured to drive him away, and set up another, not one of their own sort, but a native Irish biggoted Papist, in opposition to him.''[107] The congregation at Chester wrote the Society about the same time, saying Fortescue ''came well recommended . . . as a master for our school'' and that ''Mr. Backhouse, upon examination found him capable of teaching Latin and Greek, and he is by all men acknowledged to be a capable mathematician.''[108] They said, moreover, that his ''temper and prudence'' stood the test under the ''Persecution he has met with from the Quakers.''[109] Mr. Fortescue was doing good work in 1742, for it was said of him then:

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[101] *Ibid.*, 23–4.

[102] *Ibid.*, 29.

[103] *Ibid.*

[104] *Ibid.*, 161.

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] *Ibid.*, 168–71. A letter of his describing the school.

> I believe more care is taken over our children in instructing them in their catechism . . . than any where else in the Province; by our vigilant master Mr. Fortescue, which raises y^{e} envy & whets y^{e} malice of y^{e} Quakers, who still maintain their Popish master purely in opposition to ours.[110]

Fortescue left the school before 1744,[111] and Backhouse, the minister, decided to teach the poor children, ''Finding that the masters . . . did not take that pains with them, as they did with the children of some opulent families in our Town.''[112]

The following newspaper announcement will describe the proposed work of the Chester school at its best:

> By Charles Fortescue, Free-School Master at Chester . . . . Youth may be instructed in those Languages, necessary to qualify them for an University Induction. As also in Geometry; Euclids Elements; Astronomy both ancient and modern; Navigation; Geodesia in all its Parts; Chronology, or the method of reducing the Aera's or Epoch's of most Nations, or remarkable Historians, to the Christian Aera; History and Geography; Dialling, plain and reflective; Use of the Globes; Use of most kinds of Charts and mathematical Instruments, and how to make the former; the Projection of the Sphere; Extraction of Roots, viz. of Squares, Cubes, and Biquadrates, with demonstrations for the same according to Euclid and Ramus; with many other inferior Branches.
>
> By said Person and at said Place may the more curious be instructed in Sir Isaac Newton's mathematical Philosophy and planetary System, as also in the Physicks, etc. provided those who shall incline to the study of Physicks furnish themselves with proper Books and Instruments. Writing in all modern Hands;

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[107] *Ibid.*, 216.
[108] *Ibid.*, 219–20.
[109] *Ibid.*, 220.
[110] *Ibid.*, 232.
[111] *Ibid.*, 243; *Infra*, 102.
[112] *Ibid.*, 251–2.

> and English grammatically are there also taught. N. B. Youth may be furnished with Boarding and Accommodations of all Kinds. Proposals may be sent to him the said Charles Fortescue, to Mr. John Mather, or to Mr. James Mather, all of Chester.[113]

Whether or not all these subjects were taught cannot be determined, but the fact that Backhouse examined Fortescue in Latin and Greek indicates that he was expected to teach them After he left the school it is probable that the subjects he proposed to teach were no longer attended to, and the school became again an elementary and catechetical school. Religious rivalry brought it into existence. The Episcopal ministers strove hard to save their youths from the "base principles" of the Quakers, but they were equally concerned about the dangers arising from Presbyterian sources. Backhouse wrote in 1744:

> I'm in some measure constrained to Teach school not only for the instruction of the poor but to prevent the better sort of my Congregation from going to the Conventiclers for their education who have opened Schools in several places (as I am told), by a Synodical Decree, In order to thwart that Tutor of these new wild enthusiasts, old Mr. Tennent.[114]

In 1760, the Chester congregation still had a schoolmaster, but what he taught is not stated.[115] When the Academy of Philadelphia was opened, the Episcopalians found it to be a safe nursery for their young men and they made no attempt to establish another such institution until after the Revolution.[116]

Presbyterian.—The second church school which was established by organized ecclesiastical authority was the New London Academy. It grew out of a private school established, in 1743, by Francis Alison, a Presbyterian clergyman. Previous to this time, Alison is said to have acted as tutor in the family of the father of John Dickinson, and to have kept a school at Thunder Hill, Maryland, a few miles from New London.[117] He received his early education at an academy in Ireland, and at the University of Glasgow.[118] At the time when he was teaching in a private capacity, the Philadelphia Synod and some of the presbyteries of Pennsylvania, were, as we have seen, decrying the unfitness of the "Log College" to train ministers.[119] The Presbytery of Lewis addressed the Synod on the question in 1738.[120] In 1743, steps were taken to establish a school better suited to the needs of the church. In the official records, of 1744, it is written:

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[113] *Pa. Gaz.*, April 30, 1741, 4.

[114] *Ibid.*, 243.

[115] *Ibid.*, 291.

[116] *Infra*, 182 *ff.*

[117] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 73; Edmunds: Charles Thomson's New Testament. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XV, 330]

[118] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, III, 73; Perry: *Op. cit.*, II, 538.

> The minutes of a committee held at the great valley, November 16th, 1743, by a private agreement between the Presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Donegall, were laid before us, showing that ye said Comee considered the necessity of using speedy Endeavours to educate youth for supplying our vacancies. But the proper Method for this End cannot be so well compassed without the Synod, they refer the further Consideration of ye affair to yt Revd. Body: but agree yt in the mean time a School be opened for the Education of youth. And the Synod now approve that design, and take the said School under our Care, and agree upon the following Plan for carrying on yt design. First That there be a School kept open where all Persons who please may send their Children and have them instructed gratis in the Languages, Philosophy, and Divinity.
>
> 2. In order to carry on this Design, it is agreed that every Congregation under our Care, be applied to for yearly Contributions, more or less, as they can afford, and as God may incline them to contribute, until Providence open a Door for our Supporting the School some other way.
>
> 3. That if any thing can be spared besides what may Support a Master and Tutor, that it be employed by the Trustees for buying Books and other Necessaries for said School, and for the Benefit of it, as the trustees shall see proper. And Mr. Alison is chosen Master of said School, and has the Privilege of choosing an Usher under him to assist him, and the sd Mr. Alison is exempted from all public Business, save only attending Church Judicatures, and what concerns his particular Pastoral Charge. And the Synod agree to allow Mr. Alison 20£ p. ann and the usher fifteen pounds.[121]

The school was supervised by a committee appointed by the Synod, and ministers were exhorted to urge their congregations to contribute to its support.[122] Alison's salary was raised to thirty pounds in 1749, the Synod reserving to itself the right to exempt poorer students from paying.[123] The school was designed to prepare young men for the examination prior to ordination, and consequently educated boys in theology, preaching, "other parts of Literature, viz in the learned Languages and Sciences, and especially" in "Knowledge and Orthodoxy in Divinity."[124] That it actually fell short of the Presbyterian ideal is evident from a letter addressed by the Synod to President Clapp of Yale, in 1746. From this letter, a part of which has been already cited,[125] it appears that the Synod had been in communication for some time with the Yale authorities regarding the admission of graduates of the New London school to the college classes. It also appears, from it, that it was their intention to establish a college at New London, a project which was dropped because of England's war with Spain, and the consequent impossibility of raising money abroad for the purpose. They still, however, hoped to establish a college here. They recognized the inadequacy of the New London school, and regretted that it was the best that they could do at that time. They had established, they said, a school library; had thought of applying for a charter for the school, and they continued:

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[119] *Supra*, 67.

[120] Neill: Mathew Wilson, D.D. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, VIII, 45 *ff.*]

[121] *Min. Phila. Synod.*, 1744, 4–5, in *Minutes*, 1700–1758.

[122] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1745, in *Minutes*, 1700–1758, n. p.

[123] *Ibid.* Procs. of Synod of 1749.

> What hath been said may satisfy you that our school is under such regulation as does as nearly correspond with yours as our present circumstances will admit; but we shall readily make any amendments that you desire if it be in our power. We are obliged to admit boys to read Grammar, but are determined to recommend none but such as have made a good proficiency in the languages, and are in some measure acquainted with the usual course of study in the arts and sciences now used in the British Colleges, though we freely acknowledge our vast disadvantages, especially in natural philosophy, and will cheerfully agree, as far as our circumstances will permit, that the same or generally the same authors on the arts & sciences be taught in our school as are used by you. . . . We heartily agree that our scholars be examined by the President and Fellows, and be treated only according to their proficiency; that they be obliged to bring recommendations from our Synod, or trustees of the school, and shall claim no precedency in your classes, nor the privilege of Freshmen, but what are consistent with the good order of your college.[126]

William Smith says that, in 1755, the Synod approached him with a plan "for ingrafting a Seminary upon our Philadelphia-College,"[127] but nothing came of it.

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[124] *Min. Phila. Presbytery,* III, 74.

[125] *Supra,* 67.

[126] *Min. Phila. Synod.,* 1746, paging misleading. In *Minutes,* 1700–1758.

[127] Perry: *Op. cit.,* 554.

From the letter to President Clapp, it appears that the school was considered by the Synod at this time as of merely college preparatory grade, and they would like to have Yale College recognize it as a satisfactory preparatory school. References to the curriculum appear in many documents besides the one just quoted. The following entry appears for 1754:

> Mr. M Dowel under whose care & Inspection the School has been for these two Last years, has declined to have the Whole Burden. Therefore Mr. Wilson is appointed to teach the Languages, Mr. M'Dowell undertaking, from a sense of the public good, to continue to teach Logick, Mathematicks, Natural & Moral Philosophy.[128]

While Francis Alison was at this time a teacher in the Philadelphia Academy,[129] and the New London school had been transferred to Newark, Delaware,[130] we can be fairly certain that the curriculum was about the same as that offered in New London a few years earlier. In the charter granted by Thomas and Richard Penn to the Newark Academy in 1769, it is stated that this Academy was originally "a public school in the province of Pennsylvania," and while there offered youths courses "in the learned languages, mathematics, and other branches of useful literature," in order to qualify them "for admission into colleges and universities."[131] It was established chiefly for the preparation of ministers, but not all of its students entered the ministry. A descriptive tablet, erected near the site of the original school by the Chester County Historical Society, lists the "Famous Scholars" of the school, only one of whom became a preacher. With the developments of the New London school after its transfer to Newark, Delaware, we are not concerned here. Francis Alison had erected, in 1750 or 1751, a solid two-story building for school purposes, but it was probably never occupied by the school.[132] The building still stands in the village of New London, and is occupied as a dwelling by a few families.[133]

With the transfer of this school, the Synod determined to establish another school at Chestnut Level, and they applied to the "Trustees of the German Schools" for a grant of fifteen or twenty pounds to assist them in teaching "some Dutch Children the English Tongue, and three or four Boys Latin and Greek if they offer themselves."[134] Samson Smith was named as teacher.[135] In 1757, the trustees replied, through William Smith, granting twenty-five pounds on condition that the school shall be under "common Government with the other free Schools and be subject to ye Visitations of the Trustees general or their Deputies appointed upon the Recommendation of the Synod."[136] The offer and condition were accepted by the Synod. The school seems to have continued after the death of Smith under the direction of James Latta, the Presbyterian minister at Chestnut Level.[137] This school, and the influence of Latta, might be said to have continued into the nineteenth century, as the following advertisement would seem to indicate:

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[128] *Min. Phila. Synod,* 1754.

[129] *Infra,* 186, 190 *f.,* 193.

[130] *MS.* Letter of Robert DuBois to Hist. Soc. of Pa., June 24, 1845. [H. S. P.].

[131] Reprinted in Hodge: *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church,* Part II, 222.

[132] DuBois: *Hist. Discourse on New London Presbyterian Church,* 4.

[133] So solidly constructed is the building that it can endure for centuries to come.

> *A Grammar School.*—The public are respectfully informed that on the first day of August next, a school will be opened in Chestnut Level, in which the elements of the Latin and Greek Languages will be taught. The school will be under the immediate direction of a young man, who received his education under the care of the late reverend doctor Lata, whose talents in teaching are well known, as to need no farther testimony for their recommendation. The young man, after leaving doctor Lata was recommended by him, as a person well qualified for teaching the above languages; and he has since taught some time, with considerable reputation to himself, and full satisfaction to his patrons. . . .
>
> N. B. Whoever intends encouraging the above school, will please to signify the same as soon as convenient, either to Col James Morrison resident at Chestnut Level, or to the editors of the Intelligencer, or the Lancaster Journal.[138]

Lutheran and Reformed.—In 1755, a classical school was planned by the combined Lutheran and Reformed congregations of Lancaster. A petition emanating from them reads:

> As divers of the inhabitants of this Borough are desirous of having their children instructed in the Latin and Greek Languages, but from the smallness of their numbers are unable to support a master for that purpose, your petitioners request that

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[134] *Min. Phila. Synod,* May 31, 1755.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1757.

[137] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, 202.

[138] *Lancaster Jour.*, July 11, 1801, 3.

a gentleman acquainted with these learned languages may be appointed, that the desire of these inhabitants may be gratified.[139]

Then follows a list of names of prominent citizens of Lancaster who contributed or pledged money, to the amount of about twenty-eight pounds, for the purpose, for the first year, and a total of fifty-four pounds over a three-year period.[140]

Attention has already been directed to the political nature of the Society established for the education of poor Germans in the province, and to the growing suspicions in the Coetus of the Reformed Church regarding the motives back of it.[141] William Smith in a letter to Samuel Chandler, dated ''Philadelphia, Aprile 1755,'' said: ''The Calvinist-Coetus has addressed us in the most respectful Manner & seem entirely satisfyed.''[142] Yet the Coetus was not ''entirely satisfyed,'' and in this same year, evidence of growing indignation against the conduct of the charity schools under the trustees appears in the official records.[143] William Stoy, the writer of the letter referred to here, charged Smith and the trustees with dishonorable and sectarian purposes, a fact which was said to be the cause of the abandonment of a plan to establish a college in the colony.[144]

The question arises as to what ''gymnasium'' Stoy refers. It is evident that he had in mind an institution to be established through the trustees of the charity schools, and very probably the classical school, for the establishment of which the Reformed and Lutheran congregations sought, in the petition cited above, financial assistance and a master. Was this school actually established or did it ''come to naught?'' One writer says that it opened on ''July 1, 1755, with the Rev. Samuel Magaw as schoolmaster.''[145] This is possible, but not probable. The writer has not, after careful investigation, been able to find any confirmation of the statement. Samuel Magaw was a student at the Philadelphia College at this time. He entered the College in 1754, and graduated in 1757.[146] It may have been that Magaw did teach here for a few months in the summer, but he had to return to his classes in Philadelphia where he must have remained during the greater part of the year. If the school were actually created in response to the petition of the congregations, it closed, as a charity school, before 1764. In this year Samuel Chandler wrote to Richard Peters: "As the [Free] Schools, &c, in Pennsylvania are now at an End . . . You, Sir, and the rest of our worthy Trustees, have my most sincere and warm Thanks."[147]

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[139] Petition of Lutheran and Reformed Congregations of Lancaster to the Trustees General of Society for instruction of poor Germans, in Smith: *Life of Wm Smith,* I, 90–1.

[140] *Ibid.,* 91.

[141] *Supra,* 12 *f.*

[142] Perry: *Op. cit.,* 551.

[143] *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus,* 138–9.

[144] *Supra,* 12 *f.*

[145] Riddle: *One Hundred and Fifty Years of School History in Lancaster,* 9.

[146] *Biog. Cat. of the Matriculates of the College,* 1.

Yet a classical school at Lancaster, in which William Smith was apparently interested, is heard of later. John Andrews[148] is said to have been induced by Smith to take charge of a classical school at Lancaster in 1765, and to study theology under Mr. Barton during his stay there,[149] and the trustees of the Philadelphia Academy, where Andrews was an usher in the Latin School, released him at this time to "take charge of a school at Lancaster."[150] An old pamphlet describing the Juliana Library of Lancaster, published in 1766, contains the following information: "The town has for many years supported a good grammar school, which is now likely to be reduced for want of proper encouragement."[151] This was probably the school which Andrews took charge of, and may have been the school proposed in 1755. In November, 1766, Andrews and Magaw set out for London to be ordained by the Bishop there.[152] Thus he remained but a short time in Lancaster. The writer has failed to discover how Magaw was employed between 1757 and 1766, but he may have been in charge of the Lancaster school during this period or for a part of the time. In 1768, Smith, in a letter, warned the Bishop of London not to ordain Joseph Chambers, a schoolmaster from Lancaster, because he was accused of a serious crime there.[153] Chambers graduated from Princeton in 1765, where Smith said he was educated.[154] There is no record to show what type of school Chambers taught, but it was probably the school of which Andrews was master, and which the Juliana Library pamphlet refers to. It is not, however, clear that the particular classical school asked for by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations came into existence, and the school referred to in the documents of 1765 and 1766 may have been of the community type of which something shall be said later.[155]

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[147] Perry: *Op. cit.*, 578.

[148] *Supra*, 73.

[149] Sprague: *Op. cit.*, 246.

[150] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 296.

[151] Worner: Lancaster in 1766. [*Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, XXXIII, 257–8]

[152] Perry: *Op. cit.*, II, 413—Letter of William Smith.

[153] *Ibid.*, 427–8.

[154] *Princeton Gen. Cat.*, 90.

In 1769, the Lutherans discussed the establishment of a seminary,[156] and, in 1773, it was opened in Philadelphia, with John Christian Leps, from Halle, as head teacher, and John Christopher Kunze the overseer and director.[157] Kunze was educated in Germany, at Halle, Rossleben and Merseburg high schools, and the University of Leipzig. Afterwards he conducted a classical school for three years at Kloster Bergen.[158] Between 1780 and 1799 he held professorships, of philology, at the University of Pennsylvania, and of oriental languages at Columbia University.[159] In 1773, he presented his plan for a *Seminarium* to the Ministerium,[160] and is said to have written for Leps the public advertisement which proclaimed the opening and plan of the school which appeared in the *Philadelphia Staatsbote,* January 12, 1773.[161] In it, Kunze regretted the fact that the cultural traditions of Germany had not been transmitted to Pennsylvania, and that the brilliance, characteristic of the German in his mother country, was not evident among those who settled here. To remedy these conditions, he asked the support of his people for the German ''high school'' which was to open as soon as six or eight students applied for instruction. In the plan, it was said, the school would open with prayer, every summer morning at eight o'clock, and in winter at nine o'clock. The afternoon session would run from two until five o'clock. Ability to read and write was established as a requirement for admission. The subjects to be taught in the school were geography, history, oratory in German, nature study, mathematics, letter writing in German, commerce and industry, in so far as they were needed by conditions in the colony, and also Latin, and elementary Greek. A broader and more liberal education was promised for those intended for the ministry.[162] The school was evidently designed to be more than a theological seminary, for candidates for the Lutheran ministry were examined at this time in Latin, Hebrew, the Scriptures, and theology only.[163] The plan bears evidence of the influence of Francke's institution at Halle, in its emphasis upon the useful elements in education. Kunze is said to have been, soon after his arrival, in Philadelphia, "instrumental in the formation of the 'Society for promoting useful knowledge,' "[164] which was referred to in the minutes of the Ministerium in 1773.[165] The Ministerium itself hoped that the *Seminarium* would be the cradle of school teachers, catechists and country preachers,[166] a very practical consideration from their standpoint. Small contributions were made to the *Seminarium* from time to time. In 1777 one benefactor gave £10/10, and a friend in Germany sent £1/10 at the same time.[167] Bigger contributions came later,[168] but evidently not enough to maintain the school, and we find it was "discontinued," in 1785 and a small sum in the treasury was set aside for the education of a boy then in the Philadelphia Academy.[169]

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[155] *Infra,* 85 *ff.*

[156] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.,* 119.

[157] *Ibid.,* 145; Haussmann: *Kunze's Seminarium,* 22.

[158] Haussmann: *Op. cit.,* 15.

[159] *Ibid.,* 17.

[160] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.,* 143.

[161] Haussmann: *Op. cit.,* 22.

[162] *Ibid.*

Seventh-Day Baptists.—That this group established a Latin school at Ephrata before the Revolution is attested by the evidence of William M. Fahnestock. Little, however, is known about this school, except what has been already recorded.[170] One writer says that in this school was taught "the ancient languages and mathematics, as well as the common branches."[171] Fahnestock expressed the opinion that the educational activities of the community ceased about the period of the Revolution.[172]

III. *Community Secondary Schools*

The first community school in the colony was that established by the inhabitants of Germantown in 1702, and over which Pastorius was master for about fourteen years. All available evidence points to the fact that this was but an elementary school.[173] It is mentioned here to correct the probable impression that, because of Pastorius' connection with it, it was of secondary grade. The first example of a community secondary school that the writer has found is evidenced by the following announcement of 1758:

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[163] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist*,. 123.

[164] Haussmann: *Op. cit.*, 18.

[165] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 143.

[166] *Ibid.*, 145.

[167] *Ibid.*, 152–3.

[168] *Ibid.*, 191.

[169] *Ibid.*, 203.

[170] *Supra*, 16 *f.*

[171] Wickersham: *Op. cit.*, 174.

[172] *Supra*, 16 *f.*

[173] Learned: *Life of F. D. Pastorius*, 166–187; see also Pennypacker: *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 55.

> A Person well qualified, who will undertake to teach Latin, Greek, & English, and can be well recommended, may hear of encouragement by applying to the subscribers living in Warminster Township, Bucks Co.
>
> JOSEPH HART
> DANIEL LONGSTRETH[174]

One hundred years later this school and the land on which it stood were sold to the school district for one hundred dollars.[175] The deed states that, in 1757, "a declaration of trust had been entered into between William Folwell . . . and John Hart Daniel Longstreth . . . in which the parties of the first part declared that they held a certain Lot of forty perches of Land with the School-house thereon erected in the said Township of Warminster in trust for the Warminster School, the said lot granted to them by Daniël Longstreth."[176] This was probably the first secondary school of the community type established in the State, and others appeared later. It is not likely, in view of the facts at hand, that these men sought a tutor for their own children, in 1758, although the practice had some vogue in the colony.[177]

Some time before 1770 it would seem that the beginnings of a public Latin school had been laid in Carlisle. In this year the following public announcement appeared:

> Whereas a Latin school has for several Years past, been erected in this Town, & is now kept by Mr. Henry Makinly, who professes to teach the Latin and Greek Languages in the most concise and perfect manner—In order therefore that the School might be settled upon a regular Footing, Trustees are chosen to take Care of it, & a certain number of Gentlemen, of good Repute in the literary World, have engaged to visit and examine the Scholars as often as may be convenient. From these considerations, we flatter ourselves that this school will continue for many Years, & be productive of the most important Advantages, as it is constituted under these Regulations, & continued in a Town both Pleasant and healthy, where Lodging may be had in, or

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[174] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 29, 1758, 4.

[175] *Deed Book*, CXIV, 176. [Bucks Co.]

[176] *Ibid.*

[177] Advertisements of available tutors appeared occasionally. One, for example, who could teach Latin and Greek sought employment in 1751. [*Pa. Gaz.*, July 4, 1751, 3.]

convenient to Town, at the Rate of Nine Pounds a Year, a Thing Scarcely to be got in the Neighbourhood of any other Seminary in the Province. These Advantages, duly considered, we hope will be sufficient Inducement for Gentlemen to send their Children to said school.[178]

Soon after Thomas and John Penn must have been approached on the question of a grant for such a school, for, in 1773, they deeded a "lot of ground in the town of Carlisle" to John Montgomery and eight other men "to be applied to the use and purpose of keeping and maintaining a Grammar School to be taught and kept in one or more houses or buildings on the same lot of ground to be erected."[179] From the *Minutes* of the Donegal Presbytery it appears that the trustees transferred the oversight of the school to the Presbytery, in 1781, but until this time it was evidently a community school supported probably in part by subscriptions. It was in a sense a public secondary school, of the Latin grammar type.[180]

A similar school seems to have existed in Strasburg, Lancaster county, at about the same time. The following advertisement establishes its existence, and in addition throws light on the character of some of our early secondary school teachers:

Strasburg Township, Lancaster County, Jan. 29, 1770.
To the Public

Absconded last night from his employers a certain George Hadams, an Englishman, by profession a schoolmaster, about 45 years of age, of a low corpulent stature, has a long nose, struts in his walk, wears a cap or wig, being bald from his infancy, commonly wears black clothes, has an impertinent look, is a perpetual talker, and a great bragger; pretends to great knowledge and learning, both English and Latin . . .

As we the subscribers have found, by experience, and can prove the said Hadams to be a notorious cheat, willful liar, and a wicked debauched person, unworthy to live among any civilized people, we think it encumbent on us to caution the public against such a notorious villian.[181]

The document carries six signatures and concludes:

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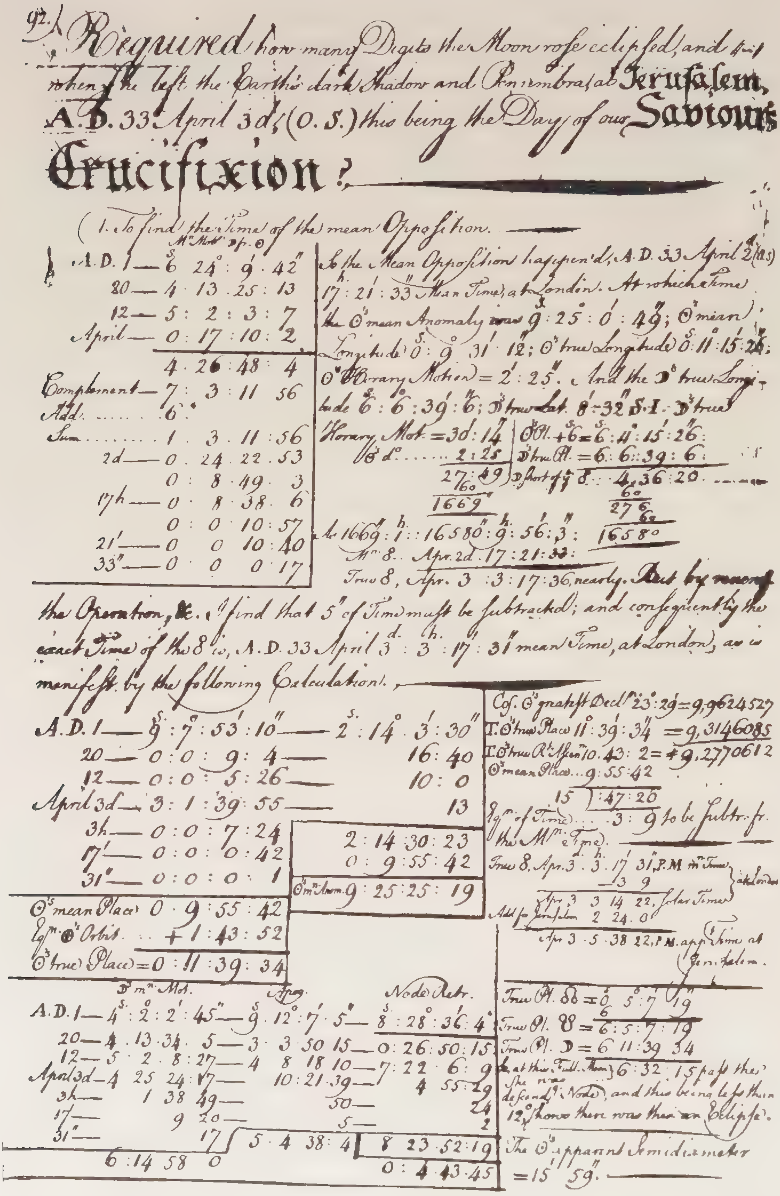
[178] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 11, 1770, 3.

[179] Original in archives of Board of Education, Carlisle; see also *Patent Book*, AA, XII, 127. Harrisburg.

[180] For further information see Biddle: *The Founding and Founders of Dickinson College*, 3–5, 5–10.

[181] *Pa. Gaz.*, Feb., 15, 1770, 4.



92.) **Required** how many Digits the Moon roſe eclipſed, and [illegible] when ſhe left the Earth's dark Shadow and Penumbra, at **Jeruſalem**, A.D. 33 April 3d (O.S.) this being the Day of our **Saviour's Crucifixion**?

(1. To find the Time of the mean Oppoſition.

M^n Mot. ☽ fr. ☉

A.D. 1 — 6s 24° : 9′ : 42″
20 — 4 : 13 . 25 : 13
12 — 5 : 2 : 3 : 7
April — 0 : 17 : 10 : 2
4 . 26 : 48 : 4
Complement — 7 : 3 : 11 56
Add 6
Sum .... 1 . 3 . 11 : 56
2d — 0 . 24 . 22 . 53
0 : 8 . 49 . 3
17h — 0 . 8 . 38 . 6
0 : 0 . 10 : 57
21′ — 0 0 10 : 40
33″ — 0 0 0 17

So the Mean Oppoſition happen'd, A.D. 33 April 2d (O.S.) 17h : 21′ : 33″ Mean Time, at London. At which time the ☉'s mean Anomaly was 9s : 25° : 0′ : 49″; ☉'s mean Longitude 0s : 9° 31′ 12″; ☉'s true Longitude 0s : 11° : 15 : 26″; ☉'s Horary Motion = 2′ : 25″. And the ☽'s true Longitude 6s : 6° : 39′ : 6″; ☽'s true Lat. 0° : 32′ S.I. ☽'s true Horary Mot. = 30′ : 14″

☉'s d° ...... 2 : 25
27 : 49
60
1669

☉Pl. + 6 = 6s : 11° : 15′ : 26″
☽ true Pl. = 6 : 6 :: 39 : 6
☽ short of ☍ .. 4 . 36 : 20
60
276
60
16580

As 1669 : 1h :: 16580″ : 9h : 56′ : 3″ :
M^n ☍ .. Apr. 2d . 17 : 21 : 33 :
True ☍, Apr. 3 : 3 : 17 : 36, nearly. But by means of the Operation, &c. I find that 5″ of Time muſt be ſubtracted; and conſequently the exact Time of the ☍ is, A.D. 33 April 3d : 3h : 17′ : 31″ mean Time, at London, as is manifeſt by the following Calculation.

A.D. 1 — 9s : 7° : 53′ : 10″ — 2s : 14° . 3′ : 30″
20 — 0 : 0 : 9 : 4 — 16 : 40
12 — 0 : 0 : 5 : 26 — 10 : 0
April 3d — 3 : 1 : 39 : 55 — 13
3h — 0 : 0 : 7 : 24
17′ — 0 : 0 : 0 : 42
31″ — 0 : 0 : 0 : 1

2 : 14 : 30 : 23
0 : 9 : 55 : 42
☉'s m^n Anom. 9 : 25 : 25 : 19

☉'s mean Place 0 . 9 : 55 : 42
Eq^n ☉'s Orbit ... + 1 : 43 : 52
☉'s true Place = 0 : 11 : 39 : 34

Cos. ☉'s greateſt Decl^n 23° : 29′ = 9,9624527
T. ☉'s true Place 11° : 39′ : 34″ = 9,3146085
T. ☉'s true R^t Aſcen^n 10 . 43 : 2 = 9,2770612
☉'s mean Place ... 9 : 55 : 42
15 | : 47 : 20
Eq^n of Time ... 3 : 9 to be ſubtr. fr. the M^n Time.

True ☍, Apr. 3d . 3h . 17′ 31″ P.M m^n Time } at London
3 9
Apr 3 3 14 22, Solar Time
Add for Jeruſalem 2 24 . 0
Apr 3 . 5 . 38 22, P.M. app^t Time at Jeruſalem.

☽ m^n Mot. — Apog. — Node Retr.
A.D. 1 — 4s : 2° : 2′ : 45″ — 9s . 12° : 7′ . 5″ — 8s : 28° : 36′ : 4″
20 — 4 . 13 . 34 . 5 — 3 . 3 . 50 15 — 0 : 26 : 50 : 15
12 — 5 . 2 . 8 : 27 — 4 8 18 10 — 7 : 22 6 : 9
April 3d — 4 25 24 : 17 — 10 : 21 . 39 — 4 55 : 29
3h — 1 38 49 — 50 — 24
17′ — 9 20 — 5 — 2
31″ — 17
5 . 4 38 : 4 — 8 23 . 52 : 19
6 : 14 58 0 — 0 : 4 43 . 45

True Pl. ☊ = 0s 5° : 7′ 19″
6
True Pl. ☋ = 6 : 5 : 7 : 19
True Pl. ☽ = 6 11 : 39 34
So at this Full Moon ſhe was 6 : 32 : 15 paſt the deſcending Node, and this being leſs than 12° ſhows there was then an Eclipſe.

The ☉'s apparent Semidiameter = 15′ 59″.

(Courtesy of The Berks County Historical Society)

Facsimile of a Page of James Boone's Book of Eclipses, from Original in Possession of Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pennsylvania.

> N. B. Is wanted immediately at the above place an honest sober person, properly qualified to teach English and Latin, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Mathematics. Good encouragement will be given to such a one, coming well recommended, and no other need apply.[182]

It appears from the large number of names attached to documents relating to these two schools, that they were the result of the efforts and needs of the leading citizens of the localities.

Another school, the type of which cannot now be determined, existed in Berks county from 1756, or earlier, and continued until 1769, or later. It was taught by James Boone, who has been described as a teacher, mathematician, and scholar.[183] In the manuscript collection of the Berks County Historical Society are the school exercise books of John, Moses, and James Boone. They are chiefly significant for the light they throw on the nature of mathematical work in the schools of the period. Problems in Biblical history, astronomy, algebra, geometry, physics, arithmetic, and bookkeeping are solved with great precision and neatness. One book is the work of the master himself and carries the inscription ''Book of Eclipses. . . . James Boone (Schoolmaster) His Book.'' It is dated 1773. The other books carry earlier dates. It is to be hoped that some other investigator may succeed in uncovering further information regarding this school in which members of the Boone family taught and studied.

It thus is evident that a number of schools, varying to a considerable degree in purpose, control, support and curriculum, sprung up during the colonial period. Another type remains to be mentioned: that of the so-called private adventure master, to whose work and influence the succeeding chapter is devoted.

[182] *Ibid.*

[183] Spraker: *The Boone Family,* 47.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIAL PRIVATE SCHOOL

I. *Rise and Prevalence*

While many teachers were engaged in the field of secondary education in the colonial period, none but a special group can be said to have been educators for a mercenary purpose. Some clergymen, indeed, may have opened schools to augment a scanty income and provide for their families, but few of them advertised, and a religious, as well as a pecuniary motive, must generally be attributed to their activities.[1] It is, indeed, true that William Tennent had a well-equipped farm;[2] that prospective teachers bargained with employers for a salary;[3] and that a good man like Francis Alison bought fifteen hundred acres of land, apparently for speculative purposes.[4] But it cannot be said of them that they made teaching a commercial enterprise. There appeared, however, a group of teachers in the colony, with whom teaching was a business; who, like the Sophists of Athens, professed a wide knowledge of the subjects which seemed to be in greatest demand; who strove to attract students by frequent public advertisements, loud in their own praise; and who evidently charged a good price for their services. They were active chiefly in Philadelphia during the period, because here alone were their services in demand. Among them we find an occasional Isocrates, possessed assuredly of much learning, great teaching ability, and actuated by unquestionable ideals. Theophilus Grew, one of the early teachers of the Philadelphia Academy, was one of the better type. Of him it has been written:

> T'enlarge the soul, and clear the dubious mind,
> T'unfold celestial wonders to mankind,
> To stamp bright knowledge on thy youthful care,
> With sweet persuasion and endearing air,
> With gentle manners to entice the heart,
> Was once thy happy and peculiar art.[5]

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[1] *Supra,* 65–74.

[2] *Supra,* 65.

[3] *P. C. S. M.,* 11–12–1760.

[4] *Patent Book,* AA, XIII, 100. [Surveyor General's Office, Harrisburg.]

[5] *Elegy to the Memory of Theophilus Grew,* in Gilbert: *A Hist. of the College & Acad. of Phila.* n. p.

A man like Andrew Lamb, who had been a teacher in Philadelphia for more than twenty years, and who could claim that he had taught for forty years, very probably merited the success which evidently was his.[6] These teachers came in response to a demand for a more practical education than that offered in the schools described in the preceding chapters. Limitation of enrollment in the regularly organized schools, such as The William Penn Charter School;[7] religious and probably sometimes social considerations, and the inadequacies of a traditional curriculum, left many educational wants unsupplied. There arose in the colony a number of youths, both male and female, who clamored for an education free from the bondage of traditionalism, and in keeping with the needs of life. John Wilson's attack on the curriculum of the Penn Charter Latin School,[8] though it came late in the period, may be considered as an expression of the philosophy underlying the private schools of the time.

By the irony of fate, a woman, Mrs. Rhodes, ushered in the new institution, in 1722,[9] and others of her sex kept appearing from time to time in this rôle.[10] Seybolt, in a very excellent study, has left us a list of the private masters and mistresses who taught in Philadelphia, between 1722 and 1783.[11] There are ninety-seven names on this list, and he observes that it is incomplete.[12] The present writer has been able to add sixty-five more to the Philadelphia list, and he is equally certain that it still remains incomplete.[13]

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[6] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 15, 1759, 4.

[7] *Supra*, 47 *ff*.

[8] *Supra*, 42 *ff*.

[9] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, May 23, 1722, 4.

[10] *Pa. Gaz.*, May 7, 1747, 2.

[11] Schoolmasters of Col. Phila. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LII, 361–4.]

[12] See also Seybolt: *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed. The Private School.*

[13] The following list is intended to supplement that of Seybolt: John Shields [*Am. Wkly. Mer.*, July 8, 1725, 4]; Richard Warden [*Ibid.*, March 30, 1727, 2]; George Brownell [*Ibid.*, March 24, 1727–8, 2]; Thomas Phipps [*Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1728, 2]; Charles Phipps [*Ibid.*, March 20, 1728–9, 4]; Samuel Perpoint [*Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1729, 4]; John Dommet [*Ibid.*, March 26, 1730, 4]; Anthony Lamb [*Pa. Gaz.*, March 25, 1731, 4]; Louis Timothee [*Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1731, 4]; William Deering [*Ibid.*, April 10, 1734–5, 4]; Anon. [*Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1735, 6]; Anon. [*Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1735–6, 3]; Florence Reynolds [*Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1735–6, 3]; Anon. [*Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1736, 3]; Herman Alricks [*Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1736, 3]; Neel Ledru [*Ibid.*, April 27, 1738, 3]; Theobald Hackett [*Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1738, 3]; Anon. [*Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1738–9, 4]; Richard Lyneall [*Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1741–2, 4]; Margaret Hair [*Ibid.*, May 7, 1747, 2]; John Beals [*Ibid.*, March 28, 1748, 3]; Samuel Luther [*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1749, 3]; Thomas Lamphier [*Ibid.*, June 14, 1750, 4]; Thomasine Brown [*Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1752, 2]; John Ormsby [*Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1753, 5]; John Egerton [*Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1758, 4]; George Abington [*Ibid.*, April 12,

II. *The Private Teacher*

Who these teachers were, where they came from, and what were their qualifications, cannot be determined except in the case of a few, who have left us some information about themselves. Charles Phipps announced that he was "lately from Dublin;"[14] John Hunter said he was "lately from England;"[15] Odrian Dupuy came from London;[16] John Fortescue, from England or Ireland;[17] John Beals, from London;[18] John Ormsby, from London;[19] Simon Williams, from Jamaica;[20] Jacque Le Maitre, from Paris;[21] and James Robins, from Paris.[22]

With regard to their qualifications, the same lack of information exists, except in the case of a few. One of them, Andrew Brown, in 1783, tells us that he received his education at a college in Paris.[23] John Heffernan, who had a private academy in

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1759, 3]; John Stadler [*Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1761, 4]; Thomas Pratt [*Ibid.*, May 14, 1762, 4]; John Walsh [*Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1762, 3]; Mr. Bremmer [*Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1763, 4]; Rev. Fred Rothenbuhler [*Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1765, 4]; Joseph Pemberton [*Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1765, 1]; Charles Raboteau [*Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1765, 3]; Martin Foy [*Pa. Chronicle*, April 20, 1767, 3]; Todd & Dickinson [*Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 6, 1768, 4]; Moles Patterson [Ibid.]; John Wilson [*Ibid.*]; James Cannon [*Ibid.*]; Patrick Lanagan [*Ibid.*]; Joseph Yerkes [*Ibid.*]; Emanuel Lyon [*Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1769, 1]; Jacque Le Maitre [*Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1]; Lucy Brown [*Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1771, 4]; Ann Ball [*Ibid.*]; Henry Bailie [*Pa. Packet*, Nov. 4, 1771, Supplement, 2]; Mr. Griscom [Watson; *Annals*, II, 155]; Alexander Russell [*Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 25, 1773, 3]; Signor Sodi [*Pa. Packet*, Sept. 5, 1774, 1]; Mr. Pike [*Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 7, 1774, 4]; Mr. Victor [*Pa. Packet*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3]; Edward Jolie [*Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3]; Paul Fooks [*Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1775, 1]; Martin Evans [*Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 9, 1776, 1]; Samuel Peters [*Pa. Packet*, Oct. 16, 1777, 2]; William Kidd [*Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1778, 3]; William Foster [*Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 22, 1779, 4]; Anon. [*Pa. Packet*, Sept. 29, 1779, 1]; John Ross [*Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1779, 1]; Quesnay De Glouvay [*Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1780, 1]; James H. Thomson [*Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1781, 3]; Louis D'orsiere [*Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1782, 4]; Maurice Desdevens [*Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1783, 3]; Andrew Brown [*Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 10, 1783, 6. Supplement]; Anon. [*Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1783, 4]. Of these teachers, Richard Warden, in 1727, was the only one whose instruction was limited to the "3 Rs," but he made provision for students in "Grammar Schools," who were deficient in these subjects. Four teachers, on this list, taught only music, and ten others such subjects as fencing and dancing. It ought also be noted that the three anonymous teachers on this list, in the years 1734–1736, may possibly have been one individual whose advertisements appeared at different times.

[14] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 20, 1728–9, 4.

[15] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 20, 1734–5, 2.

[16] *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1734–5, 3.

[17] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1747, 4.

[18] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1748, 3.

[19] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1753, 3.

[20] *Ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1759, 4.

[21] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[22] *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1781, 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1783, 6. Supplement.

1782,[24] and who says he formerly taught at the College and later at the University, probably had a college education.[25] Teachers, however, in schools like Penn Charter or the Philadelphia Academy, when this latter institution was still young, were not required to be college-trained men.[26] David James Dove, later a successful private master in the city, was appointed master of the English School in the Academy although he was "in a great measure a stranger"[27] to the trustees. He was appointed, however, on trial.[28] Evidently he carried no college diploma with him. Thomas Godfrey, a member of Franklin's Junto,[29] was a mathematical teacher.[30] Charles Raboteau, who appeared as a teacher of French in 1765, announced that he was "descended of French Parents, was regularly educated in London, and has travelled and resided some years in France."[31] That probably was enough to convince even the most skeptical parent or youth of his ability to teach. Mr. Garner, in 1766, could boast of "his approved conduct in the teaching of youth,"[32] and Paul Fooks, a teacher of French and Spanish, claimed patronage on the ground that "His Honour the Governor" was "pleased to appoint" him "Notary and Tabellion Publick for the French and Spanish Languages and Interpreter of the same, for this Province."[33] A teacher, whose reputation had been established, occasionally recommended others, as did David James Dove in 1768.[34] Others appealed for patronage on the basis of their experience and achievements.[35] Theophilus Grew could point to the "exact sea charts" which he makes;[36] to the wide range of his mathematical knowledge,[37] and to his publications.[38] Thomas Abel, in 1761, asked those who promised to subscribe for his book on "Subtensial Plain Trigonometry" to keep their promise, for, otherwise, he and his family would be ruined.[39] One of them sought to convince the public of his ability to teach Latin by eulogizing himself in a lengthy Latin advertisement, in which, in addition, he praised with much eloquence the value of Latin as an instrument of mental and moral discipline.[40] Surely no one would dare question such proof as this. Another who would not ''vaunt his own abilities'' appealed to the ''progress of his scholars'' as proof of his qualifications.[41] Taking these business masters as a class, however, we find that they merely announced what subjects they intended to teach, which was probably the only requisite for securing a fair patronage.

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[24] *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1782, 2.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] See requirements for Penn Charter teachers, *Supra*, 49.

[27] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 7½–7¾.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Bigelow: *Works of B. Franklin*, I, 141–2.

[30] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 20, 1740, 3.

[31] *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1765, 3.

[32] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1766, 1.

[33] *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1767. Supplement to No. 1985, 1.

[34] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1768, 3.

[35] *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1749, 4.

[36] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1735, 4.

[37] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1738, 3

[38] *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1742, 3; Evans: *Am. Bibliog.*, III, 7012.

[39] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 19, 1761, 4; for private masters as authors see Seybolt: *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed.*, 86 *ff*.

It would seem from the sudden disappearance of the announcements of individual teachers that few of them continued to teach for an extended time.[42] Some of them, like Thomas Phipps, probably moved frequently from city to city in hope of a richer reward.[43] Others, like Andrew Lamb, Theophilus Grew, David James Dove, Joseph Stiles, William Thorne, and William Oliphant remained as teachers in the city for a considerable number of years.[44] Andrew Lamb was a few years longer in the city than Seybolt's list indicates, which records his last year as 1755. He was still advertising in 1757.[45] Dove did not disappear in 1758, for he continued to keep an apparently flourishing school as late as 1768, in which he had two assistants.[46] Putting Seybolt's and our findings together, it would appear that between eighty and ninety per cent of these teachers continued to teach in the city for one year or less, and the remainder of them taught for periods ranging from two to twenty-three years.

To supplement the income from teaching, many of these masters sold some merchandise on the side. Mrs. Rhodes, in 1722, offered for sale, in addition to the French language, ''Orange-Oyl . . . by the Quarter of Pound or ounce; the said Oyl being very good for Wind-Colick and Stomach . . . and likewise Sweet-Meats, as Lemon & Orange Peel, very well made.''[47] John Hunter advertised, in 1735, ''a never failing method of curing the Piles.''[48] Even Theophilus Grew went into the importing business for a time, and on an evidently large scale.[49]

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[40] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1736, 4.

[41] *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1783, 4.

[42] Seybolt: *Loc. cit.*, 361–4.

[43] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Nov. 14, 1728, 2.

[44] Seybolt: *Loc. cit.*, 361–4.

[45] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 15, 1757, 4.

[46] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1768, 3.

[47] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, May 23, 1722, 4.

[48] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 20, 1734–5, 2.

[49] *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1739, 4.

Others had their wives assist them in teaching.[50] Odrian Dupuy, worked at a trade, and also taught the French language, while his wife taught needle-work.[51] The private masters frequently, and early, resorted to the device of providing board and lodgings for their students. Richard Warder, as early as 1727, advertised "Boarding and Schooling."[52] Charles Phipps, in 1729, announced that "Youth may be Boarded at reasonable Rates,"[53] and Joseph Garner had a house "commodious" enough "to admit of many boarders, without interrupting each other in their private studies."[54] In all of these practices, it would seem that the private master was actuated by economic necessity, and the same urge probably explains the choice of subjects which he undertook to teach.

III. *Curriculum*

As a general rule the private master taught the practical and scientific, rather than the traditional classical subjects. It was evidently for these that the need was most urgent. A demand for trained navigators was met by great emphasis on navigation in these schools; a demand for surveyors was similarly responded to.

From the facts which we have collected regarding the curriculum of the private schools, and from those collected by Seybolt,[55] it would appear that the business master found the mathematical, scientific, and vocational subjects by far in greatest demand. Between 1725, when John Shields was teaching "Trigonometry, Plain and Oblique, Surveying, Gaugeing, Dialling, and Navigation,"[56] and 1783, when George Fitzgerald taught a wide range of similar subjects,[57] considerably more than half of these teachers taught the mathematical and scientific subjects, either exclusively or in conjunction with one or two languages. From 1730 until 1765, it appears that about seventy per cent of these men taught these subjects. Of thirty-two teachers of mathematics in these years, fourteen taught this subject exclusively, and seven added one or two languages. From 1765 until 1770, the foreign languages found a greater number of teachers. From 1770 until 1774, the mathematics and sciences again took the lead, and from this latter date until 1783, the teachers of the languages were much more numerous than those of the mathematics. Seybolt says, in summing up his findings, regarding these mathematical schools: "They were the most popular of all schools of secondary grade throughout the eighteenth century."[58] With a few brief periodical lapses, the tendencies and practices in Philadelphia, as we have found them, confirm his conclusion.

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[50] Adv. of Thomas Ball, *Ibid.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4; adv. of John Dommet, *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 19, 1730, 4; adv. of Andrew Lamb, *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 2, 1749, 4.

[51] *Pa. Gaz.*, Feb. 4, 1734–5, 3.

[52] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 30, 1727, 2.

[53] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1728–9, 4.

[54] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 14, 1766, 1.

[55] *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed.*, 35 *ff*.

[56] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, July 8, 1725, 4.

[57] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1783, 3.

The chief subjects or phases of subjects taught by these men were logarithms, bookkeeping, trigonometry, surveying, gauging, dialling, navigation, geometry, algebra, astronomy, mensuration, geography, use of the globes, maps, quadrants, scales, sliding rules, projection of the sphere, spherical geometry, spherical trigonometry, mechanics, conic sections, calculus, business practice, fluxions, levelling, hydraulics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, perspective, architecture, fortification, altimetry, longimetry, and gunnery. The subjects down to and including mechanics were taught before the opening of the Philadelphia Academy. According to Seybolt, John Clare taught conic sections, in 1747.[59] He was still teaching this subject, in 1756.[60] The other subjects on the list appeared between 1750 and 1772, chiefly in the last few years of this period.

Of thirty-eight language teachers on our list, twenty-one taught French in the period 1722–1783, twelve of these teaching French exclusively. Of these twelve exclusively French teachers, eight taught in the period 1722–1740, the other four in the period 1765–1783. Between 1740 and 1765, it would seem, from our findings, that French did not hold a prominent position in the schools of these teachers. Yet, in 1749, Gabriel Nesman, Minister of the Swedish Church at Wicaco, invited all "lovers of the French language" who are "desirous of having sermons delivered therein" to a meeting in his church[61] and, in 1759, it was spoken of as a "polite fashionable language."[62] Many of the men who taught French exclusively were probably native-born Frenchmen, although they seldom referred to this fact.

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[58] *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed.*, 53.

[59] *Ibid.*, 59.

[60] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 16, 1756, 6.

[61] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1749, 2.

[62] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1759, 3.

Daniel Duborn,[63] Louis Timothee,[64] Odrian Dupuy,[65] Charles Raboteau,[66] Jacque Le Maitre,[67] James Robins, who said he was "a native of Paris,"[68] and Maurice Desdevens, "from Canada,"[69] were probably all either of French parentage or born in France. Le Maitre said that he taught French because of the "great desire all polite persons have of attaining a knowledge of so useful a language, being a tongue universally esteemed by the polite world, and accounted one of the genteelest parts of education, necessary to be understood by all ranks of people."[70]

Of these same thirty-eight teachers of foreign languages, sixteen taught Latin, but in every case they offered it in conjunction with other foreign languages or with the mathematics. David Lloyd combined with Latin "some parts of the Mathematicks."[71] Timothy Griffith taught Grammar, Latin, Greek, and mathematics.[72] Charles Fortescue included Latin with a long array of mathematical subjects,[73] and Frederick Rothenbuhler taught "Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, English, and the practical branches of the Mathematicks."[74] These Latin teachers are distributed uniformly throughout the entire period.

Greek we found offered, before 1758, by only one teacher.[75] Between 1758 and 1773, seven teachers taught Greek in conjunction with other subjects. In the following ten years it dropped out of sight entirely. German was taught by Joseph Crellius,[76] and J. Schuppy in 1743.[77] Samuel Luther, in 1749,[78] and Jacob Ehrenseller, in 1770,[79] were also among the few masters who announced instruction in this subject. Portuguese was advertised by John Eliot, in 1744,[80] and Hebrew by Mr. Habs at Reading, in 1759,[81] and by Emanuel Lyon in Philadelphia, in 1769.[82] Spanish was taught by Paul Fooks, between 1767[83] and 1775.[84] There seems to have been very few private masters who taught

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[63] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, June 25, 1730, 4.

[64] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 14, 1731, 4.

[65] *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1734–5, 3.

[66] *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1765, 3.

[67] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[68] *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1781, 3.

[69] *Pa. Packet*, Aug. 2, 1783, 3.

[70] *Pa. Gaz.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[71] *Pa. Gaz.*, 17th of 2d month, 1729, 4.

[72] *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1737, 4.

[73] *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1743, 4.

[74] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1765, 4.

[75] Timothy Griffith—*Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1737, 4.

[76] *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1743, 3.

[77] *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1743, 3.

[78] *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1749, 3.

[79] *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1770, 4.

[80] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1744, 4.

[81] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1759, 4.

[82] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1769, 1.

[83] *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1767. Supplement to No. 1985, 1.

[84] *Pa. Packet*, Aug. 14, 1775, 1.

Spanish in colonial Philadelphia, however valuable commercially the subject may have been.[85] Italian appeared as a subject in only a few schools. John Matthias Kramer taught it, in 1755,[86] and D'orsiere and Quesnay, in 1782.[86a] High Dutch and Dutch were taught by two ministers of the gospel, Nesman in 1750,[87] and Rothenbuhler in 1765.[88] Arabic was advertised by Mr. Habs of Reading, in 1759.[89]

English was apparently not offered in private secondary schools until 1750. Before this time some of these masters announced that they taught reading and writing, as in the case of George Brownell, in 1727.[90] Between 1750 and 1753, it was taught by seven of the masters on our list, some of whom evidently taught merely elementary English, such as Nesman in 1750.[91] But a man like David James Dove probably attained the highest goal of an English teacher, when he taught the "English language according to the most exact rules of grammar, with such an accurate and masculine pronunciation and accent as becomes its dignity. The best translations of the best classics shall be read and explained in the English school, the beauties and the remarkable passages pointed out, with the derivation of all Greek and Latin words, worthy observation."[92] Franklin has left us the following description of his method as a teacher in the Philadelphia Academy:

> He had a good voice, read perfectly well, with proper accent and just pronunciation, and his method of communicating habits of the same kind to his pupils was this. When he gave a lesson to one of them, he always first read it to him aloud, with all the different modulations of voice, that the subject and sense required. These the scholars, in studying and repeating the lesson, naturally endeavored to imitate; and it was really surprising to see how soon they caught his manner, which convinced me and others who frequently attended his school, that, though bad tones and manners in reading are, when once acquired, rarely, with difficulty, if ever cured, yet when none have been already formed, good ones are as easily learned as bad. In a few weeks after opening his school, the Trustees were invited to hear the scholars

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[85] Seybolt: *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed.*, 31–4.

[86] *Ibid.*, 31.

[86a] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 1, 1782, 4.

[87] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[88] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1765, 4.

[89] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1759, 4.

[90] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 14, 1727–8, 2.

[91] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[92] *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1758, 3.

read and recite. The parents and relations of the boys also attended. The performances were surprisingly good, and of course were admired and applauded.[93]

The other subjects offered by teachers on our list were chronology, in 1743;[94] logic, philosophy, philology, Greek and Hebrew antiquities, in 1759;[95] natural and moral philosophy, in 1773;[96] and drawing, in 1782.[97]

With the exception of Latin, Greek and a few others which were seldom offered, the subjects taught by the private business masters throughout the colonial period were those for which there was an urgent economic or social demand, which was not adequately met in the schools which have been described in preceding chapters. We shall see that many of the mathematical subjects taught by the private masters, before 1750, were embodied in the plan of the Philadelphia Academy, and others of them were subsequently added. Bookkeeping, French and German were taught in Quaker schools, as early as 1742, and probably mensuration also.[98] Even as early as 1683, Enoch Flower taught a form of bookkeeping, or as it was called "cast accot,"[99] and Thomas Makin, in 1699, was teaching "y^e^ Rules of Practice (y^e^ only Rules for business)."[100] It is also worthy of note that one of the teachers in the Penn Charter system,[101] whether in his private or public capacity we cannot determine, taught many subjects frequently found in the private schools. In 1728, we find his advertisement as follows:

> At the Free-School in Strawberry-Lane, near the Market House, Philadelphia, are taught, Writing, Arithmetick in all their Parts, both Vulgar, Decimal, and Duo-decimal; Merchants Accounts after the Italian manner through all the Part of Commerce; Measuring all Artificers Works, Gauging, Dialling, with some other practical Parts of Mathematicks; Also English and Latin
>
> N. B. He also teaches a Night-School at the Place aforesaid.
>
> John Walby[102]

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[93] Sparks: *The Works of B. Franklin,* II, 142–3.

[94] *Pa. Gaz.,* Dec. 6, 1743, 4.

[95] *Ibid.,* Feb. 8, 1759, 4.

[96] *Ibid.,* May 19, 1773, 3.

[97] *Pa. Packet,* Oct. 1, 1782, 4.

[98] *Supra,* 44.

[99] *Supra,* 28.

[100] *Supra,* 39.

[101] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.,* 3–29–1730.

[102] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Dec. 31, 1728, 2. Joseph Yerkes, whose name is on our list of private masters (*Supra,* 92), became a teacher in the Quaker schools—see Woody: *Quaker Ed. in Pa.,* 58, 223.

It seems probable that in his day school he was teaching in his public capacity.

These facts regarding the curriculum of the private school, as well as those already presented for the religious schools in the colony, force the conclusion that, as far as subjects of instruction are concerned, the Philadelphia Academy,[103] which in a few respects may be considered a pioneer institution in Pennsylvania, represented no new departure in educational practice.

IV. *Purpose*

A few of these teachers very definitely expressed their purpose in teaching. One taught to supplement the work of the grammar schools. ''Any children,'' he says, ''that goes to Grammar Schools, that have not Oppertunity to improve themselves there in Writing and Arithmetick, may be Taught from Eleven to Twelve in the Morning, and from Four to Five in the Afternoon.''[104] While he did not offer any secondary subjects, his purpose is presented here, because it might be said to be one of the chief purposes and reasons for the work of the private teachers generally. Others expressed their purpose differently. One might reasonably be surprised that a scholar like Theophilus Grew could not find a more satisfactory justification for his teaching than the following: ''For As much as Mathematical Learning is (and has been in all Ages) promoted in most Parts of the World especially in all great Towns, and generally pursued by the Gentry and those of the first Rank, as a necessary Qualification; it is to be hoped that this flourishing City will follow the Example and give it such Encouragement as it justly deserves.''[105] Another taught ''to qualify youth for business,''[106] and for sea-faring.[107] Still another taught to meet the needs of those ''who have a mind to become his scholars'' and ''shall want it.''[108] Joseph Garner, in 1766, proposed to carry ''polite literature into execution,'' and advertised a large yard as a playground, which would keep students off the streets where ''vice is only too often so predominant.''[109] But as a group, these private teachers expressed either no purpose at all or only a very vague one.

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[103] *Infra*, 178 *ff.*, 182, 199 *ff.*

[104] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 30, 1727, 2.

[105] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 26, 1738, 3.

[106] *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1750, 3.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[109] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1766, 1.

V. *Method*

With regard to method, expressions of these masters are, on the whole, equally vague. Charles Phipps, in 1729, taught "after an easy Method."[110] Thomas Ball invented memorizing devices for "the more speedy Instruction of his Scholars."[111] Theophilus Grew does not describe his method, but it evidently was a time-saving one, for he claimed to be able, in three months' teaching, to give any person "of tolerable genius" and "constant application" a "sufficient knowledge" of any of the many mathematical subjects which he taught.[112] David James Dove took probably the most advanced position in the theory of method when he justified his boarding school plan on the grounds that "he will have a better opportunity of discovering their [students'] inclinations and humours, forming their manners, and correcting and improving their language and writing. Besides which, care will be taken to instruct them in several books, by way of recreation, which are not taught in the publick schools."[113] Frederick Rothenbuhler taught the foreign languages, in 1765, "by good methods, and grammatically."[114] And Joseph Garner, in 1766, adopted public inspection and examinations, but probably as much for the purpose of advertising his skill as for stimulating application in his students.[115] Lazarus Pine taught the English language,[116] and Jacque Le Maitre the French language,[117] "grammatically." Very little definite information, however, can be obtained regarding the method of the private colonial teachers.

VI. *Cost of Private Education*

As a rule the advertisements, on which this account is based, have little information regarding the cost of tuition. Occasionally the master taught "at reasonable rates," as Mr. Habs did in Reading.[118] Thomas Ball, in 1729–30, taught "Writing, Arithmetick, with the true Grounds of the French Tongue, at Twenty Shillings per Quarter.''[119] Theophilus Grew, in 1734, apparently charged thirty shillings per quarter for instruction in each of his many mathematical subjects.[120] In 1769, Jacque Le Maitre charged ''15 S entrance and 24 S a quarter or 8 S per month.''[121] William Linn fixed his rates, in 1773, at ''Twelve Pounds per annum.''[122] It ought to be noted that these rates were much higher than those of the other schools of the day.[123]

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[110] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 20, 1728–9, 4.

[111] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[112] *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1734, 4.

[113] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1751, 2.

[114] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1765, 4.

[115] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1766, 1.

[116] *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1769, 3.

[117] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[118] *Pa. Gaz.*, Feb. 8, 1759, 4; see also *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 26, 1730, 4.

VII. *Night Schools*

As early as 1731, John Lloyd kept ''*A Night School* . . . in Water-Street, . . . where Writing, Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal, with some Parts of Mathematicks, are Taught.''[124] Theophilus Grew kept a more elaborate night school in 1734.[125] In 1743, Charles Fortescue kept a similar school in which he taught ''The Latin Tongue, English in a Grammatical Manner, Navigation, Surveying, Mensuration, Dialling, Geography, Use of the Globes, Merchants Accompts etc.''[126] Night schools, however, did not become common until the sixties. In 1764, David Ellison kept a night school in which he taught ''Mensuration . . . and several other useful Branches of the Mathematicks.''[127] In 1768, the following advertisement appeared:

> On Monday . . . the Subscribers purpose to open Evening Schools, at their respective School-houses, in this City, where will be taught, Writing, Arithmetick, Book-keeping etc. Likewise, the most useful Branches of Mathematics, at the usual Prices by David Ellison, William Oliphant, Todd and Dickinson, Moles Patterson, John Wilson, James Cannon, Alexander Power, Andrew Porter, Patrick Lanagan, and Joseph Yerkes.[128]

From this advertisement it would appear that not only had night schools become almost universal, but that the private masters were on quite friendly terms, rather than in unfriendly competition as one might easily imagine. Occasionally, but rarely, they showed their business proclivities, as in the case of D'orsiere and Quesnay who, in 1782, announced that ''The Entrance of those who learned from other masters shall be very moderate.''[129] These last kept a

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[119] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[120] *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1734, 4.

[121] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[122] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1773, 3.

[123] *Supra*, 35, 78; *Infra*, 182, 188 *f*.

[124] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 18, 1731, 4.

[125] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Oct. 3, 1734, 4.

[126] *Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 6, 1743, 4.

[127] *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1764, 4.

[128] *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1768, 4.

[129] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 1, 1782, 4.

"night school from six to nine."[130] It appears, then, that from 1760 on, the night school became a very general practice of the private master.[131]

VIII. *The Private Master as a Tutor*

We frequently find that this rather versatile teacher spent part of his busy day instructing ladies, gentlemen, and their children in their own homes. A teacher of the French language, in 1739, announced that he "waits on Gentlemen and Ladies at their respective Houses,"[132] and Jacque Le Maitre made a similar announcement, in 1769, charging more for instruction in this private way than in his school.[133] We have found only a few of the mathematical teachers who adopted this plan. The practice, however, was fairly general with all except the mathematical teachers.

IX. *Pioneers in Girls' Secondary Education*

In the field of girls' secondary education, the private master was a pioneer in the colony, as he was in some other respects. The first evidence of a school for girls of a higher than elementary grade appears in the advertisement of Mrs. Rhodes, in 1722:

> *Public Notice* is hereby given That there is lately arrived in this City one Mrs. Rhodes who will teach Young Ladies or Gentlewomen to read and write French to perfection. She will give constant attendance at her Dwelling-House in the Second-Street in the Alley next Door to Dr. Owen she likewise teaches to flourish on muslin after the most expeditious way and at very reasonable prices. She likewise draws all Manner of Patterns for flourishing on Muslin and those in Fashion of Lace, which is very pretty and quickly learned. She Likewise draws Patterns for Embroidering of Petticoats etc. And those who have a Mind to learn she will teach very reasonable.[134]

Here we have an example of that ornamental education which was characteristic of practice in this field throughout the colonial period. To the accomplishments which Mrs. Rhodes taught, later teachers added other subjects, such as music, dancing, painting, singing, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, bookkeeping, and English grammar. Fénelon's *Education of Girls* was read in the colony. It appeared among the books of the Philadelphia library, in 1741, in an English translation by Dr. George Hicks, which was published in London, in 1721.[135] Among the subjects which Fénelon would have girls instructed in were reading, writing, grammar of their own language, poetry, music and painting.[136] The modern foreign languages he did not recommend. While Fénelon probably directed the attention of parents to the necessity of educating their daughters, colonial practice went somewhat further than he suggested.

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[130] *Ibid.*

[131] For additional information *re* night schools, see Seybolt: *The Evg. School in Col. Am.*, 9 *ff*.

[132] *Pa. Gaz.*, Feb. 15, 1738–9, 4.

[133] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1769, 1.

[134] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, May 23, 1722, 4.

French became a very popular study with colonial girls. All through the period, teachers opened their schools and offered their services to girls interested in this subject. Franklin considered French and music essential in the education of a girl.[137] Thomas Ball taught this language, ''so necessary and polite,'' to girls in 1729.[138] In 1769, Jacque Le Maitre proposed to teach ladies and gentlemen ''the French language grammatically, in a method entirely new and concise, by which his pupils may not only read it with an accurate pronunciation, and acquire the true idiom of the language, but also write and speak it, grammatically and elegantly.''[139] In 1773, however, Francis Daymon informed parents that he had been advised to open his French and Latin school every morning ''at half an hour after six'' for the benefit of girls, and thus early so as not to interfere ''with the other branches of their education.''[140] In 1781, James Robins proposed to teach both sexes ''this language . . . with the most elegant pronunciation. By his easy, expeditious method of instruction, if his pupils will give a proper application, they may attain all the necessary knowledge of this polite language in a few months, and by the exercise of patience, moderation, and every other quality requisite for the advancement of education, he hopes to avoid giving that disgust, particularly to the fair sex, that is often occasioned by the unskillfulness, impatience, or inattention of teachers.''[141] These are but a sampling of the very many advertisements which appeared.

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[135] *Catalogue,* 1741, 50.

[136] For full exposition of Fénelon's views see Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.,* I, 61–6.

[137] Letter to Debby, Feb. 19, 1758, in Smyth: *The Writings of B. Franklin,* III, 435.

[138] *Pa. Gaz.,* March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[139] *Ibid.,* July 27, 1769, 1.

[140] *Ibid.,* April 14, 1773, 1.

[141] *Ibid.,* Aug. 22, 1781, 3.

Music, too, had a prominent place in the education offered to girls by the private masters. In 1730, Mrs. Thomas Ball taught "Playing on the Spinet."[142] John Beals, in 1748, proposed to teach "Young Ladies, or others" to play the "Violin, Hautboy, German Flute, Common Flute, and Dulcimer, by note."[143] Playing the German flute was usually a gentleman's accomplishment, and teachers almost never offered girls instruction on this instrument. Mr. Bremmer, in 1763, conducted a school "where young Ladies may be Taught the Harpsicord, or Guitar," and "Young Gentlemen . . . the Violin, German Flute, Harpsicord, or Guitar."[144] Franklin recommended Mr. Bremmer as a teacher for Sally, in 1765.[145] The harpsicord was an instrument resembling closely the modern piano, and toward the end of the colonial period the names were used interchangeably.[146]

Dancing seems to have been considered a counterpart of music in the education of a girl. Occasionally it elicited the outpourings of the colonial muse, as is evidenced by the following:

May I presume, in humble lays,
My dancing fair! thy steps to praise?
While this grand maxim I advance,
That all the world is but a dance.

. . .

All nature is one ball we find,
The water dances to the wind,
The sea itself, at night and noon,
Rises and dances to the moon.[147]

Dancing continued to hold a prominent place in a girl's education in the colony. Mr. Deering, in 1735, kept a dancing school and invited parents to a fortnightly exhibition. He requested them to remain away at other times "because it disturbs the scholars in their Learning."[148] "Martin Foy, Dancing Master, Just arrived from Europe" taught, in 1767, ladies and gentlemen "the true Movement of a Minuet, with proper Graces and most exact Time, in the newest and politest Taste."[149] In 1774,

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[142] *Ibid.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[143] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1748, 3.

[144] *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1763, 4.

[145] Letter to Debby, Feb. 14, 1765, in Smyth: *The Writings of B. Franklin*, IV, 360.

[146] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3.

[147] *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1771, 1.

[148] *Pa. Gaz.*, April 10, 1735, 4.

[149] *Pa. Chronicle*, April 20, 1767, 3.

"Signor Sodi, Late principal Dancer at the Opera in Paris and London, Acquaints the Ladies and Gentlemen of this City, that he has opened a public School at his room in Chestnut-street . . . where he will teach the following Dances, viz The Minuet, the Minuet Dauphin, Louvre, Allemande, La Bretagne, La Marie's, The Paspie, Rigadoon, New Minuet by Four, New Minuet by Eight, Cotillons, Cotillon step, The Hornpipe, English Country Dances.

"And all Dances that are danced in the several Courts in Europe."[150]

Singing was taught girls as a subject as early as 1729–30,[151] and Joseph Garner taught them psalmody, in 1765.[152] Needlework, fancy or otherwise, was usually included in the course in girls' schools.[153] Lucy Brown and Ann Ball in their French school for girls taught "their pupils to weave lace, embroider, & all kinds of needle work, in the most elegant manner."[154] Latin was sometimes offered as a study for girls, as in 1736 and 1773.[155] In 1744, they were invited to study Portuguese.[156] Painting was another popular female accomplishment. In 1744–45, Mrs. Dickson, "from Scotland," taught "Young Ladies to draw in every Kind, to Paint upon Silk, and Japan and Paint upon Glass,"[157] and, in 1780, Quesnay De Glouvay kept a rather pretentious school of painting which he called an "Academy," into which both sexes were admitted.[158]

Yet, while the masters usually offered girls a training in those things that were considered accomplishments, and which were apparently demanded in polite social circles, there were others who offered them an education which was chiefly practical. Arithmetic, probably much the same as that taught by Thomas Makin in the Penn Charter School, was offered to them, in 1727.[159] In 1753, William Dawson advertised "A School, to teach writing, in all the hands of use; arithmetick, vulgar and decimal; merchants accounts; psalmody, by a proper and regular method; for the amusement of such young ladies as are pleased to employ the summer evenings in those useful and necessary exercises."[160] In 1762, they were invited to enter a school which taught "Writing, Arithmetick and such Branches of practical Mathematics, as are necessary to qualify youth for business."[161] Edward Jollie offered them, in 1774, instruction in reading, writing, accounts and all kinds of needle-work.[162]

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[150] *Pa. Packet*, Sept. 5, 1774, 1.

[151] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[152] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1765, 4.

[153] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1735–6, 3; Sept. 28, 1769, 1.

[154] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1771, 4.

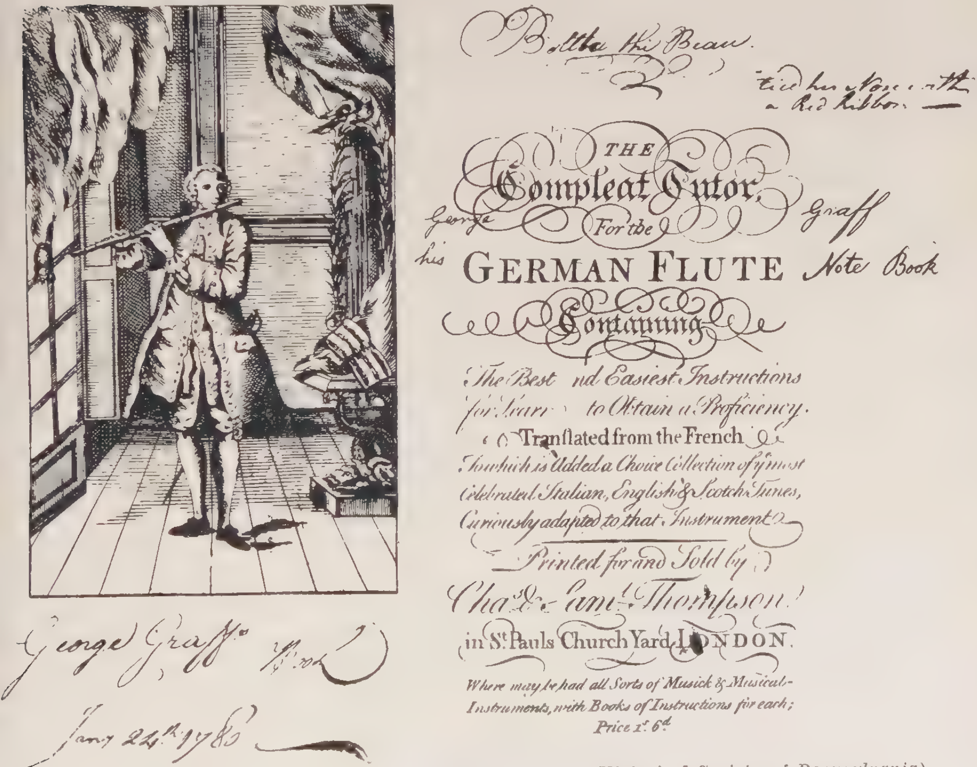
[155] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1736, 4; April 14, 1773, 1.

[156] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1744, 4.

[157] *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1744–5, 4.

[158] *Pa. Packet*, Jan. 4, 1780, 1.

[159] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 30, 1727, 2.



Bottle the Beau.

tied her Nose with a Red Ribbon —

THE
Compleat Tutor
George For the Graff
his GERMAN FLUTE Note Book
Containing
The Best and Easiest Instructions
for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency.
Tranſlated from the French
To which is Added a Choice Collection of ye most
Celebrated Italian, English & Scotch Tunes,
Curiously adapted to that Instrument
Printed for and Sold by
Chas & Saml Thompson
in St Pauls Church Yard LONDON.
Where may be had all Sorts of Musick & Musical-Instruments, with Books of Instructions for each;
Price 1s 6d

George Graff his Book
Jany 24th 1780

(Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

A Colonial Gentleman's Accomplishment. Facsimile of the Original in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

English and grammar were offered to girls, in 1763, and were probably of a higher than elementary standard, because the same teacher at the same time offered reading, writing, orthography, and arithmetic as the other subjects of his school.[163] As a rule the teachers of English offered girls instruction only in reading and writing.[164]

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[160] *Pa. Gaz.*, May 10, 1753, 3.

[161] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1762, 4.

[162] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3.

[163] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 13, 1763, 4.

X. *Coeducation in Private Schools*

While it is difficult to prove conclusively that many private masters admitted both boys and girls into the same classroom and at the same time, it appears most probable that some of them did. The Quakers, on the other hand, had separate schools for boys and girls.[165] Thomas Ball, in 1729–30, admitted both sexes to his school of French and mathematics.[166] John Dommet adopted the same procedure in 1730.[167] Both these men were assisted by their wives, as were many others in the colonial period. If Dommet were the man referred to in the following verse, he was evidently a well known character in Philadelphia, although one might reasonably doubt his popularity among the girls of his school:

> If to be ragged, poor, and stock'd with Lice;
> If to have less or more of every Vice:
> If to write Nonsense in a *Grub-street* Strain:
> If to be crabbed, ignorant and vain;
> If Morning–Drams, or viler Tiff could save
> A roving Mortal from the silent Grave,
> Then might *John Dommett* still have liv'd to please
> His dull Admirers with his duller Lays.[168]

Odrian Dupuy admitted both sexes in 1734–35,[169] Joseph Garner did likewise in 1765,[170] and the same is true of nearly all the male teachers of this type in the colony. Garner announced that "the strictest Decorum amongst the youth of both sexes" would be "duly attended to."[171]

A few men, however, appeared as teachers of separate girls' schools, such as Neel Ledru, in 1738,[172] Peter Papin Prefontaine, in 1758,[173] and Mathew Maguire, in 1771, who could designate himself as "Preceptor to the Ladies."[174] Women teachers, moreover, who were heads of schools, taught only girls, as Mary

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[164] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1735–6, 3.

[165] See Woody: *Quaker Ed. in Pa.*, 70, 213, 217.

[166] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[167] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 19, 1730, 4.

[168] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 9–16, 1739, 3.

[169] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1735, 4.

[170] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1765, 4.

[171] *Ibid.*

[172] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1738, 3.

[173] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1758, 3.

[174] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1771, 1.

Williams,[175] Lucy Brown, and Ann Ball.[176] A few teachers announced that the sexes would be taught in "separate apartments,"[177] which might be considered a separate school arrangement, and parents were occasionally reminded that teachers will pay "strict attention to moral conduct."[178] Others taught girls and boys at different hours, or on different days.[179]

Not all of the private teachers refrained from an expression of their attitude on the question of coeducation. Edward Jones, in 1763, condemned the practice "not finding it by any Means eligible, to admit young Gentlemen into a School where Ladies frequent" and "intends (by the Advice of some particular Gentlemen in this City) for the future to admit none but Ladies."[180] It is regrettable that Jones was not more explicit in stating his reason for opposing coeducation. It must be remembered, however, that economic necessity determined the practice of the private teacher, and he adopted whatever arrangement brought him the richest economic return.

XI. *Pioneers in Physical Education*

We have seen that physical education was not on the program of the Penn Charter School, nor were the students given much free time to indulge in physical amusements. Neither was it on the program of the other colonial schools,[181] nor did it receive any attention in the Philadelphia Academy, although Franklin recommended it.[182] Yet, the colonial period was not devoid of opportunities for physical education. Certain forms of physical culture were held in high repute, if not essential in the education of European gentlemen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thomas Story informs us of the English attitude, about 1675 or 1680. He says:

> For my Father, intending me for the Study of the Law, which has been esteemed a genteel Profession, he first sent me to the Fencing-school, as a fashionable and manly Accomplishment. Here I became a considerable Proficient in a short Time, and obtained the chief Vogue over all my neighbouring Contemporaries in that Faculty by which my Mind was greatly drawn out,

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[175] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1759, 4.

[176] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1771, 4.

[177] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3; *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct 17, 1781, 2.

[178] *Pa. Packet*, Oct. 17, 1774, 3.

[179] *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1780, 1.

[180] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 13, 1763, 4.

[181] *Supra*, 26 *ff.*, 65 *ff.*

[182] *Infra*, 212 *f.*, 215.

> and too much alienated from those Beginnings of Solidity which I had once known. And, having acquired some Skill also in Musick, the Exercise of that occasioned an Acquaintance and Society not profitable to Religion . . .
>
> I wore a Sword, which I well understood, and had foil'd several Masters of that Science, in the North, and at London.[183]

This same practice developed in the colony, and private masters offered to our colonial youth the facilities enjoyed by Story in his youth in England. The dancing master, who usually admitted both sexes, has been already described. This might be considered the first form in which formal physical education appeared in the schools of Pennsylvania. Fencing, however, soon made its appearance. In 1741, the following advertisement appeared:

> To all Gentlemen who desire to learn the right *Method* and true Art of Defence, and Pursuit of the Small-Sword in its greatest Perfection, and extraordinary quick and speedy, with all the Guards, Parades, Thrusts and Lessons thereunto belonging, fully described, and the best Rule for Playing against Artists or others with Blunts or Sharps; That they may be taught the same by Mr. Richard Lyneall, Professor and Master in the said Art.[184]

Lyneall left Philadelphia, but returned, and again advertised, in 1756.[185] In 1753, John Ormsby announced his school where he taught "Fencing with Foils, and Dancing."[186] And he proclaimed his philosophy in the statement that "he is a person properly qualified to instruct youth in several branches of education particularly Fencing and Dancing, with their necessary embellishments; which are, a discreet and curteous behaviour, a gentle easy carriage, without constraint, and how to appear in the politest company with a becoming grace and modest assurance."[187] The fencing masters continued to appear, as John Egerton, in 1758,[188] and Mr. Pike, in 1774.[189] To what extent there was a demand in the colony for the fencing master, it is hard to say, but dancing seems to have been one of the accomplishments of all ladies and gentlemen, and a source probably of much physical recreation.

[183] *Journal*, I, 11.

[184] *Pa. Gaz.*, Feb. 3, 1741–2, 4.

[185] *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1756, 4.

[186] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1753, 3.

[187] *Ibid.*

[188] *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1758, 4.

[189] *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1774, 4.

XII. *Private Schools Outside of Philadelphia*

Lancaster seems to have been the first outside city to be honored by a private master. In 1742, the following advertisement of James Fox appeared: "Taught in Lancaster, Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, both Vulgar and Decimal, with the Extraction of Roots, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying and Gauging. And all Kinds of Instruments, as Bills, Bonds, Indentures, etc. are carefully drawn."[190] "Reading Town" had a private master, in 1759. In this year, "Mr. John William Habs, minister of the Gospel at the North Branch, in Rariton," offered "his services to all Gentlemen of Learning" in teaching a long array of linguistic and mathematical subjects.[191] Pottstown, in 1769, seems to have had one of the better schools of this type. In this year the following appeared: "As the school at Pottstown, in Philadelphia county, lately kept by Mr. Henry Moore, master of the Latin and Greek languages, is now open on a more extensive plan, he having also engaged a gentleman qualified to teach the English tongue grammatically, writing, arithmetick, and several branches of the mathematicks in the same school, it is hoped the masters will be suitably encouraged by all Gentlemen who can conveniently send their children to them for instruction."[192] In 1782, Andrew Brown advertised his "Lancaster Academy" which he desired to establish "on the most advantageous and solid basis."[193] He says that he called a meeting of "the parents and encouragers" of the school, at which time "the following gentlemen were unanimously chosen directors, entitled, the Curators of Lancaster Academy in Pennsylvania, viz, the reverend Mr. Muhlenberg, the honorable William A. Atlee, Esquire, Jasper Yeats, Esquire, John Hubley, Esquire, William Henry, Esquire, and Matthias Slough, Esquire."[194] The subjects taught by Brown in Lancaster were English, Latin, Greek, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and "the mathematics."[195] He announced that "the regulations are similar to those of the principal Academies in Europe. Tuition, twenty shillings per quarter; and Boarding thirty pounds per annum."[196] Brown, however, did not remain long in Lancaster, for, a year later, we find him announcing the opening of a school in Philadelphia.[197] These are the only examples of private schools outside of Philadelphia that the writer has discovered. The colonial villages and small towns did not attract the private master. We shall see him in the nineteenth century establishing boarding schools in smaller communities, but chiefly for the children of cities and larger towns.

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[190] *Ibid.*, March 24, 1742–3, 3.

[191] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1759, 4.

[192] *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1769, 1.

[193] *Pa. Packet,* June 29, 1782, 1.

[194] *Ibid.*

[195] *Ibid.*

[196] *Ibid.*

XIII. *Summary*

At a time when religious and public agencies provided very inadequate facilities for the education of youth, the private master appeared in the colony, and continued throughout the entire period to fill a significant gap in the educational structure. He was seldom to be found outside of Philadelphia, because here social and economic conditions encouraged his appearance, and here alone could he find sufficient remuneration for his labors. From the view-point of educational control and administration, he represents the entire breakdown, if not negation, of Penn's public educational policy. On the other hand, he reflects the inadequacy of the ecclesiastical system to meet the rapidly changing needs of the new world. When the secondary school facilities in the colony were not meeting the needs of probably one prospective student in a hundred, this man, with all his faults, may be considered a blessing, and the city sometimes supported great numbers like him at one time. Some of them were excellent teachers, and some of them were impostors, who did not long survive. When David James Dove, in 1768, proclaimed through the public press that he used no such methods as "parading schoolmasters and grammaticasters,"[198] he probably told the truth about himself, and certainly about many of the others. The private master taught the subjects for which there was the greatest popular demand, and these were the subjects most neglected in the regularly established schools of the colony. He catered also to popular vanities, as well as to extravagant tastes and desires, which seemed to find no temperate satisfaction in an eighteenth-century society widely and painfully separated from the thrills and lustre of the great courtly centres of European culture. Philadelphia society aped the practices of a

[197] *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1783, 1.

[198] *Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 29, 1768, 3.

Paris and London nobility, and some of the colonial masters were but fashion-mongers, who taught our colonial sires to dance the jigs of kings in the woods of Pennsylvania.

He appeared as a pioneer in many fields. To him girls owed the first significant opportunity for an education above the mere rudiments. While he sometimes admitted girls only, or provided instruction exclusively for boys, we see in him the first experimenter with coeducation. Through him new subjects were introduced into our colonial educational curriculum. And he was the first teacher to provide some formal training for the development of the physical nature of colonial youth.

CHAPTER V

COLONIAL PURPOSE, CURRICULUM AND METHOD

I. *Purpose*

In Europe, two educational aims had come to be fairly well defined, at the time when Penn founded his colony. One, the humanistic aim, motivated foreign practice generally; the other, the utilitarian aim, had been very widely accepted in theory, and was beginning to find embodiment in educational practice. Pope's dictum, "The proper study of mankind is man," characterized the earlier humanistic attitude, and the classics were studied because of the light they threw on human problems and activities. Humanism, institutionalized, degenerated into a study of linguistic style and forms, and the seventeenth century witnessed the anomaly of a wide-spread study of the classics, not for the sake of the gospel, as Luther expressed it, nor for the sake of an understanding of man and his problems, as the early humanists felt, but for the sake of grammar and linguistic niceties. A revolt against this humanistic formalism was inevitable, and demands for an education in touch with the needs of life were voiced by many writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By these men, the sciences and mathematics —the *realia*—were deemed much more essential than the humanities, and were demanded for their usefulness and bearing upon the solution of the more real and urgent problems of man.[1]

Penn's philosophy was an embodiment of the highest ideals of both groups. First, and above all, the purpose of education, as he expressed it, was to make "men of wisdom and virtue,"[2] because on such depended the success of his experiment in government. But, in addition to this, he recommended the education of youth in "useful knowledge and arts,"[3] and would reward "the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions."[4] Practical education he made compulsory, although the law became a dead letter. All children over twelve were to "be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want."[5] Penn's educational aim was, then, social, cultural and utilitarian, with slightly more stress on the last, if we consider aim in its relation to curriculum.

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[1] For an excellent, but brief, presentation of these conceptions, see Kandel: *Hist. of Sec. Education*, 128–77.

[2] *Col. Rec.*, I, 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34.

[4] *Supra*, 27.

Penn's philosophy survived in Quaker theory, as we find it expressed in their official documents, and in the charters granted to their school. In 1697–98, the Monthly Meeting, in its petition for a charter,[6] stated that its purpose was the free maintenance, and education of poor children "in good Literature, until they are fit to be put out apprentices, or Capable to be masters or ushers in the said school,"[7] an aim which is at once social, cultural and practical. The documents relating to the establishment of the school do not contain any statement of purpose as regards the education of the rich. They were to be "taught and Instructed" at reasonable rates,[8] but evidently without any view to their entering trades or professions later. Penn, in his charters to the school, applauded the design of its founders. "I greatly favor," he said, "the good inclination and Just and laudable desires and Conscientious Regards of the Said pertitioners and people for the Education Instruction and Literature of their Children and Posterity and More Especially their Care and Concern for the poor on that behalf."[9] As has been already pointed out, the Quaker purpose, as it developed, found expression more and more in terms of religious culture and discipline, to the almost entire neglect, at least in the Latin School, of anything practical, except in so far as character formation may be said to be practical.[10]

The purpose of the earlier Presbyterian schools was preparation for the ministry and, when the College of New Jersey had been established, the college preparatory aim came to the fore. Presbyterian secondary education was, throughout the period, decidedly cultural and religious. The arts and sciences, in which prospective ministers were examined, were stressed for their liberalizing and cultural, rather than practical, values.[11] With the

[5] *Col. Rec.*, I, 40.

[6] *Supra*, 32.

[7] *Col. Rec.*, I, 531–2.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Charter of 1701.

[10] *Supra*, 34, 36 *f.*, 41 *f.*

[11] *Supra*, 66 *f.*, 78 *ff.*

Episcopalians, the aim was cultural, religious, and practical. Depending for their ministers, as they were forced to do from lack of bishops here, upon English institutions, they laid less stress, in their schools, upon a liberal than upon a sectarian and practical aim.[12] Purpose among the Lutheran, Reformed and Baptist leaders was similar to that of the other religious groups, although Kunze, before the close of the colonial period, established a Lutheran school of the Halle-realistic type.[13] The predominant aim throughout the colonial period was the cultural, the utilitarian being disregarded to a considerable extent in others than the schools of the private masters, where efficiency as navigators, surveyors, and merchants received a pronounced emphasis.

II. *Curriculum*

Content followed aim to a considerable extent. On the cultural side, it was the traditional humanistic one, the classics, with much more emphasis upon Latin than on Greek. Penn Charter students have left us some evidence of their training in Latin, while little now remains to show the nature and extent of their work in Greek. We find reference to their work in Latin under Pastorius;[14] we see their training in Latin embodied in mottoes on student journals,[15] and some of their Latin work survives in student exercise books in the Norris collection.[16] While masters of the Latin School were employed to teach Greek as well as Latin,[17] it is probable that much less time was given to the former study. The grammar of these languages was probably stressed more than any other phase. In 1776, one of the Penn Charter students announced that he had lost ''A Greek Grammar,''[18] and, in 1777, another announced that he had lost ''Rudimans Grammar.''[19] An edition of the latter was published in Philadelphia, in 1776, under the title *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue: Or a Plain and easy Introduction to Latin Grammar. Wherein The Principles of the Language are Methodically digested both in English and Latin. With Usual Notes and Observations, explaining the Terms of Grammar, and farther improv-*

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[12] *Supra*, 74 *ff*.

[13] *Supra*, 13 *f*.

[14] *Supra*, 38 *ff*.

[15] *Supra*, 55 *f*.

[16] *Supra*, 43.

[17] *Supra*, 45.

[18] *The Public School Gazetteer*, Oct. 21, 1776. [Norris *MSS*. in H. S. P.]

[19] *The Students Gazette*, June, 1777. [Norris *MSS*.]

ing its Rules. To which is added by the Publisher, Several useful Extracts from Ross's Latin Grammar.[20] Before this time, in 1752, appeared, without any indication of authorship, *A Complete Introduction to the Latin Tongue . . . Comprehending the Substance of What has been taught by some of the best Grammarians . . . Published principally for the Use of the Grammar School at Newark; and recommended to all who design to send their Children to New Jersey College.*[21] The author of this latter decries the fact that "Lilly's has been almost the only Grammar taught in this country for many years past."[22] In 1758, there was printed, for the use of the Philadelphia Academy, Davy's *Adminiculum Puerile,* a combination Latin grammar and composition book. In 1776, there was published in Philadelphia the Greek grammar of E. Wettenhal, with the title *Graecae Grammaticae Institutio Compendiaria-In Usum Scholarum.* In this, Greek grammar is presented through the medium of Latin, not a single word of English appearing in the text. Much attention would seem to have been given to the study of Latin and Greek grammar. The entrance requirements of the College of New Jersey, in 1748, called for the translation of "English into true and grammatical Latin" and for a knowledge of "the grammatical connection of words" in Greek.[23]

It is unfortunate that so little can be known with certainty regarding the texts used in particular schools. All we can be sure of is that a strong classical bias characterized their work. Robert Proud, addressing the overseers, in 1786, on the question of modernizing the library of the Penn Charter Latin School, reminded them that, twenty-five years earlier, it had a collection of books "principally of Classic Authors," and that they had become much worn, and he suggested that they be replaced by a collection covering the fields of philosophy, Greek, Latin, French, English, and Geography, with a supply of maps and mathematical instruments added.[24] The library, until this time, had probably only some of the Latin and Greek, and a few English, classics. Indirectly, it appears that Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Lucretius, and Virgil were among the authors read in the Penn

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[20] Hildeburn: *Op. cit.,* II, 266.

[21] New York: J. Parker, 1752.

[22] Preface.

[23] Ford: *Scotch Irish in Am.,* 428.

[24] Letter to overseers, 1–25–1786. Proud *MSS.* No. 156. [H. S. P.]

Charter Latin School, in 1769.[25] The list of books in use in the English School, in 1764, has been noted elsewhere.[26]

Some idea of what was stressed in the Presbyterian schools may be gathered from the entrance requirements of the College of New Jersey, in 1748. To be admitted, students were required to "render Virgil and Tully's orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin," and also to translate the gospels in Greek into Latin or English.[27] In the Pequea Academy, it is said, the students used the *Colloquies* of Corderius, *Aesop's Fables,* Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and Virgil's *Bucolics,*[28] but they probably read many more of the Latin authors. It was the practice here, as probably in many other colonial schools, to use Latin as the language of the school, and Corderius was a good practical book for this purpose. The twenty-third edition of John Clarke's *Corderii Colloquiorum Centuria Selecta* was published in Philadelphia, in 1787, as was also the eighteenth edition of his *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta . . . With an English Translation,* which appeared in 1782, and which probably served a similar purpose. Commencement exercises of the College of New Jersey were mostly in Latin. President Finley, in 1764, felt called upon to justify a debate in English, introduced as a very minor part of the exercises. The English observers, he said, had to be entertained, and the native tongue deserved cultivation. The greater part of the audience, in this center of culture, was probably shocked at the innovation.[29] Among forty-six books purchased for the Philadelphia Academy, in 1750, there was not a single English or scientific work. The Latin and Greek languages alone were represented in this first purchase, and the Latin works outnumbered the Greek by four to one. At the same time, a few English works were donated to the English School, the trustees not spending a colonial penny on these, while they spent £30/11/0 for the classical works.[30] Colonial newspapers frequently advertised "School Books" for sale, and invariably these "School Books" were almost entirely classical.[31]

The tradition of centuries of educational practice; the well-established belief that a knowledge of the classics was essential

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[25] *Infra,* 122.

[26] *Infra,* 125.

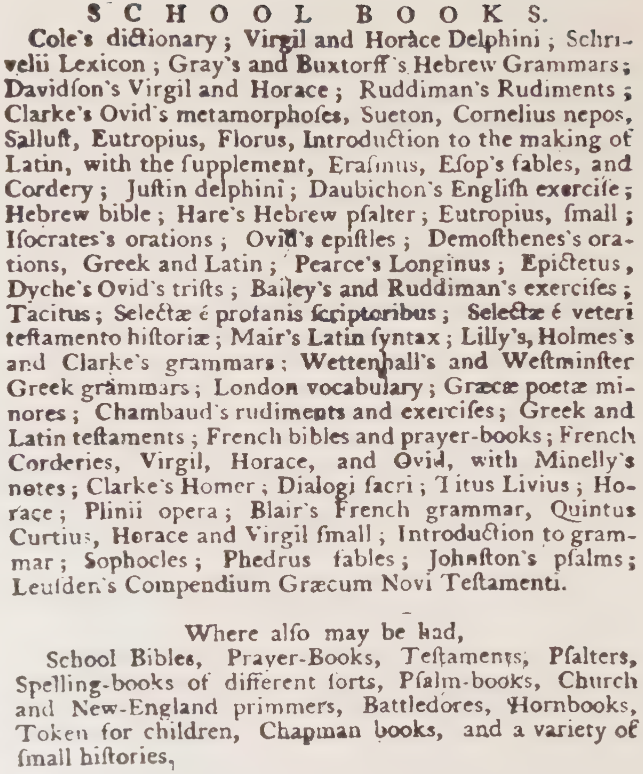
[27] Ford: *Op. cit.,* 428.

[28] *Infra,* 137.

[29] Ford: *Op. cit.,* 427.

[30] *C. A. C. M.,* I. Appendix.

[31] *E.g., Pa. Gaz.,* March 25, 1756, 3; Feb. 22, 1759, 6.



SCHOOL BOOKS.

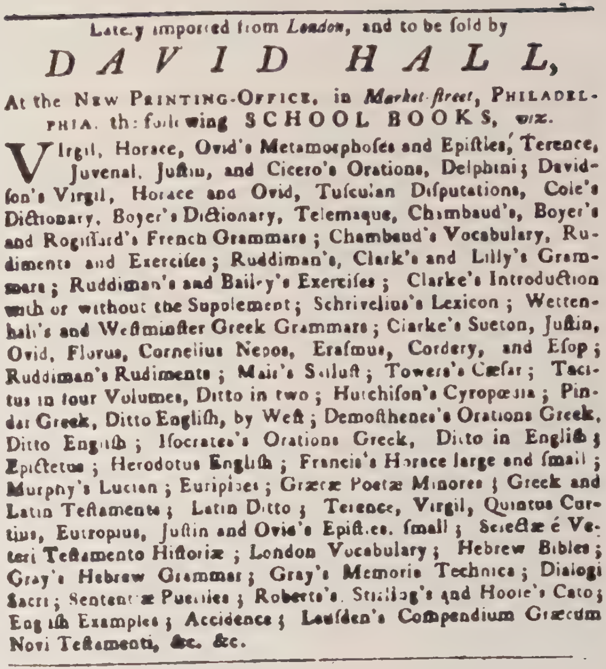
Cole's dictionary; Virgil and Horàce Delphini; Schrivelii Lexicon; Gray's and Buxtorff's Hebrew Grammars; Davidſon's Virgil and Horace; Ruddiman's Rudiments; Clarke's Ovid's metamorphoſes, Sueton, Cornelius nepos, Salluſt, Eutropius, Florus, Introduction to the making of Latin, with the ſupplement, Eraſmus, Eſop's fables, and Cordery; Juſtin delphini; Daubichon's Engliſh exerciſe; Hebrew bible; Hare's Hebrew pſalter; Eutropius, ſmall; Iſocrates's orations; Ovid's epiſtles; Demoſthenes's orations, Greek and Latin; Pearce's Longinus; Epictetus, Dyche's Ovid's triſts; Bailey's and Ruddiman's exerciſes; Tacitus; Selectæ é profanis ſcriptoribus; Selectæ é veteri teſtamento hiſtoriæ; Mair's Latin ſyntax; Lilly's, Holmes's and Clarke's grammars; Wettenhall's and Weſtminſter Greek grammars; London vocabulary; Græcæ poetæ minores; Chambaud's rudiments and exerciſes; Greek and Latin teſtaments; French bibles and prayer-books; French Corderies, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, with Minelly's notes; Clarke's Homer; Dialogi ſacri; Titus Livius; Horace; Plinii opera; Blair's French grammar, Quintus Curtius, Horace and Virgil ſmall; Introduction to grammar; Sophocles; Phedrus fables; Johnſton's pſalms; Leuſden's Compendium Græcum Novi Teſtamenti.

Where alſo may be had,

School Bibles, Prayer-Books, Teſtaments, Pſalters, Spelling-books of different ſorts, Pſalm-books, Church and New-England primmers, Battledores, Hornbooks, Token for children, Chapman books, and a variety of ſmall hiſtories,

(Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

Advertisement of School Books Offered for Sale in Philadelphia. From *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 22, 1759, 6.



Lately imported from *London*, and to be ſold by

DAVID HALL,

At the NEW PRINTING-OFFICE, in *Market-ſtreet*, PHILADELPHIA, the following SCHOOL BOOKS, *viz.*

Virgil, Horace, Ovid's Metamorphoſes and Epiſtles, Terence, Juvenal, Juſtin, and Cicero's Orations, Delphini; Davidſon's Virgil, Horace and Ovid, Tuſculan Diſputations, Cole's Dictionary, Boyer's Dictionary, Telemaque, Chambaud's, Boyer's and Rogiſſard's French Grammars; Chambaud's Vocabulary, Rudiments and Exerciſes; Ruddiman's, Clark's and Lilly's Grammars; Ruddiman's and Bailey's Exerciſes; Clarke's Introduction with or without the Supplement; Schrivelius's Lexicon; Wettenhall's and Weſtminſter Greek Grammars; Clarke's Sueton, Juſtin, Ovid, Florus, Cornelius Nepos, Eraſmus, Cordery, and Eſop; Ruddiman's Rudiments; Mair's Salluſt; Towers's Cæſar; Tacitus in four Volumes, Ditto in two; Hutchiſon's Cyropædia; Pindar Greek, Ditto Engliſh, by Weſt; Demoſthenes's Orations Greek, Ditto Engliſh; Iſocrates's Orations Greek, Ditto in Engliſh; Epictetus; Herodotus Engliſh; Francis's Horace large and ſmall; Murphy's Lucian; Euripides; Græcæ Poetæ Minores; Greek and Latin Teſtaments; Latin Ditto; Terence, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Eutropius, Juſtin and Ovid's Epiſtles ſmall; Selectæ é Veteri Teſtamento Hiſtoriæ; London Vocabulary; Hebrew Bibles; Gray's Hebrew Grammar; Gray's Memoria Technica; Dialogi Sacri; Sententiæ Pueriles; Roberts's, Stirling's and Hoole's Cato; Engliſh Examples; Accidence; Leuſden's Compendium Græcum Novi Teſtamenti, &c. &c.

Advertisement of School Books Offered for Sale in Philadelphia. From *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 25, 1756, 3.

to an understanding and preservation of scriptural teachings, and the great esteem in which the classics were held in ecclesiastical circles; the long and intimate association between the classics, especially the Latin, and the embellishments demanded on higher social levels; the long and close relationship between leadership in church and state and a classical education; the long-accepted belief in the propriety of learning Latin for social and disciplinary reasons, strengthened probably by the reading of the educational treatises of John Locke, which were well known in the colony;[32] the fact that classical texts were far more numerous than scientific and mathematical texts; and, in addition, the fact that teachers trained in the classics, and consequently supporters of the classical tradition, had come into possession of the schools—all these coalesced to make our colonial secondary schools classical both in spirit and in practice.

Yet here, as in Europe, were heard voices of discontent against the classical content of education. As early as 1735, an anonymous writer, who quoted Locke, pronounced, through the press,[33] a tirade against the emphasis on Latin in the colonial schools. He remarked in part:

> Yet notwithstanding the prevailing Method of Education at present, is without any Regard to the Child's Capacity, or Distinction, with respect to the future Figure he designs to make in the World, the present Method I say is, as soon as he can stammer over a Chapter in the Bible, and he has scarce lost the uncouth Tone of Pronunciation which he has perhaps learn'd of his Mistress, immediately to send the Boy to the *Latin* school, where instead of studying his own Language, and improving in the necessary Qualifications of reading it distinctly, and with proper Emphasis, he is unreasonably entered upon a *Latin Grammar,* and not only perplex'd with abstruce Terms of Art, but confounded with Rules wrote in a Language he is altogether a Stranger to. To learn an unknown Science in an unknown Tongue, must certainly be acknowledged an hardy Undertaking, even in a grown Person, with the utmost Application of his whole Thought and Reason: How much more difficult and unreasonable must it then be, for Children to go through the unaccountable Task? and whilst they Labour under the Load, to stand liable to the lash for every Failure of Capacity, as well as Negligence of Duty! But the whole of the Objection is not against the difficulty of the Study, it is often times as fruitless

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[32] *Supra,* 21. See also *Pa. Gaz.,* Nov. 6, 1746, 4; Oct. 12, 1749, 2.

[33] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Dec. 31–Jan. 7, Jan. 7–14, 1734–5, 1–2.

> as it is difficult; for after it may be several Years Pains are past, the Youth either discourag'd by experienc'd Hardships, or determined by his Friends' Inclinations, his Studies are suddenly chang'd, and he is immediately remov'd to the Writing-School, to be qualified for Trade or other Business; where entirely neglecting his former Applications, the Latin he has learn'd is lost; and for all this Time and Labour past, he is perhaps unable to give the Sence of a Motto or Inscription; nay it may be is still incapable of Reading or Writing English.

The same writer went on to advise parents to decide, "as soon as possible," whether they intend their children to become "Scholars, Clerks, or Tradesmen, that they may receive their Education accordingly." Even if they were to become scholars, English grammar he considered a sounder and more rational starting point than Latin grammar. If they were intended for "Clerks," then, the subjects they ought to study were "Writing," "Accompts," "Arithmetic," and the "Art of Italian Book-keeping." And, in his advice relative to "preparing those who are design'd for Trades," he denied the validity of some arguments of the classicists in defence of their Latin, and said:

> Grammar . . . may more easily and effectually be taught them in their Mother Tongue, and for the general receiv'd Notion that there is no attaining to Spelling English, without learning Latin; it is an Observation false in Fact, and no better than a Vulgar Error . . . for the main Difficulty of Spelling, is not in those Words deriv'd from the Latin Tongue; which are of all others most easily spell'd, by reason no superfluous Letters are therein used, every Letter having its full Power, and every Syllable writ as sounded, whilst the Chief Difficulty is really found in those Words, which are merely English or Saxon Original; if therefore we must needs learn some other Language to teach us to spell English, it ought certainly to be the old Saxon, not the Latin.

And he answered the argument that a knowledge of Latin is essential to an understanding of English words, by remarking that, for the same reason, we ought to learn "all the Twelve Languages from which Skinner in his Dictionary deduces our Speech." Finally, he answered the hypothetical objection "that a Youth will have Time to learn more Things before he go Apprentice," by asserting that "there are other things an English Scholar may be instructed in as Geography, Chronology, History, and above all a good Narrative Style or a Facility of

Expressing himself handsomely in Letters; and these sure are Parts of Knowledge, which will turn to much more Account, than all Lilly's Rules and Exceptions."

In 1769, John Wilson, as we have seen,[34] objected to the futility of Latin study in the Penn Charter Latin School. In the course of his arguments against Latin, he called the attention of the overseers to the fact that most boys leave school at the age of fifteen or sixteen; that they have gained little by language study; that their knowledge of Latin will not endure beyond the time of their apprenticeship; that they leave the Latin School without any practice in writing, cyphering, or merchants' accounts, which are much more important than Latin; and that it is a waste of time to study such subjects as history and grammar in a foreign tongue. Then he supplemented his several practical arguments against Latin, by attacking the study of Latin on religious grounds:

> Will the lascivious Ovid teach them chastity? the Epicurean Horace Sobriety? the impudent Juvenal Modesty? or the aetheistick Lucretius Devotion? & tho Virgil commonly is excepted from the guilty List yet both the impious Nature of both the 2^d^ & 8^th^ Eclogues & his representing the ungrateful Lustful Perfidious Aeneas as the particular Friend & favorite of Heaven are shocking to every system of Morality, not to observe that his 6^th^ Aenead does certainly sketch the outlines of those opinions at which Friends have lately been so uneasy.[35]

This eighteenth century attack on pagan culture is but a restatement of the attitude of the early Christians toward the literature of ancient Greece and Rome.[36] George Fox, John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly in a book, *A Battle-Door,* published in London in 1660, took a somewhat similar position. The title-page of this treatise reads in part: "In the latter part of this Book are contained several bad and unsavoury Words, gathered forth of certain School-Books, which have been taught Boyes in England, which is a Rod and a Whip to the School Masters in England and elsewhere who teach such Books." These Quaker authors attacked certain phases of Latin study on moral grounds, as did Wilson one hundred years later.

Having thus disposed of Latin, Wilson suggested "Proper Studies," with which he would replace it. These were "Grammar, examplified and practised in English, Spelling, Orthography,' Rhetorick & Logick, Geography, Astronomy, History, Ecclesiastical History, Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Drawing and Architecture.'' And he remarked that he admired the Greeks for cultivating science ''in their Native Language without regarding those of other Nations.'' Like Huxley, a century later,[37] he justified the new program on the basis of its value in disciplining the mind. ''The memories of our children,'' he said, ''would be enriched with real knowledge & enabled to form a just & proper Judgment of Men & Things.''[38]

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[34] *Supra,* 42 *ff.*

[35] Letter to the overseers, 12–28–1769. [P. C. S. Archives.]

[36] Kandel: *Op. cit.,* 41–4.

There was, then, expressed some discontent with the classical curriculum of the regularly organized schools. The chief objections to the classics were that they required, first of all, too much time; secondly, that they were of little or no value to the student who intended to engage in clerical or business pursuits; thirdly, that they did not help a student to understand his own language, but, because of the amount of time given to them, actually stood in the way of his learning English; and lastly, an argument that apparently had some force with the Quaker educators, that the Latin classics were dangerous to the morals of youth. A somewhat similar philosophy was embodied in Franklin's recommendations for the establishment of an academy.[39]

A practice in keeping with this modern educational philosophy of colonial theorists developed, mainly, outside of the regularly organized schools. Attention has been called to the fact that foreign and domestic trade had developed rapidly, and that shipping held a prominent place in the commercial life of the colony.[40] In addition to this, many men must have found employment as surveyors in this period, when the land of the State was being divided up and apportioned among the first immigrants, who came in great numbers and settled along the frontier. There was probably also a considerable amount of correspondence, of a business nature, with foreign and domestic merchants and traders. It was because of this economic activity, and the rapidly changing needs of the colony, that the old classical education lost its force and relation to life. A time there was when Latin was the language of commerce, of the professions, and of the courts,[41] but it had long before given way to the vernacular. The force of tradition, however, was strong enough to guarantee its place in popular esteem and educational institutions, for many centuries after it had lost most of its usefulness. There was then not only a demand for new institutions in the colony, but new ones actually arose.

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[37] *Science and Education*, 98–9.

[38] Letter to the overseers, 12–28–1769. [P. C. S. Archives.]

[39] *Infra*, 178 *ff*.

[40] *Supra*, 4.

The Penn Charter English School, from the time of Anthony Benezet's mastership, if not before, stressed the vernacular, the modern languages, bookkeeping and some branches of the mathematics.[42] Benezet, about 1779, published a brief English grammar under the title, *An Essay towards the most easy introduction to the knowledge of the English Grammar,* compiled for the *Pennsylvania Spelling Book.*[43] It is probably a fairly adequate picture of his own teaching of the subject. English grammar was evidently receiving much attention shortly before the Revolution, and seems to have become a rival of Latin grammar. Nor does it seem to have been looked upon as an elementary subject. The writer of 1735, already referred to,[44] said:

> Grammar is not, as it is too often conceived to be, only an Appendix to *Latin* and *Greek,* but it is of itself an absolute Science; teaching the Nature and Distinction of Words, and the justness and propriety of Speech, and consists, like other Sciences, of several general Principles, applicable to all Languages of the Universe; every one therefore should learn the Grammar of his own Language first to make him the more perfect in it.[45]

That English grammar was not entirely neglected, before this time, appears from advertisements of books in the Philadelphia newspapers,[46] but its importance was not yet generally recognized.

In 1774, John Ash's *Grammatical Institutes; or An Easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar, designed for the Use of Schools* was reprinted in New York, and possibly used in some of the schools of Philadelphia. In the following year, 1775, Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* was printed by R. Aitken in Philadelphia, and we find that it was actually used in colonial schools.[47] In this same year James

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[41] Monroe: *Cyclopedia of Ed.*, III, 638–40.

[42] *Supra,* 44.

[43] Benezet was the author of the *Pennsylvania Spelling Book,* which was published in Philadelphia, in 1779.

[44] *Supra,* 120 *ff.*

[45] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Dec. 31– Jan. 7, 1734–5, 1–2.

[46] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Nov. 25, 1725, 2.

[47] *Pa. Gaz.,* Nov. 12, 1783, 3.

Burgh's *The Art of Speaking*,[48] a work on oratory and expression, with selections from several dramatists, was printed by Aitken. In 1783, Thomas Sheridan's *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* was published by Robert Bell, in Philadelphia[49] and, in the same year, James Buchanan's *A Regular English Syntax* was published by Charles Cist, in Philadelphia. Sheridan's *Grammar* was used by at least one master in this year.[50] They were doubtless all designed for the use of schools, and the demand for this type of text was evidently sufficient to justify their publication. In what schools these texts were read cannot be determined except in a few cases. In the Penn Charter English School, in 1764, there does not seem to have been any English grammar in use. The following list of books will throw some light on the curriculum of the school at this time:

Chalkleys Journal
Bibles
Penns no Cross no Crown
Roman History
Thomas a Kempis
Davideis
Fuller's Catechism
Nature and Design of Christianity
Useful Miscellanies
Barclay's Catechism
Woolman on Keeping Negroes
Gordon's Geography
Ward's Posthumous Works
Euclid Elements
Buttons Rudiments
Patown's Navigation
Ward's M. Guide[51]

This list reveals how small a part English literature played in the education of boys of this period. English grammar, too, would seem to have been a subject taught chiefly by the private masters. After 1755, many of them advertised it as a subject. In 1759, Simon Williams taught "practical English (as laid down in Greenwood's English Grammar)."[52] In 1774, John Heffernan taught "grammatic English, with due attention to emphasis, pauses, cadence etc."[53] and, in 1783, George Fitzgerald "taught the English language, according to Lowth and Sheridan's grammar rules."[54] These are but representative of a very general practice among the private masters, of the period

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[48] This was the fourth edition. A fifth was published in Philadelphia, in 1780.

[49] Sheridan was also the compiler of an English Dictionary, a few editions of which were published in Philadelphia.

[50] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1783, 3.

[51] *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Public English School of Friends at Philadelphia.* [P. C. S. Archives.]

[52] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 9, 1759, 4.

[53] *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1774, 3.

[54] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1783, 3.

1755–1783, and probably many of them used the texts published in Philadelphia. Practice seems to have caught up with theory toward the end of the colonial period. This, however, did not happen through a modification of the old classical school, which successfully resisted all attempts to change it, but rather through the establishment of new institutions, chiefly those of the private masters.

Enough has been said elsewhere of the ancient and modern foreign languages, mathematics, sciences, and the curriculum generally as it developed in the private schools,[55] and in the religious schools of the colony.[56] What textbooks were used in the various subjects is not always clear. The masters probably made their own textbooks in many cases, but they generally remained in manuscript form. An excellent example of these is preserved in the library of the Berks County Historical Society. On its title-page is written "Book of Eclipses . . . James Boone (Schoolmaster) His Book." The work bears the date 1773. There were, however, in the colony printed texts covering many fields, some of which were published here. In 1753, Theophilus Grew published *The Description and Use of the Globes, Celestial and Terrestrial, with Variety of Examples for the Learner's Exercise: Intended for the Use of such Persons as would attain to the Knowledge of those Instruments; But chiefly designed for the Instruction of Young Gentlemen at the Academy in Philadelphia. To which is added Rules for working all the Cases in Plain and Spherical Triangles without a Scheme.* This book was printed by Christopher Sauer in Germantown. In 1761, Thomas Abel's *Subtensial Plain Trigonometry, Wrought with a Sliding-Rule, with Gunter's Lines: and also Arithmetically* . . . was published by Andrew Steuart in Philadelphia. Abel was a private master in Philadelphia, in 1764.[57] In 1784, there was printed, by Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia, *Geography Epitomized, or a Tour round the World. Being a short Description of the Terraqueous Globe: attempted in Verse,* the author of which simply calls himself "An American."[58] It describes the various countries of the world in verse, the first eight lines of the rather lengthy volume reading thus:

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[55] *Supra,* 95 *ff.*

[56] *Supra,* 35 *ff.*, 65 *ff.*

[57] Seybolt: *Source Studies in Am. Col. Ed.,* 37. The spelling of the name, "Adel," here seems to be a misprint.

[58] Robert Davidson has been credited with this work.

> Delighted we'll travel vast *Continents* through,
> From *Isles* without number—the old and the new.
> Vast *Oceans* and *Seas* too, shall have their due praise,
> Including the *Rivers,* the *Lakes,* and the *Bays,*
> Dividing the *Continents,* then, into *Parts,*
> *States* next will we trace, and their manners and arts,
> O'er *Cities,* and *Mountains,* and *Desarts,* we'll fly
> Nor leave unadmir'd the bright *Wonders* on high.

It has been said that Morse's *Geography Made Easy,* published at New Haven, in 1784, was "the first American Geography,"[59] but "An American" has a right to claim the same distinction, and this Philadelphia author worked, probably, harder to make the subject "easy" than did Morse. Looking back to the list of books[60] in the Penn Charter English School, we find on it Gordon's Geography, Euclid's Elements, Patown's Navigation, and Ward's M. Guide, the last one being almost certainly John Ward's *The Young Mathematician's Guide: Being a Plain and Easy Introduction to the Mathematics,* the sixth edition of which was published in London, in 1734. There was then a fairly good supply of texts available in the English and mathematical fields.

In the field of modern languages, there is again much uncertainty regarding the books used by students or teachers. *Gil Blas* and *Telemachus* were used by a French master, in 1767.[61] In 1779, there was published by Styner and Cist, of Philadelphia, John Perrin's *Grammar of the French Tongue, Grounded upon the Decisions of the French Academy,* and *The Practice of the French Pronunciation alphabetically exhibited,* by the same author, followed in 1780, and his *Instructive and Entertaining Exercises with the Rules of the French Syntax* appeared, in 1781. Perrin was one of the private French masters who taught in Philadelphia,[62] and his books were probably used extensively from the time of their publication.

Another element in the curriculum of colonial secondary schools remains to be mentioned. One of the most essential qualifications for a business career was the ability to write a good hand. Enoch Flower taught writing in 1683.[63] "*Writing* and *Accompts,*" said the colonial theorist, already cited, "are the very Profession of Clerks, and therefore to be wanting either of these, is to be deficient in Essentials, and unworthy of the very Name of Clerk: Nor is it sufficient barely to write a fair Character. A Clerk should have an easy Freedom in his Hand, a bold Stroke with his Pen, and the Skill and Command of striking a neat Capital, or proper Ornament, by which Means he will not only be able to do his Business without Difficulty but also make it appear to Advantage."[64] Writing was taught in the Penn Charter Latin School, but not as a part of the regular program. In 1749, Anthony Benezet taught writing to the boys of this school, for about half an hour each day.[65] We shall see that a similar plan was adopted in the Philadelphia Academy. Bickam's *Universal Penman* was used, after 1762, as a text in one of the Quaker schools, and the Latin boys probably used it also.[66] A great number of private masters taught writing and arithmetic, evidently as a preparation for business. An advertisement, of 1758, reads: "This is to give Notice, that persons of both sexes, of 12 years of age and upwards, who never wrote before are taught to write a good legible distinct hand in six weeks at one hour per day, or in three weeks, at two hours per day. Likewise those who wrote very bad hands, have been improved far beyond what could be reasonably expected in the above spaces of time."[67] The following letter of Edward Burd to his father, in 1767, will reveal the importance attached to the study of handwriting, and also throw some light on other educational practices of that day:

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[59] Johnson: *Old-Time Schools and School Books,* 318, *ff.*

[60] *Supra,* 125.

[61] *Infra,* 128 *f.* Letter of Edward Burd.

[62] *Supra,* 96 *f.*

Philadelphia, 3^{d} February, 1767

Dear & honoured Sir—

I send enclosed a small Specimen of my Hand Writing in the Square Text, Set Secretary & round Hands; which I hope will be favoured with your Approbation.

This Part of my Education has been always so warmly recommended to me by all my dearest Relations, that I will endeavour my Improvem^{t} in it at every leisure Time; in Consequence of which extraordinary Application, I hope, at some future Opportunity, to send up a Piece that may give greater Satisfaction—

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[63] *Supra,* 28.

[64] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Dec. 31–Jan. 7, 1734–5, 2.

[65] *P. C. S. M.,* 8–27–1749.

[66] Woody: *Quaker Ed. in Pa.,* 195.

[67] *Pa. Gaz.,* April 27, 1758, 3.

Grandpapa has been kindly pleased to approve a Copy of M^r^ Shelley's Copperplate 3^d^, which I wrote him according to his Desire.

I have been learning French with Mr. Fooks, since 1^st^ Dec^r^ who has put me, with Billey Allen & two others, to begin Gil Blas after which Book, We must learn Telemachus, & therefore, if You have that Author without English, be pleased to let me have it. Be pleased also to give my Love and Duty to Mama, & my love to my Sisters . . .

Edward Burd[68]

Our colonial curriculum was, then, both cultural and practical. The former very probably was pursued by the sons of the colonial aristocracy, and the latter by the sons of the bourgeois class. John Wilson, who attacked the Latin content of the Penn Charter Latin School, ended his letter to the overseers by admonishing them that "instead of dissipating your Revenues in humouring the Pride of rich men & debauching their offspring with the rubbish of Paganism let it be your study as it will be your happiness to promote the increase of Christian knowledge."[69] It would seem probable that the majority of colonial students sought the practical training rather than the classical. That conclusion seems justified, when we consider the great number of private masters who taught the more practical subjects, and that they were kept busy night and day, throughout the entire year, for vacations were not a colonial creation. The public was probably surprised when it was announced, in 1774, that "The Schoolmasters of this City and its districts, on account of extreme heat of the weather, have agreed on a vacation in their respective schools, from the 4th to the 15th instant, for the mutual health of themselves and pupils."[70] The masters who inserted this announcement were probably the private masters of the city. It would be indeed interesting to get some definite information regarding the number of students who were educated by these masters. Some of their schools were large, as that of Dove who, in 1768, employed two assistants.[71]

Yet, with all the opportunities for education provided in the colony, there was probably room for improvement, especially in the curriculum. Franklin, as we shall see, made an attempt to create a new and better institution, and to some extent succeeded. A few colonial youths went to England for their education, as Edward Shippen, in 1749,[72] and Jacob Duché, in 1759.[73] The practice of going abroad, however, is mentioned so seldom, that we may consider it of little significance. In the field of secondary education, students could find instruction at home in almost any subject they desired to study.

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[68] Montgomery: Letters of Edward Burd, 1765–71. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLII, 64.] Fooks was a private master, whose work has been already referred to.

[69] Letter to the overseers, 12–28–1769. [P. C. S. Archives.]

[70] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 3, 1774, 3.

[71] *Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 29, 1768, 3.

III. *Method*

While there was not a little theorizing regarding the curriculum in colonial times, there was very little said regarding methods of instruction. Mastery of subject-matter was a prime desideratum, for with it were expected to develop mental powers and habits of great usefulness,[74] and the method which guaranteed this result with greatest certainty was the one employed. Colonial method was probably influenced to a considerable extent by the psychology of John Locke, as well as by his views on education, embodied in his *Thoughts Concerning Education,* 1693, and *Conduct of the Understanding,* 1697. His theory of the mind appeared in his *Essays Concerning Human Understanding,* in which he describes the various mental faculties and their development.[75] We have seen that some of Locke's writings were in colonial libraries. In 1746, William Logan requested the person, to whom he had lent "Locke's Essay on human understanding" to return it to him,[76] and, in 1749, David Hall advertised for sale "Locke on Education."[77] Moreover, the writings of Isaac Watts and John Clarke were also read here, and these theorists acknowledged their indebtedness to Locke. The anonymous colonial theorist, of 1735, whose views have been already recorded[78] mentioned Locke. John Clarke's *Essay Upon the Education of Youth* was listed in the catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia, in 1741 and 1754. It was published in 1730. His *Essay Upon Study,* published in 1737, has been examined. In the Preface, it was stated that "This Essay is a sequel to my former upon Education,'' and he acknowledged his indebtedness to ''Mr. Locke,'' in writing the latter. Watts' ''Logick'' was one of the books in the library of the Penn Charter Latin School.[79] In the fifteenth edition, published in 1772, we read:

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[72] Lewis: Edward Shippen, [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, VII, 16.]

[73] Letter of Wardens of Christs Church to Bishop of London, Feb. 7, 1759, in Dorr: *Op. cit.*, 118.

[74] *Infra,* 207. Peter's Sermon at the opening of the Phila. Acad.

[75] *Works of John Locke,* London, 1824, I, 13 *ff.*; II, 224 *ff.*

[76] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 6, 1746, 4.

[77] *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1749, 2.

[78] *Supra,* 120 *ff.*

> Be not fond of hastening to a new Book, or a new Chapter, till you have well fixed and established in your Minds what was useful in the last: Make use of your Memory in this manner, and you will sensibly experience a gradual Improvement of it, while you take Care not to load it to Excess.
>
> Talk over the Things which you have seen, heard, or learnt, with some proper Acquaintance: . . . Your own Repetition of it will be an Improvement to yourself . . . Commit to Writing some of the most considerable Improvements which you daily make . . . And here I think Mr. Locke's Method of *Adversaria*, or *Common Places*, which he describes in the End of the first Volume of his *Posthumous Works*, is the best; . . . setting down Things as they occur, leaving a distinct Page for each Subject, and making an Index to the Pages . . .
>
> If the Ideas which you would willingly make the matter of your present Meditation *are ready to fly from you*, you must be obstinate in the Pursuit of them by an Habit of fixed Meditation.[80]

Somewhat similar to Watts' recommendations were those of Fothergill, an English Quaker, whose advice was frequently sought by the overseers of the Friends' schools. It was to him that the overseers usually applied for teachers,[81] and his views were probably well known among Quakers here. Fothergill said:

> To habituate children from their early Infancy to Silence and Attention, is of the greatest Advantage to them not only as a Preparative to their advancement in religious life, but as the Groundwork of a well cultivated understanding . . . To have the active Minds of children early put under a kind of Restraint, to be accustomed to turn their Attention from external objects & habituated to a degree of Abstract Quiet, is a Matter of great Consequence & lasting Benefit to them.[82]

This philosophy of Watts and Fothergill is expressed in almost the same words as that of Locke: ''I must acknowledge that hitherto I have discovered no other way to keep our thoughts close to their business, but the endeavouring as much as we can, and by frequent attention and application getting the habit of attention and application.''[83] An examination of Locke's *Conduct* and *Thoughts,* of Watts' *Logick,* and of Fothergill's views on the subject will disclose the current belief that the mind was innately endowed with certain powers, such as memory, understanding, judgment, and attention, which could be strengthened and developed by exercise. The method which provided the best opportunity for this exercise of the mind, in its various faculties, was considered the most desirable. Watts decried the practice of taking up a ''new Book'' until the old one was well mastered. His advice: ''Make use of your Memory in this manner, and you will sensibly experience a gradual Improvement in it'' was but an application of faculty psychology to the learning process.[84] Repetition was profoundly useful, and writing down thoughts in notebooks, to be read and reread, was a device of great value. The overseers of the Friends' schools recommended, in 1753, that the students of the Latin School be made to analyse and parse their several lessons, and preserve their translations of Latin authors in copy books, for ''by this practice they'll more strongly impress on their memories the language and subjects they are reading.''[85] John Wilson, whose modern views on the question of the curriculum have already been referred to, had little new to offer regarding method: ''In all those branches of learning,'' he said, ''the most interesting Heads should be carefully copied & committed to Memory whereby instead of the perplexing Rules and unchangeable Terms of a useless Foreign Language the Memories of our Children would be enriched with real knowledge & enabled to form a just and proper Judgment of Men & Things.''[86] His opinion, that the material to be memorized should be ''interesting,'' was probably at variance with the generally accepted philosophy of the day, which attached so much importance to parsing, analysing, and repetition of mere words and forms that the educational process must have held little or no interest for students. But, his views regarding memory and

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[79] *Supra*, 54.

[80] Watts, Isaac: *Logick*, 74–7.

[81] *P. C. S. M.*, 6–16–1748; *Ibid.*, 1–31–1760. A considerable number of letters of Fothergill are preserved in the *MSS.* collection of the Historical Soc. of Pa.

[82] Introduction to Robert Proud's *Treatise on Education*, 1788. [Quaker Archives, 304 Arch St., Phila.]

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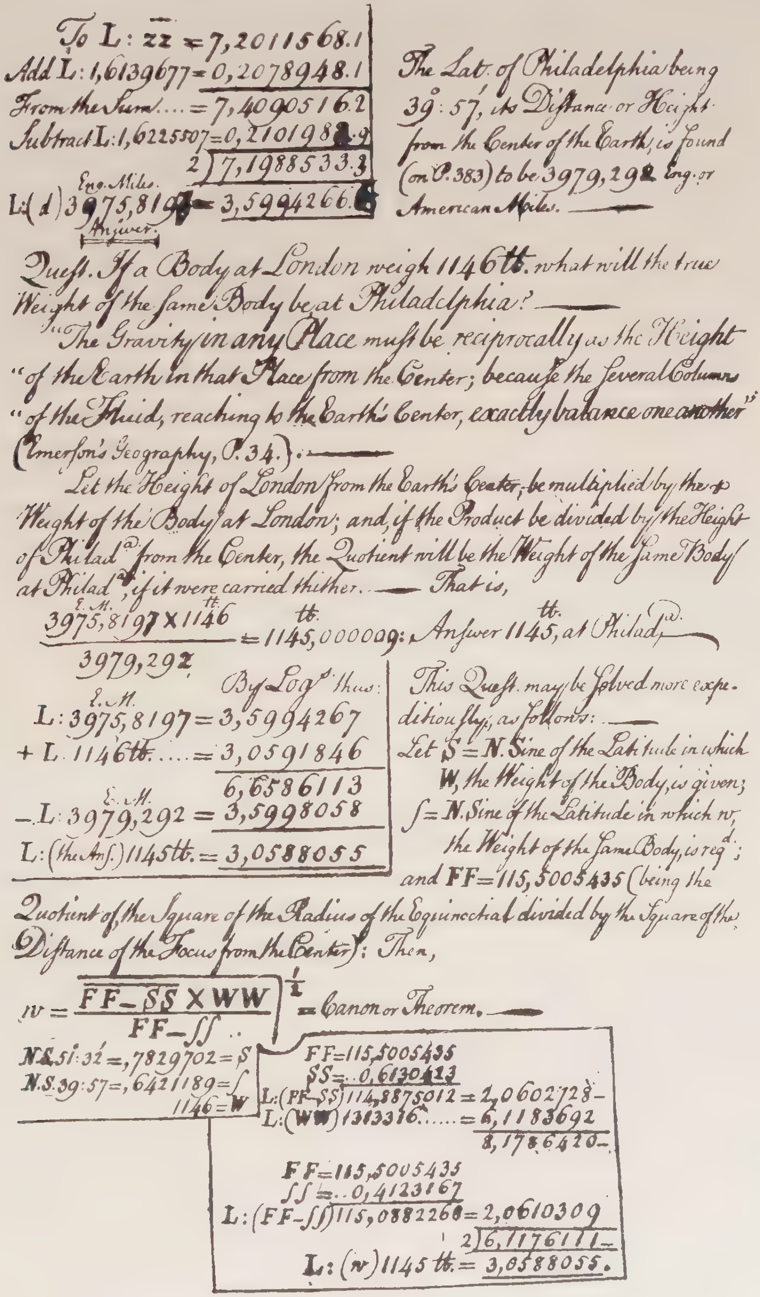
[83] Fowler: *Locke's Conduct of the Understanding,* 67.

[84] *Logick,* 74.

[85] *P. C. S. M.*, 4–26–1753.

[86] *Letter to the overseers,* 12–28–1769. [P. C. S. Archives.]



To L: $\overline{zz}$ = 7,2011568.1
Add L: 1,6139677 = 0,2078948.1
From the Sum . . . . = 7,4090516.2
Subtract L: 1,6225507 = 0,210198[illegible].9
2) 7,1988533.3
L:(d) 3975,819[illegible] (Eng. Miles. Anſwer.) = 3,5994266.[illegible]

The Lat. of Philadelphia being 39°: 57′, its Diſtance or Height from the Center of the Earth, is found (on P. 383) to be 3979,292 Eng. or American Miles. ——

Queſt. If a Body at London weigh 1146 ℔. what will the true Weight of the ſame Body be at Philadelphia? ——

"The Gravity in any Place muſt be reciprocally as the Height "of the Earth in that Place from the Center; becauſe the ſeveral Columns "of the Fluid, reaching to the Earth's Center, exactly balance one another" (Emerſon's Geography, P. 34.): ——

Let the Height of London from the Earth's Center, be multiplied by the Weight of the Body at London; and, if the Product be divided by the Height of Philad.ª from the Center, the Quotient will be the Weight of the ſame Body at Philad.ª, if it were carried thither. —— That is,

$$\frac{\overset{E.M.}{3975{,}8197}\times\overset{℔}{1146}}{3979{,}292} = \overset{℔}{1145{,}000009}$$: Anſwer 1145 ℔, at Philad.ª ——

By Log.ˢ thus:
L: 3975,8197 (E. M.) = 3,5994267
+ L. 1146 ℔. . . . . = 3,0591846
6,6586113
− L: 3979,292 (E. M.) = 3,5998058
L: (the Anſ.) 1145 ℔. = 3,0588055

This Queſt. may be ſolved more expeditiouſly, as follows: ——
Let S = N. Sine of the Latitude in which W, the Weight of the Body, is given;
ſ = N. Sine of the Latitude in which w, the Weight of the ſame Body, is req.ᵈ;
and FF = 115,5005435 (being the Quotient of the Square of the Radius of the Equinoctial divided by the Square of the Diſtance of the Focus from the Center): Then,

$$w = \left[\frac{\overline{FF-SS}\times WW}{FF-\text{ſſ}}\right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$ = Canon or Theorem. ——

N.S. 51:32′ = ,7829702 = S
N.S. 39:57 = ,6421189 = ſ
1146 = W

FF = 115,5005435
SS = . . 0,6130423
L:(FF−SS) 114,8875012 = 2,0602728
L:(WW) 1313316 . . . . . = 6,1183692
8,1786420

FF = 115,5005435
ſſ = . . 0,4123167
L:(FF−ſſ) 115,0882268 = 2,0610309
2) 6,1176111
L:(w) 1145 ℔. = 3,0588055.

(Courtesy of The Berks County Historical Society)

Example of Mathematical Instruction in a Colonial School, from Original Boone Manuscripts in Possession of the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pennsylvania.

judgment, as powers to be trained, did not differ from those of his contemporaries.

The disciplinary conception of education characterized the educational thought of the colony, and practice in the field of method was guided almost entirely by this philosophy. The work of the student was largely one of memorizing rules and forms, as contained in textbooks, or as dictated by the teacher. As a counterpart of this, came a continual practice in the application of rules. Great accuracy and neatness were evidently demanded from the student in applying the rules. The student exercise books in the Norris collection in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and in the Boone collection, in that of the Berks County Historical Society, are remarkable for their neatness, and for the accuracy with which the student proceeded, step by step, to the solution of his problem. Outside of the classical field, textbooks seem to have been scarce, and the teachers probably dictated the rules to be memorized and applied by the students. Rules were sometimes presented in rhythmical form, apparently as an aid to memory. Isaac Watts recommended the rhyme method, in 1753. "The Memory of useful Things," he said, "may receive considerable Aid *if they are thrown into Verse.*"[87] A Latin grammar in manuscript, in the Norris collection, which is probably a pre-Revolution production, although its exact date is uncertain, includes "Eleven Grammatical Axioms" in verse, of which the following are a sample:

> Without a noun & verb no phrase is good
> So either unexpressed is understood.
> Every verb having an active Sense
> With some Accusative must still dispense.[88]

The rhyme method did not always lessen the difficulty, and indeed the rhyming methodist may not always have desired to smooth the student's path to learning. A rule for the "Extraction of the Cube Root" appears in one of the student's exercise books in the Norris collection. It has a total of thirty-seven lines, of which the following are a sample:

> First over Unit's place a point must stand
> The like each third must have to either hand

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[87] *The Improvement of the Mind,* 270.

[88] Norris *MSS.* [H. S. P.]

Then draw an Arch as if you would Divide
And place the first Cube Root on the right Side
The Cube of which exactly must be set
Under first Cube that's in the Question Writ.—
Then draw a line, & from the first withdraw
The Cube you've found, what rests write down below
To the right of which, next period must stand
Which Numbers joined are called the resolvend
Then draw a line Directly underneath
Tripple Sq^r of the Root, its Quotient, set beneath
In order under the resolvend so
That units under hundreds directly go.

The most unimportant minutiae, such as the mode of placing a point or drawing of a line, are required by the rule. From examples of students' work that have been preserved, it would appear that prescriptions like these were very carefully observed in the solution of mathematical problems.

In the classical field, great attention seems to have been paid to the memorization of grammatical rules and their application in prose and verse composition. We have seen that much attention was paid to a study of grammar in connection with the ancient languages, and that the practice elicited some very unfavorable criticism.[89] We have also evidence, in the work of The William Penn Charter School students, preserved in the Norris collection, that the rules and practice of Latin verse composition were a part of the work of the school. As a stimulus to students engaged in the deadening practice of memorizing rules and writing verse in an ancient tongue, and according to fixed and inflexible rules, the overseers offered prizes for the best work done by the students. In 1755, they imposed on their members a fine of two shillings for neglecting to visit the schools or to attend the board meetings.[90] This money was to purchase books to be used as "premiums" for studious boys.[91] In 1756, the premiums were again mentioned: "Agreed that the Fines now due be paid to the Master of the Latin school and that he be allowed to lay the same out in Premiums for the Scholars at such times and in such proportions as he may judge convenient after a consultation with the committee who Visit the School."[92]

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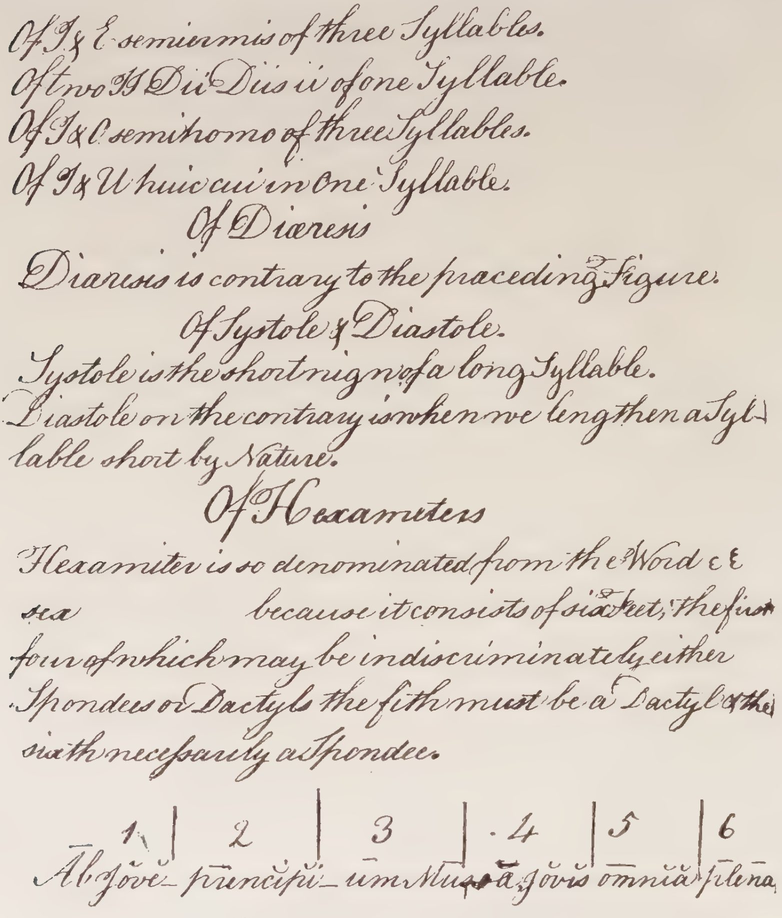
[89] *Supra,* 42 *ff.*, 120.
[90] *P. C. S. M.*, 12–25–1755.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Ibid.*, 12–30–1756.



Of I & E semiermis of three Syllables.
Of two II Dii Diis ii of one Syllable.
Of I & O semihomo of three Syllables.
Of I & U huic cui in One Syllable.

Of Diæresis

Diæresis is contrary to the præceding Figure.

Of Systole & Diastole.

Systole is the shortning of a long Syllable.
Diastole on the contrary is when we lengthen a Syllable short by Nature.

Of Hexameters

Hexameter is so denominated from the Word εξ sex because it consists of six Feet; the first four of which may be indiscriminately either Spondees or Dactyls the fith must be a Dactyl & the sixth neceſsarily a Spondee.

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6
Āb Jŏvĕ | prīncĭpĭ | ūm Mū | sǣ Jŏvĭs | ōmnĭă | plēnă

(Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

A Specimen of the Work of a William Penn Charter School Student in Latin Verse Composition, from the Original in Possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

About this same time, a somewhat different stimulus was applied in the Pequea Academy. A writer, whose name is not attached, but who is supposed to have been Frederick Beasley,[93] describes at length the method of this school:

> The scholars of this academy were stimulated to exertion by being brought into frequent competition and by having conferred

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[93] Beam: Dr. Robert Smith's Academy. [*Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 150. Footnote.]

upon successful candidates for distinction such honors as were calculated to awake their boyish emulation and to quicken their diligence and attention. Latin was the habitual language of the school and after the pupils had passed through a few of the elementary works, as the *Colloquies* of Corderius and the *Fables* of Aesop, any error which they committed in grammatical propriety either in addressing the teacher or in speaking with one another was punishable as a fault. One literary exercise in the school was contested with more than ordinary emulation. When any class had advanced in its course beyond the metamorphosis of Ovid and the Bucolics of Virgil, the members of it were permitted to enter into voluntary competitions for pre-eminence. On alternate Saturdays, eight or ten of the better scholars from different classes were allowed to try their skill in the languages in the presence of the principal teacher. Each competitor was suffered to select a sentence within a certain compass of one or two hundred lines, consisting of not more than six or seven hexameter verses. On this selected portion he was the sole examiner, and was permitted to inquire about everything with which he could make himself acquainted by the most diligent previous investigation; such as the grammatical construction of the sentences, the derivation of words, their composition, relations and quantity, the history or mythology referred to in the passage, the beauty and pertinence of the figures and allusions together with the taste and delicacy of sentiment displayed by the poet. After the whole contest, which usually lasted several hours, was concluded, rewards were bestowed by the master upon those who discovered the greatest address and ingenuity in conducting it.[94]

The students who engaged in these contests spent, probably, a considerable amount of time, during the two weeks' interval, in mastering the one to two hundred lines assigned, paying the greatest attention to the most detailed elements in the form and thought of the passage, with a very special analysis of one sentence of which each competitor had to have a perfect and complete knowledge. The plan, moreover, of making Latin the spoken language of the school would seem to have been a common practice at this time, and earlier. It was probably employed in the Penn Charter Latin School, in the early years of the century, for Thomas Makin says the boys were taught "to know and speak the Greek and Latin well,"[95] and Robert Smith at Pequea, as just noted, used it as the established practice of the school.

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[94] An Account of the Life and Writings of S. S. Smith. [In *Sermons* of S. S. Smith, I, 3 *f.*]

[95] *Supra,* 41.

It was, probably, customary also to study Greek grammar through the medium of Latin, as Wettenhal's Greek grammar would seem to indicate.[96]

This conversational method was, probably, much used in instructing students in the modern languages. Anthony Benezet, in the Penn Charter English School, informed the overseers, in 1742, that he would teach French and German so that students "be enabled to buy, sell & talk of common things," but he would not "undertake to teach any one, the whole variation of nouns, and irregular verbs."[97] Other teachers, like Thomas Ball, a private French master, evidently stressed the grammatical approach to the modern languages, but attempted to simplify it. In 1729, Ball announced:

> For the more speedy Instruction of his Scholars, he has calculated the following Tables, viz. 1. A Table for the knowing Genders of Nouns, by their Terminations. 2. A Table for the Forming of Tenses. 3. A Table of all the irregular Verbs. 4. A Table representing the Terminations of the simple Tenses of Verbs. Which Tables, together with a nice Explanation of all the French Particles (now in the Press) will be of great Use to those who have a Desire to learn a Language so necessary & polite.[98]

In the mathematical field, the private master seems to have led the way toward a more practical and concrete method of solving problems. John Dommet, in 1730, advertised instruction in "Practical Geometry, Rectangular and Oblique, with the Application thereof to Plain Sailling, both in single courses, a Traverse, and by an Oblique Triangle."[99] In 1750, Andrew Lamb announced that he taught the following:

> Geometry, Trigonometry, and Plain-sailing; Traverse, Mercator, and Parallel Sailing; Coasting, Bearing and Distance of Land, and Current Sailing. All these are geometrically, logarithmically, and instrumentally performed. Next the practice, which is the main thing intended; and here I shall give you a complete journal from the Lizard to the Rock of Lisbon, with lee-way and variation allowed each course, and rules to apply them; . . . this is one of the journals that I kept to Lisbon, and is therefore recommended to all ingenious artists, as a pattern for any other voyage; and I can shew several journals of my own works to the American plantations. . . .

[96] *Supra*, 117.

[97] Letter to the overseers, 11–24–1742. [P. C. S. Archives.]

[98] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 13, 1729–30, 4.

[99] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, March 26, 1730, 4.

> Sailors, take a friend's advice, be not cheated by land-men, that pretend to navigation; for they know nothing of a sea-journal, which is the principal thing you want to know, and the use of sea-charts: My scholars are qualified to go mates the first voyage, and bring me a good account of their journals.[100]

In 1771, Christopher Colles advertised as follows:

> An Evening School, for the following branches . . . Arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, book-keeping, surveying, levelling, gauging, mensuration, dialling, geography, spherics & conics, navigation, astronomy, mechanics, hydraulics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, perspective, architecture, fortification, gunnery, with the application and practical uses of each, in several trades & manufactories, in building all kinds of water-works, as docks, bridges, etc also locks, fluices, & aqueducts for inland navigations; in the construction of various kinds of mills & engines for abridging the labour of men; together with the most expeditious method of designing & drawing plans, elevations, sections, & perspective views in architecture, and to embellish the same; likewise exact methods of drawing any mill or engine, though of the most complex structure, so that another may be made similar thereto by any intelligent workman.[101]

While these private masters had not yet reached the point of teaching their students to do by doing, they, nevertheless, had broken definitely with the purely theoretical approach to knowledge, and adopted the practical, as far as it probably could be adopted in a poorly equipped schoolroom. Their methods harmonized well with the generally utilitarian nature of their teaching. While some of them did not refer at all to the methods they intended to use, a great number of them used such adjectives as "easy," "good," "speedy," to describe the methods they employed.[102]

There is not much light on the question as to whether the students were usually taught individually or in groups. In Penn Charter Latin School, the students were evidently arranged in classes,[103] on the basis probably of achievement. Some plan of class recitation may have been adopted under this plan. The classes, however, must have been small, providing great opportunity for individual instruction by the master or usher.[104] Differences in ability and interests of students were sometimes

[100] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1750, 3.
[101] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1771, 3.
[102] *Supra*, 101.
[103] *Supra*, 47.
[104] *Ibid.*

recognized. David James Dove desired an opportunity "of discovering their inclinations and humours,"[105] and Joseph Pemberton advertised instruction in "the use of the Globes, on which each case in Navigation may be demonstrated, and made easy and familiar to the weakest capacity."[106] Yet, colonial educational records are usually silent on this question, and its importance was probably not yet widely recognized. The student, who did not fit into the unchangeable educational groove, either wasted his time in a futile attempt to do that for which he had no taste or adaptability, or retired from the struggle for classical or mathematical distinctions, "unwept, unhonored and unsung."

We have found little mention of the examination of students in colonial schools. Periodical examinations seem to have been almost entirely wanting. A close and frequent check on the work of the individual student was possible when classes were small. Moreover, the colony knew no divinely appointed time in which a particular educational course had to be run, as is the practice now, and consequently the need to measure the speed of the runner was not felt as it is today. Besides, when the individual paid the whole or almost the whole cost, it was difficult, if not impossible, to subject him to any systematic, uniform plan of advancement. One teacher, a private master, adopted a weekly and quarterly examination plan. "Private examinations," he announced, "in Latin, English etc will be held every week, and Public Examinations once a quarter. Notice will be given in this Paper of the particular days. Parents, guardians and others, may attend on public examinations; but on private examinations, none are to be admitted but inspectors."[107] These examinations, however, were evidently more in the form of exhibitions for the glorification of the master, than of a test or measure of the students' progress. At best, they may have provided, for the student, an incentive to study. In the nineteenth century, the practice of public examinations and exhibitions became almost universal, and furnished an opportunity for vain and ostentatious display, until abuses led to a deluge of criticism and then to their abandonment.

Corporal punishment does not seem to have been much resorted to in the colony as an incentive to study. Daniel Pastorius, it is true, gave a severe beating to Israel Pemberton, in 1698,[108] but this punishment was administered for disputing with another student and not for poor work in Latin. The earlier rules drawn up by the overseers of The William Penn Charter School are silent on the question of the master's right to inflict corporal punishment on students. The necessity for such punishment, and the master's right to inflict it were probably too well recognized to be mentioned in the formal regulations of the overseers. Corporal punishment, as we shall see, was probably frequently resorted to in institutions of a later date,[109] although it seems to have been contemplated, generally, as a means to the enforcement of school regulations, rather than as a part of the regular classroom procedure. The overseers of the Quaker schools began early to encourage study by providing prizes for good work done by students.[110] and, in 1796, they recommended that, as a general rule, the principle of love should be substituted for that of the rod,[111] a recommendation which implies that the rod was used, at least occasionally. It is probable that the overseers would prefer to dismiss a student rather than to inflict physical pain on him.[112]

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[105] *Pa. Gaz.*, May 16, 1751, 2.

[106] *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1765, 1.

[107] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1766, 1.

IV. *Summary*

Two chief purposes shaped the curriculum of colonial secondary education: one, the traditional cultural purpose, which was bound up with the idea of education as an instrument of mental embellishment and ornamentation; the other, the practical, which was bound up with the idea of education as a means to the earning of a livelihood. Curriculum followed very closely these purposes. The classics were the much-trodden and long-tested highway to culture, but had, in the training of ministers, a practical value as well; the mathematics, sciences and, in a measure, the vernacular and the modern languages led to vocational efficiency and a comfortable living, although, in the Presbyterian schools, the mathematics and the sciences served a liberal purpose. Schools embodying these philosophies were established in the colony. The curriculum of the Penn Charter Latin School was almost exclusively classical; of the English School, vocational and practical. Curriculum in the schools of the other religious denominations was almost entirely of the liberal classical type. With the private masters, curriculum followed the dominant needs of the colony, and the subjects that fitted men best for the duties of navigators, surveyors, accountants, and such like, were their most frequent offerings. The field covered by any single student seems to have been decidedly narrow. In the classical schools, Latin was the chief study, supplemented, probably, in some of them by a smattering of Greek and mathematics. The curriculum of the Penn Charter English School was, especially in the days of Benezet's mastership, much wider in its subject offerings than the classical schools of the colony but, probably, few of the students studied all the subjects that Benezet undertook to teach. In the private school, the student probably took the course that brought him most rapidly to his goal: if he desired to become a surveyor, he probably studied only those things directly related to surveying; if he desired to become a sea-farer, he probably devoted all his time to the theories and practices of navigation.

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[108] *Supra*, 61 *f.*

[109] *Infra*, 206 *f.*, 212 *f.*, 352, 356.

[110] *Supra*, 125.

[111] *Infra*, 354.

[112] *Ibid.*

PART II

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ACADEMY

CHAPTER VI

THE ENVIRONMENT

I. *Economic Aspects*

Attention has already been directed to the economic aspects of life in the colony.[1] While the religious motive acted, doubtless, as a powerful incentive in the immigration of the Quakers and Pietists of the seventeenth,[2] the economic motive explains the great influx of Europeans to America in the eighteenth century. Cheap land, and the hope of material comfort and economic independence attracted most of the immigrants in this latter period.[3] It remained for later generations to develop the mineral resources of the State and to tame the mountains, but those of the eighteenth century tamed the forests and subdued the spirit of a great wilderness, as well as the armies of a government which, they felt, restricted unjustly their opportunities for the fullness of achievement. Interference with the economic growth of the colonies was undoubtedly one important cause of the Revolution.[4] The desire for a greater measure of political liberty cannot be ignored as a cause of the break with the mother country,[5] but restrictions on trade were at the bottom of the dispute. On October 31, 1765, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* appeared with heavy lines and borders of mourning because "the most *Unconstitutional Act* that ever these colonies could have imagined to wit the *Stamp Act* is feared to be obligatory upon us,"[6] and the merchants protested against the injustice of trade restrictions.[7] In the early seventies the duties upon tea and other commodities created considerable resentment.[8]

In spite of restrictions upon trade, the iron industry developed favorably and gave employment, before and after the Revolution, to probably a considerable number of men.[9] Advertisements for iron-workers in furnaces and forges appeared occasionally.[10] Governor Penn reported to the House of Lords, in 1775, that cannon and small arms of excellent quality were made in Pennsylvania.[11] The iron industry continued to be a leader among the industries of the State in the decades following the Revolution.[12] In 1810, most of the iron and steel articles produced in the United States were made in Pennsylvania.[13] In 1784, attention was called to the great profits to be derived from the manufacture of cotton goods by new machinery.[14] In 1788, it was reported that "the Cotton manufactory lately established in this City is in a very flourishing condition. Many of our patriotic citizens are clothing themselves with the jeans made by it."[15] The hope, too, was expressed that the industry might spread through America, until the people of this country, and half the inhabitants of Europe, would be supplied by our cotton factories.[16] In 1787, a society was organized in the State for the promotion and encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.[17] A few years before this time, the movement to protect home industries had begun. The "Master Cordwainers of the city and liberties of Philadelphia" had declared a boycott against all imported boots and shoes.[18] News had reached Philadelphia that an association had been organized in Boston to protect home industries and manufactures, and tradesmen and manufacturers here were asked to join in the movement for protection.[19] In 1789, Benjamin Rush wrote:

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[1] *Supra*, 3 *ff*.

[2] *Supra*, 8, 15 *ff*.

[3] Parrington: *The Colonial Mind*, 333.

[4] Channing: *A Hist. of U. S.*, III, 1 *ff*.

[5] *Ibid.*, 9 *ff*.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, 3.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1765, 3.

[8] *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1770, 1; *Pa. Packet*, Dec. 13, 1773, Supplement, 1; Channing: *Op. cit.*, III, 84–5.

[9] Bining: *Pa. Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. V.

> *Mechanics* and *Manufactures*, of every description, will find certain encouragement in the United States. During the connection of this country with Great Britain, we were taught to believe that agriculture and commerce should be the only pursuit of the Americans: but experiments and reflexion have taught us, that our country abounds with resources for manufactures of all kinds. . . . We are already nearly independent of the world for iron-work, paper, and malt liquors: and great progress has been

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[10] *E.g., Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1764, 3.

[11] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1776, 2.

[12] Parkinson: *A Tour in America*, II. 651; Bining: *Op. cit.*

[13] Iron Works and Manufactures of Iron and Steel. [*Niles Register*, VI, 326]

[14] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 14, 1784, 1.

[15] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1788, 3.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and Useful Arts*, 3 *ff*.

[18] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 3, 1785, 3.

[19] *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1785, 3.

made in the manufactories of glass, pot-ash, and cloths of all kinds.[20]

In 1810, Pennsylvania could boast of a rich return from the manufacture of cloth of various kinds both in the homes of the people and in factories.[21] Among the American states, it stood first in the number of cotton factories. A total of 4,060,772 yards of cloth was manufactured in this year.[22] Public interest in this expansion grew quickly. In 1811, the State senate unanimously resolved, "that, as individuals of the community, we will, as much as possible, abstain from wearing anything in our apparel that is not the product of these manufactures; and that we will recommend the same patriotic practice to our constituents."[23] In 1819, the movement for protection of home manufactures against foreign competitors, which had, as we have seen, been talked of immediately following the Revolution, took an aggressive character. An organization of leading manufacturers and economists was formed in Philadelphia, and resolved to oppose all candidates for national or state offices who refused to protect "domestic manufactures."[24] Side by side with this growing interest in economic expansion and prosperity, various industries began to flourish. During the Revolution, and for some decades thereafter, the State was in the throes of a financial crisis, which at times reached a point dangerously close to demoralization.[25] Yet, the popular interest in the development of the resources of the State, and unbounded confidence in the future greatness and wealth which would result from that development were everywhere increasing. Iron, and iron products, paper, glass, salt, carpets, steam engines, cotton goods, and shipbuilding were growing industries, giving employment to many laborers, and adding rapidly to the wealth of the State.[26] In

[20] Information to Europeans who are Disposed to Migrate to the United States. [*Essays*, 196]

[21] A Series of Tables of the Several Branches of American Manufactures. [*Niles Register*, VI, 323 *ff.*]

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Resolutions of Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, Dec. 5, 1811. [*Ibid.*, I, 299]

[24] Philadelphia Meeting. [*Ibid.*, V, 17]

[25] Day: *Historical Collections of Pa.*, 50–3; Jenkins: *Pa.: Colonial and Federal*, II, 237–9.

[26] Philadelphia. [*Niles Register*, XXVII, 6]; Pittsburgh. [*Ibid.*, XXIX, 160, 180]; Pennsylvania. [*Ibid.*, 20]; Chronicle. [*Ibid.*, XXXI, 32]; American Manufactures. [*Ibid.*, XXXII, 161]; Miscellaneous —Iron Wire. [*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 66; *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 52]; Swank: *Progressive Pa.*, 124–6.

addition to increasing manufactures, coal mining was, in the eighteen-twenties, coming to be a source of much wealth and employment.[27]

With the industrial expansion of the new State, came an increase in commerce, domestic and foreign. Franklin, in 1787, ranked it, with agriculture, as the mainstay of our economic life.[28] Commerce increased rapidly after the Revolution. The number of ships handling the trade that passed through the port of Philadelphia increased from 986, in 1787, to 3,702, in 1830.[29] This trade was carried on with European, Asiatic, Canadian, and South American countries.[30] In the western part of the State, Pittsburgh had become a port of some importance, having had 568 "arrivals and departures" of ships, in 1828.[31] The value of exports rose from nineteen millions, in 1791, to one hundred and eight millions in 1807, after which there was a dropping off for about a decade.[32] To facilitate the development of commerce and the resources of the State, a great program of internal improvements had been undertaken, and had resulted in much more efficient transportation by the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Colonial Pennsylvania had its roads, few, rough, and sometimes well nigh impassable. Bridges were not built across the large rivers until the nineteenth century, the crossing, previously, being made by ferry.[33] Bishop Reichel has left us the following description of a Susquehanna ferry, in 1780:

> On the side from which we approached there is a high sandy bank, and the wheels of Conrad's wagon sank to the axle in the sand, and were freed only after one and a half hours of work with levers and extra horses . . . frequently travellers are detained here for an entire day. Here they charge $56 for taking over a six-horse wagon, and $8 for a horse and rider.[34]

On even the best roads, the speed of the stagecoach was but four miles an hour, and the wagons which were used to carry merchandise between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh took from twenty to thirty-five days to complete the trip across the State.[35]

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[27] Chronicle. [*Niles Register*, XXXI, 48]; Coal Trade. [*Ibid.*, XXXIII, 48]

[28] Speech of Daniel Webster. [*Ibid.*, LXV, 188–9]

[29] Commerce of Philadelphia. [*Ibid.*, LV, 371]

[30] Philadelphia. [*Ibid.*, XXXI, 309]

[31] Commerce of Pittsburgh. [*Ibid.*, XXXV, 101]

[32] Harrisburg Convention. [*Ibid.*, XXXIII, 100, 105]

[33] Swank: *Progressive Pa.*, 102.

[34] Mereness: *Travels in the American Colonies*, 586.

[35] Fearon's account, in Nevins: *American Social History*, 80.

It was realized early that the development of the great resources of the State depended upon improved methods of transportation. Canals were planned even before the Revolution,[36] but our first canals date from 1797,[37] and, in 1834, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were linked by a canal system, a railroad across the mountains linking the western and eastern waterways.[38] While the construction of railroads in the State dates from 1809, it was not until the fourth decade of the century that their development on a large scale began.

Although these improvements were in a large measure the result of private initiative, the State itself was liberal in its encouragement and financial support of such enterprises. In 1794, the Lancaster turnpike, said to be the first stone road in the United States, was opened by a private company,[39] and between 1792 and 1832, two hundred and twenty turnpike companies were established by the legislature.[40] Between 1809 and 1815, the State, it is said, spent two million dollars on roads, and encouraged private companies to spend twice that amount.[41] In the session of 1816–17, appropriations made for roads and bridges were $385,900, for rivers and creeks, $131,400, and for piers, wharves, colleges, and academies, $13,700.[42] Appropriations for internal improvements continued to be made by the legislature.[43] In the nine years' period 1820–29, the loans of the State to companies engaged in road, bridge, and canal building amounted to $8,286,000, the returns from which were so meager that the credit of the government was impaired.[44] In these years of material expansion, comparatively little was contributed by the State to education. In 1828, the appropriation for internal improvements amounted to $1,083,735, and for education to $20,946.[45] Other states in the young nation, now evidently desirous to compete in commerce with other nations, were engaged on a similar program of improvements,[46] but Pennsylvania, by 1830, was probably first among the states in improvements in its means of transportation.[47]

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[36] Swank: *Op. cit.*, 131–2.

[37] *Ibid.*, 135.

[38] *Ibid.*, 139–42.

[39] Gordon: *A Gazetteer of Pa.*, 35.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] West: *Story of Am. Democracy*, 366.

[42] Finances of Pa. [*Niles Register*, XIII, 333]

[43] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 233; XXVII, 276.

[44] Jenkins: *Op. cit.*, II, 237–8.

[45] Finances of Pa. [*Niles Register*, XXXIII, 324]

[46] Channing: *Hist. of U. S.*, V, 30.

[47] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Aug. 21, 1830, 1.

As in the colonial period, agriculture contined to be, until well into the nineteenth century, the main source of employment. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, great land speculators were attracting Europeans to the State, and selling land in unsettled territories for sums ranging from $1.50 to $3 per acre.[48] In the old and thickly populated areas land was of much greater value. In the vicinity of Lancaster, in 1788, land, we are told, was worth $75 per acre.[49] The success of the Germans on their farms attracted attention, even before the Revolution. Lord Adam Gordon, in 1765, was amazed at their prosperity,[50] and John Penn noticed the "handsome farmhouses" in the vicinity of Lancaster, in 1788.[51] The great source of labor prior to the period, already described, when roads, bridges, canals, factories, and commerce began to offer more profitable employment to the workers, was the field of agriculture.[52]

II. *Social Aspects*

The population of Pennsylvania rose from 434,373, in 1790, to 1,348,233, in 1830.[53] The population, in this latter year, was distributed over fifty-two counties.[54] The counties in the northern and northwestern sections of the State were thinly populated. The whole territory was dotted, at wide intervals, with villages and towns of twenty dwellings and upwards.[55] Towns of more than three or four hundred inhabitants were few. The town was a centre of a farming community, and usually had one or more churches, taverns, and stores.[56] In 1830, Pennsylvania had only three cities, Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh, the last two as yet very small. The population of the Philadelphia district, in 1790, was 42,444,[57] the population of New York, at this time, being 33,131, and of Boston, 18,038.[58] In 1800, it had reached 70,000, leading New York in this year by 10,000 and Boston by 46,000,[59] and, in 1830, it was 80,408.[60] In 1840, the populations of Philadelphia and Boston were approximately 93,000 each,[61] but that of New York had increased to 312,710.[62] Pittsburgh, which was a mere village before the Revolution,[63] had a population of 12,976, in 1826.[64] Reading had 771 houses and 1,126 taxable inhabitants in this same year.[65] Lancaster, in 1830, had a population of 7,684,[66] Along the highways of commerce, towns and cities were rising. A traveler, in 1817, expressed surprise at the size and population of Lancaster, Harrisburg, and Carlisle.[67] Chambersburg, he reported, was a town of two hundred and forty houses.[68] On the road between Chambersburg and Pittsburgh he passed ''one hundred and three stage-waggons . . . proceeding from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Pittsburg—seventy-nine from Pittsburg to Baltimore and Philadelphia.''[69]

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[48] *Translation of a Letter from Several Swiss Settlers in Tioga County, Pennsylvania, to their Countrymen.* [Pamphlet Collection, H. S. P.]

[49] John Penn's *Journal.* [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, III, 294]

[50] Mereness: *Travels in American Colonies*, 410–13; see also Rush: *An Account of the German Inhabitants of Pa.*

[51] *Journal.* [*Loc. cit.*, 294]

[52] McMaster: *The Acquisition of the Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America*, 54–7.

[53] Swank: *Op. cit.*. 35–6. For figures, see Gordon: *Gazetteer of Pa.*, 34.

[54] Gordon: *Op. cit.*, 33–4.

[55] *Ibid.*, *Part* II, 1 *ff.*

[56] *E.g.*, Canonsburg. [*Ibid.*, 86]; Centreville. [*Ibid.*, 95]; *Ibid.*, 1–501.

[57] *A Century of Pop. Growth in U. S.*, 1790–1900, 11.

[58] *Ibid.*

In the cities and towns, wealth became a basis of social distinctions. There were always the common laboring class and those engaged in domestic service. The ''domestics'' kept the pavements in front of the homes of the commercial gentry so spic and span that Frances Wright,[70] in 1821, remarked: ''I never walked through the streets of any city with so much satisfaction as those of Philadelphia.''[71] Yet we hear a little later, in 1825, of ''vagrant children'' who are ''becoming a moral plague in the metropolis and its vicinity,''[72] the children of the poor and destitute, no doubt. In 1826, the controllers of the Philadelphia public schools complained that parents were taking their children from school to work in factories for from $.50 to $1.50 per week.[73] We hear of the poor and the alms-houses in sections outside of Philadelphia. The directors of the poor in Chester county took care of 768 destitute people, in 1823, and in Lancaster county, in 1822–23, the number cared for by public charity amounted to

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[59] West: *Op. cit.*, 349.

[60] Gordon: *Op. cit.*, 34.

[61] *An Accurate Synopsis of the Sixth Census*, 98, 154.

[62] *Ibid.*, 148.

[63] An Early Record of Pittsburgh. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, II, 303–4]

[64] Pennsylvania. [*Niles Register*, XXX, 338]

[65] Pennsylvania. [*Ibid.*, XXX, 239]

[66] Items. [*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 357]

[67] Fearon's account in Nevins: *American Social History*, 79–86.

[68] *Ibid.*, 80.

[69] *Ibid.*, 86.

[70] Darusmont, F. W.

[71] *Views of Society and Manners in America*, 83.

[72] *Min. Bd. of Control*, III, 21.

[73] *Ibid.*, III, 73–4.

256 per month.[74] We hear, however, more of the manner of life among the rich than among the poor in the cities. A traveler, at the close of the eighteenth century, stated that "Although there be great want in those cities and towns, there is little or no visible appearance of it at the taverns: fine dinners, fruits of many sorts . . . wine in plenty . . . segars to smoke at five pence for four."[75]

The hotels published their elaborate menus.[76] French cooks came in to cater to the palates of the rich.[77] Those on the very upper level of society drove around town in carriages. Philadelphia, in 1796, could boast of 553 two-wheeled, and 307 four-wheeled carriages,[78] the owners of the latter being probably the cream of our best society. We are further informed:

> The inhabitants of Philadelphia, like all citizens of the United States, are classified by their fortunes. The first class is composed of carriage folk. Almost all these gentry, whatever their origin, have their coats of arms painted upon their carriage doors. The son of a deported thief has liveried servants, just like everybody else. Nobility having been abolished by the Constitution alone, it is not astonishing that so many individuals pretend to be descended from ancient English families. This fad has become a sort of mania in mercantile cities.[79]

Evidences of wealth and of the comforts of the middle class can be found for the growing cities of the State, outside of Philadelphia. John Penn referred to the "superior appearance" of Lancaster, in 1788.[80] A "Dancing Assembly" was supported by the aristocracy of Harrisburg at the end of the eighteenth century, and the dances popular with the ladies and gentlemen comprised those taught by the "French masters" in Philadelphia and New York.[81] Fencing,[82] dancing,[83] riding,[84] and the theatre[85] continued to attract support from the public in Philadelphia and in other centers in the State. Yet, this upper bourgeois class in the first decades of our independence did not enjoy the luxury of a private bathroom in their homes. Like the Romans of the long ago, however, the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia could enjoy the luxury of "marble" or "copper baths" in Fromberger's court, where commodiousness, privacy and agreeableness might be expected by patrons.[86] Between the very rich merchants, whose two- and four-wheeled carriages added to the general tone of refinement, and the domestic servants and laborers at the other end of the social ladder, was an increasingly large class of smaller merchants whose advertisements cover the pages of our late eighteenth and early nineteenth century newspapers.

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[74] Pauperism. [*Niles Register,* XXVI, 266]

[75] Parkinson: *Op. cit.,* II, 563–4.

[76] *E.g., Pitt. Gaz.,* April 20, 1816, 3.

[77] *Pa. Packet,* July 15, 1784, 4.

[78] Stephens' *Phila. Directory,* 1796, 62.

[79] From Bayard's description, 1797, cited in Jones: *America and French Culture,* 239. Footnote.

[80] *Journal.* [*Loc. cit.,* III, 294]

[81] Morgan: *Annals of Harrisburg,* 367–8.

[82] *Wkly. Adv. of Reading,* Nov. 18, 1809, 3.

[83] *Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.,* Feb. 3, 1830, 3.

[84] *Am. Dly. Adv.,* Dec. 5, 1795, 3.

[85] *Readinger Zeitung,* Jan. 11, 1792, 3.

In the rural districts, we find farmers owning farms great and small, and some having servants and others none. A glance at the pages of the *Pennsylvania Archives* will give a good idea of the social order outside of the towns and cities. The size of the average farm, in Chester county, seems to have been from about 120 to 130 acres.[87] Before the Revolution, some farmers employed from two to twelve servants,[88] but, during the war, the number of servants decreased considerably.[89] Many of these farmers owned a number of horses, cattle, and sheep.[90] Similar conditions prevailed in Bucks county.[91] Farms in the newer counties were larger than in the older ones. The average holding in Northumberland county, in 1783, appears at a glance to have been about 400 acres, although much land in this region was being held by speculators.[92] Samuel Burrows held 6,000 acres; Owen Biddle, 7,000 acres; and John Muffler and Company, 10,300 acres,[93] which were probably broken up and sold eventually to small farmers. Accounts of living conditions on the farms vary in minor details, but one carries away the impression that economic security and a limited measure of material comfort characterized farm life generally, while the hired laborers were meagerly remunerated. Fearon remarked:

> The farmers in Pennsylvania are many of them rich; some reside in first-rate houses and are possessed of most of the conveniences of life. . . . The great body of these Men are Germans, or

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[86] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Nov. 17, 1810, 3.

[87] *Loc. cit.,* Third Series, XII.

[88] *Ibid.,* 65.

[89] *Ibid.,* 366–499.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] *Ibid.,* XIII, 36–9, 141–4, 419–504.

[92] *Pa. Gaz.,* April 9, 1783, 1.

[93] *Ibid.*

of German stock. They are excellent practical farmers, very industrious, very mercenary, and very ignorant.[94]

Carpets, fancy tableware, tablecloths, wallpaper, and other such marks of refinement probably found their way slowly even into the homes of the most prosperous farmers.[95] A writer, in 1799, said of the German farmers that they were ''the most early rising, hard-working people I ever saw; they seem to enjoy not more happiness or knowledge, than some bell-flowers, who sleep at night, wake early, to bed late, perpetuate their species, and die. . . . The women all at work in the fields, seem very active, but are masculine in the extreme. . . . Their dress,—one petticoat striped blue linsy, a man's hat, and a shift, some of them with wristbands.''[96]

The hired laborers on the farms were paid a meager wage. William Cobbett says that, in 1818, ''a good farm labourer has *twenty-five pounds sterling a year* and his board and lodgings'' and ''a woman servant in a farmhouse has from forty to fifty dollars a year, or eleven pounds sterling. These are the average of the wages throughout the country.''[97] In 1800, the farm hands in central Pennsylvania were paid but $8 per month with board and lodging.[98] The program of internal improvements, already described, tended to lessen the supply of farm laborers, and raise their wages. Laborers, between 1800 and 1810, could earn from $1 to $1.25 per day as road builders or street pavers.[99] The force of the industrial revolution, however, did not effect to any considerable extent the traditional social arrangement until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The home in the farming districts and, to a lesser extent, probably, in the cities, continued to be the factory, indeed, the centre of all trades and industries. A farmer made ''his own ploughs, harrows, waggons, carts,'' and his wife made ''her husband's coat and every other part of his clothing. Even in towns and cities, on account of the expense, the ladies of merchants, etc., make their husbands' waistcoats and pantaloons.''[100] Frances Wright, describing American society in 1821, said:

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[94] Quoted in Nevins: *American Social Hist.*, 79.

[95] West: *Op. cit.*, 343–9.

[96] Hill: A Journey on Horseback . . . in 1799. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XIV, 190–2]

[97] Reprinted in Nevins: *American Social Hist.*, 90.

[98] McMaster: *The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America*, 55.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] Parkinson: *A Tour in America*, II, 600.

> Many gentlemen of property are in the habit of making, on their own estates, every single article of clothing and household furniture: young women of cultivated education, and elegant accomplishments, are found dressed in plain cotton garments; and men presiding in the senate-house of their country in woollen clothes, woven and fashioned by the hands of their own domestics, or even by those of their children.[101]

Redemptioners, too, continued to come in considerable numbers, in the first decades of the century, many of whom were described as "farmers," "mechanics," and "tradesmen." Most of these came from the British Isles and Germany.[102]

From the social standpoint, the most significant development in Pennsylvania in the period following the Revolution, and for some decades preceding, was the evolution of a strong middle class. Its emergence was the result chiefly of commercial expansion. Educational developments were shaped largely by the interests of this class. Those interests found expression in the establishment of academies and colleges, through which their children might advance to positions of leadership in the republic. For the lower classes in society, an education provided by public or private charity was the only one dreamt of. The first Consitution of the new State, in 1776, provided for the establishment of schools in each county, but these were not to be free schools.[103] The Constitution of 1790, however, established the practice of educating the poor gratis.[104] Small grants of land and money were made by the young bourgeois government to incorporated academies with the provision, as a rule, that a limited number of poor might be taught gratis for a few years in these institutions.[105] In no case, apparently, did the law contemplate an education for the poor above the mere rudiments.

The State entrusted the education of the less fortunate to charitable agencies. But a mere mention, however, can be made here of the various educational activities, of a philanthropic nature, which were promoted by individuals and societies in the State during the first fifty or sixty years following the Revolution. In the Charity School of the Episcopal Academy, in 1789, there were eighty boys and forty girls.[106] A number of societies for the education of the poor are recorded for Philadelphia, in 1813.[107] The Quakers continued their charitable work. We find them establishing, in 1782, a free school in Chester county to educate youth for the teaching profession and for business.[108] Amos Austin Hughes endowed, by will, a school in Bucks county in 1811.[109] This idea of charity education was, as we shall see, vigorously opposed by the labor party in the twenties and thirties, its demand being based on the principle of the equal rights of all classes in the democracy. Education in the first fifty years of our statehood was a class education.

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[101] *Views of Society and Manners in America*, 389.

[102] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 2, 1785, 4; *Ibid.*, June 20, 1787, 4; *Berks and Schuylkill Jour.*, Oct. 23, 1819, 4; *Oracle of Dauphin*, Oct. 23, 1819, 4; *Niles Register*, XIII, 314.

[103] *Infra*, 217 *ff.*

[104] *Infra*, 218 *f.*

[105] *Infra*, 219, 240, *f.*

III. *Political Aspects*

The Revolution, as far as Pennsylvania was concerned, was not a sudden upheaval. Social, economic, religious, and political forces had been long preparing the way for a change. There was in the colony a loyalist element, eager for every opportunity to demonstrate in public its sentiments. "Wednesday last," reads a note in the *Gazette,* "being His Majesty's Birthday, was observed here with all the usual Demonstrations of Loyalty and Joy. The principal Gentlemen of the Place were entertained at the Proprietors and the Governors, where all the Loyal Healths were drunk under the Discharge of a great number of Cannon, and the Evening concluded with Bonfires, Illuminations. . . ."[110] Franklin, in 1736, felt that the colonists enjoyed all the desirable advantages of freedom and democracy.[111] Yet, there was evidently in the making, for many years before the Revolution, the foundation of a new political régime, a native consciousness, a native culture. Mittelberger says:

> On the first and second days of the month of May there is general merry-making in Pennsylvania, in which the unmarried persons of both sexes chiefly take part. All amuse themselves with playing, dancing, shooting, hunting, and the like. Such unmarried persons as are born in the country adorn their heads with a piece of the fur of some wild animal, together with any

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[106] *E. A. M.,* I, 81.

[107] Paxton's *The Phila. Directory,* 1813, 103–4.

[108] *Circular* in *Pemberton Papers,* XXXIX, 146. [H. S. P.]

[109] Will of Amos Austin Hughes. Printed copy. [Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., A. D. 9, 3]

[110] *Pa. Gaz.,* Oct. 31, 1734, 4.

[111] Bigelow: *The Works of Benj. Franklin,* I, 425.

painted animal they may choose. With these the young men walk about the city, crying, "Hurrah! Hurrah!" But no one may put such a token in his hat except those born in the country, and these are called Indians.[112]

The call of a native soil, coupled with a very marked separation from the mother country, which a wide expanse of ocean effected, had already brought into being new customs and new feelings, indicative of the rise of a new culture, if not of a new race. Significantly enough, these so-called "Indians" were not the old men, but the youths, of the colony—native-born children of the new world. At most these had only heard of the mother country. The literature they read was printed in the colony, and the schools, wherein was nurtured their intellectual life, were American schools. Even an American language was beginning to evolve in the early eighteenth century.[113] While men like Franklin,[114] and other writers in the colony[115] spoke of political liberty, there was this youthful group which felt, rather than told of, its blessings. It was probably one of those "Indians" who, in 1774, wrote the following lines, dedicated to England:

> For thee we'll toil with chearful Heart,
> We'll labour—*but we will be free*—
> Our Growth and Strength to thee impart
> And all our Treasures bring to thee.
> Rule Britannia, rule the waves,
> We're subjects—but we're not your slaves.[116]

While sentiment favorable to independence was thus growing, there were at work in the colony forces opposed to change. The Protestant Episcopal group was decidedly conservative, as was also the Quaker element. These were particularly strong in the original counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks. In 1760, the "Clergy of the Church of England" presented an address to James Hamilton, the new Lieutenant Governor of the Province, which read in part:

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[112] *Op. cit.*, 112.

[113] Adams: *Provincial Society,* 288–9.

[114] Bigelow: *Op. cit.*, I, 425.

[115] A writer in the *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Sept. 27, 1733, 1, proclaimed: "What a Blessing is Liberty, what a Happiness to live in a Free Government, under true and faithful Legislatures; who will have an Eye not only to the enacting of good Laws, but to the impartial Execution of them."

[116] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 19, 1774, 3.

> Permit us sir to assure you of our firm Attachment to His Majesty's sacred person, Family & Government, and that we are heartily disposed and shall at all times esteem it a most essential part of our Duty whilst we are propagating the interest of Religion & Virtue to inculcate obedience to our most Gracious Sovereign and to all who are put in authority under him.[117]

Episcopalian ministers in the colony clamored for the establishment of a colonial episcopate, a move which was feared and opposed by the dissenting groups.[118] When the Revolution broke out, some of the Episcopal missionaries had to withdraw from the colony. Mr. Barton, one of them, wrote:

> I have been obliged to shut up my Churches, to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the liturgy to be us'd, unless the collects and prayers for the King and royal family were omitted, which neither my conscience nor the declaration I made and subscrib'd when ordain'd, would allow me to comply with:—and although I used every prudent step to give no offence, even to those who usurp'd Authority and Rule, and exercised the severest tyranny over us, yet my life and property have been threaten'd upon meer *suspicion* of being unfriendly, to, what is called the American Cause . . . In consequence of which the Missionaries, in particular, have suffered greatly. Some of them have been drag'd from their Horses, assaulted with Stones and Dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their Habitations and Families, laid under arrest and imprison'd—I believe they were all (or, at least, most of them) reduced to the same necessity, with me, of shutting up their churches.[119]

Mr. Barton was a missionary in Lancaster and its vicinity. The enthusiasm of the Revolution did not leave untouched the College of Philadelphia, of which William Smith, a prominent Churchman, had long been the head. One who wrote before the commencement exercises of 1779 wondered how the "young orators will address those worthies who composed the old Board of Trustees, and most of whom yet remain. Some of them, indeed, attainted of high treason, are fled from the hands of justice."[120] A short time later, a committee of the Assembly, in a report on the College, Academy, and Charitable School, objected to the charter of the institution, which required "that the Trustees shall take an Oath of Allegiance to the King of

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[117] Perry: *Hist. Coll. of Am. Col. Church*, II, 297.

[118] *Digest of the S. P. G. Records*, 35.

[119] *Ibid.*, 39–40.

[120] *Pa. Packet*, July 6, 1779, 3.

Great Britain, before they can proceed to any official acts.''[121] The committee complained that some of the trustees allied themselves with the British forces against the colonies, and that the corporation showed itself antagonistic to the Revolution.[122] Moreover, the report stated that there was ''sufficient Reason to believe that the fair and original Plan of equal Privileges to all Denominations hath not been fully adhered to.'' These charges, made in the heat of revolutionary ardor, were probably somewhat exaggerated, but they throw light on the spiritual forces that were at work in the struggle for independence. The Quakers, too, opposed the Revolution, and expressed '' 'abhorence of all such writings and measures as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connection we have hitherto enjoyed with the kingdom of Great Britain.' ''[123]

Opposed to the Episcopal and Quaker attitude was that of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who inhabited the frontier. Jenkins says that the English officers called the war ''A Scotch-Irish rebellion.''[124] These had not forgotten the commercial restrictions imposed by English law upon their growing industries in Ireland, which drove them to Pennsylvania in quest of a freedom they could not find at home.[125] Moreover, the *Institutes* of Calvin emphasizing the importance ''of the individual soul'' and the ''equality of all souls before God'' may be considered one of the foundations of the democratic principles which were involved in the struggle.[126] As early as 1764, the inhabitants on the frontier of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northumberland presented a statement of grievances, signed by Matthew Smith and James Gibson, to the Assembly, in which they complained of the unequal representation of the frontier counties in the colonial legislature. They condemned this discrimination as ''oppressive, unequal, and unjust . . . and an infringement of our natural privileges of Freedom and equality.''[127] Meetings protesting against the acts of the British government were held on the frontier for a few years before the Revolution.[128] One cannot help feeling that the Scotch-Irish had a voice in the following resolution adopted at a meeting of the men of Dauphin county, in 1774: "Resolved, That in the event of Great Britain attempting to force unjust laws upon us by strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and our rifles."[129] While the Germans, in the inland counties and on the frontier, were probably not so belligerently opposed to the old régime as the Scotch-Irish, injustices of the colonial government, and trade restrictions and taxation must have stirred up in them some antagonism against their rulers. The pre-eminence of the old counties, and the dominance of the traditional ruling class of the city was threatened by the growing population of the frontier counties, and the new counties, some of them, like Lancaster, strongly German, were refused adequate representation in the Assembly.[130] To stem the tide of German immigration a tax was placed on immigrants, in 1729.[131] Stronger opposition was evident as the tide of immigration increased. The Assembly, in 1739, denied the statement of the Lieutenant Governor that the prosperity of the colony was due to the industrious habits of the Germans, a condition due rather to the "Sobriety and Industry of the first Settlers of this Country."[132] Franklin, in 1753, expressed his fears for the continuance of British power in the colony, if immigration of the Germans were not restricted. "In short," he stated, "unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, . . . they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will . . . be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."[133] It was at this time that Franklin, Smith, and others began their movement to establish charity schools among the Germans, with the very evident purpose of developing in their children an allegiance to British rule in the colony.[134] It created bitter opposition,[135] and probably alienated the sympathy of many Germans from the cause of England in the Revolution.

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[121] *C. A. C. M.*, II, 151–2.

[122] See *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, X, 23.

[123] Ford: *The Scotch-Irish in America*, 478.

[124] *Pa. Col. and Fed.*, II, 28.

[125] Ford: *Op. cit.*, 458–60.

[126] Perry: *The American Mind*, 231–2.

[127] Ford: *Op. cit.*, 575.

[128] *Ibid.*, 373–4.

[129] Robinson: *The Ecclesiastical Hist. of Dauphin Co.*, 13. [an address before Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc.] For discussion of frontier grievances, see Jenkins: *Op. cit.*, I, 510 *ff.*

[130] Adams: *Provincial Society*, 225.

[131] Jenkins: *Op. cit.*, I, 511.

[132] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 11, 1738–9, 1–2.

[133] Bigelow: *Op. cit.*, II, 298.

[134] For full account see Brumbaugh: *Ed. Struggle in Col. Pa.;* Weber: *The Charity Sch. Movement in Col. Pa.* For some documents see *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Ger. Ref. Church in Pa.*

[135] *Supra,* 12 *f.*

Knauss says: ''In this struggle the Germans, like the other colonists, were divided in their sympathies although there is hardly any doubt that the majority of them favored the colonies.''[136] With sentiment for a change growing, there was, however, much apathy, and the most thorough of our state historians has said: ''It was with difficulty that the mass of our people had been roused at all.''[137] Franklin was the only one of nine delegates to the Continental Congress who stood for separation.[138]

The struggle then, briefly, was a struggle for the political principle of freedom and self-determination. The Assembly, in 1765, resolved ''That the Taxation of the People of this Province by any other Persons whatsoever, than their Representatives in Assembly, is *Unconstitutional* and subversive of their most valuable Rights.''[139] It was, also, a class struggle, of a rising middle class, and of a frontier population, against a city aristocracy of wealth, which strove to perpetuate itself in power. It was an economic struggle for the rights of the trader. It was a religious struggle, in that the dissenters feared the establishment of a national church. The loyalty of Churchmen to the old régime brought into play a religious motive as one of the forces operating toward a new political system.

On the philosophical side, the basis and justification of the Revolution are found in Locke's *Treatises on Civil Government,* in which he affirmed that ''taxation without representation'' was tyranny, and that the individual citizen had natural rights which the state must respect.[140] Supplementing the philosophy of Locke, were the radical sociological theories of Rousseau, embodied in his doctrine of the natural state, as expounded in his *Social Contract.*[141] While these political philosophies seem to have had wide vogue in the colonies, and while Locke's views on taxation were embodied in the act of the Assembly, in 1765, it was probably the first intention of our colonial leaders to seek, in a peaceful way, a change in the policy of the British government.[142] Thomas Paine's *Common Sense,* published in 1775,[143] had much to do with turning the tide of sentiment from reconciliation to independence. Benjamin Rush is reported to have said that its effect was very decisive.[144]

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[136] *Social Conditions Among the Pa. Germans,* 151.

[137] Jenkins: *Pa. Col. and Fed.,* II, 21.

[138] *Ibid.,* 23.

[139] *Pa. Gaz.,* Sept. 26, 1765, 3.

[140] Parrington: *The Colonial Mind,* 189.

[141] *Ibid.,* 271–2.

[142] Hansen: *Liberalism in American Ed.,* 22.

[143] *The Complete Works of Thomas Paine,* VI.

Social and religious attitudes, and a democratic political philosophy were embodied in the first State Constitution. In the *Declaration of Rights* it was proclaimed:

> That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights, amongst which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. . . . That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience and understanding.[145]

Yet this Constitution perpetuated the old class system, by extending the right to vote to only the freemen who paid public taxes, and the sons of such freemen, the latter not being required to pay taxes. Twenty-one years was fixed as the age when such freemen might begin to vote.[146] The same arrangement was embodied in the Constitution of 1790.[147] In the Constitution of 1838, a fuller measure of democracy appeared in the provision entitling all white freemen, who were citizens of the United States, to vote in elections, even though they had not paid taxes. The provision for education, during the first fifty years of statehood, reflected the political power in the State of a property-owning middle class. The laws of 1802,[148] 1804,[149] and 1809,[150] provided for the children of the poor in the State a pauper education. Instruction in only reading, writing, and arithmetic was definitely provided for in the act of 1804, and the act of 1809 provided for the education of children between the ages of five and twelve, whose names were to be placed on public lists, thus definitely inflicting on them and their parents the stigma of pauperism.

Yet, while the Constitutions perpetuated a political and social inequality in the State, the philosophy of democracy had taken hold, and the common man was beginning to understand its implications. Men began to talk of their civil officials as their "servants."[151] Artisans, in great numbers, appeared in early patriotic parades.[152] Servants ceased to call their employers "master" or "mistress," because they had come to feel that there were no longer any "masters" or "servants" in America.[153]

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[144] *Ibid.*, II, p. VI. Footnote.

[145] *Constitutions of Pa.*, Legislative Reference Bureau Bulletin, 1916, 222.

[146] *Ibid.*, 226.

[147] *Ibid.*, 188.

[148] *Laws of Pa.*, 1802, Ch. XXXIV.

[149] *Ibid.*, 1804, Ch. LXV.

[150] Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, V, 73–4.

In four western counties of the State, an extremely democratic philosophy led to the Whiskey Rebellion, brought on by the imposition of a federal tax on whiskey made on the farms.[154] The rebellion was crushed by a federal army.[155] Forces of a very conservative nature were at work in the nation as a whole, and the recognition of the rights of the common man had not yet been realized.[156]

IV. *Religious Aspects*

The Constitution of 1776 extended equal privileges to all sects. The wide variety of sects of which Mittelberger spoke in the earlier period[157] continued to be a characteristic of the religious aspects of the new State. The Revolution brought, however, a spirit of religious tolerance and a softening of religious prejudices. In the patriotic procession of July 4, 1888, the Jewish rabbi of Philadelphia and the ministers of various Christian denominations walked arm in arm through the streets of the city.[158] Estimated on the basis of the number of churches of each denomination in the city, the Presbyterians, in 1796, were the most numerous. The Episcopalians, Quakers, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and Lutherans were about equally represented.[159] Some few other groups had but one church each.[160] In 1830, these groups had become numerically stronger, the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers having increased considerably the number of their churches.[161] The chief increase appeared in the ranks of the Methodists, Baptists, and Catholics. In the colonial period, there developed, as we have seen, a system of religious schools, and while there is very little documentary evidence to warrant the conclusion that the religious groups in the first decades of our statehood opposed the idea of public schools, it is a safe assumption that any attempt to secularize education would stir up considerable religious antagonism. The controversy which followed the withdrawal of the charter of the College, Academy, and Charitable School in Philadelphia, in 1779,[162] throws some light on the general attitude of the religious groups in the State. The Constitution of 1776 guaranteed the rights of religious societies already incorporated for educational or religious purposes.[163] In 1788, when the General Assembly of Pennsylvania was being censured for withdrawing the charter of the institution, an anonymous writer stated that "At a meeting . . . of the clergy of all denominations in the city of Philadelphia, the foregoing clause in the constitution was drawn up, and, being subscribed by the whole body, was delivered to the venerable Dr. Franklin, president of the Convention, who engaged to have it inserted, as it now stands, in the constitution."[164] William Smith has been credited with having drawn up the article itself.[165] Further expressions of attitudes on the question of religious versus secular education appeared in 1788. One writer remarked: "Colleges being intended, among other purposes, to instruct, educate and train persons for the *work of the ministry,* have always been considered as of a *religious nature.*"[166] And the religious attitude appeared further in the remarks:

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[151] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 9, 1788, 3.

[152] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1788, 1–4.

[153] Darusmont: *Views of Society and Manners in America*, 460.

[154] Jenkins: *Op. cit.*, 139 *ff.*; Faulkner: *Economic Hist. of the U. S.*, 58–9.

[155] *Ibid.*

[156] Channing: *A Hist. of U. S.*, III, 433 *ff.*

[157] *Supra*, 8.

[158] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 9, 1788, 3.

[159] Stephens' *Phila. Directory*, 1796, 64–6.

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] Gordon: *Op. cit.*, Part II, 348.

> If particular societies of men cannot make provision for the education of their own children, and such others as may be freely committed to their care; if the *donations* and *bequests* of pious and *charitable* persons, who approve their design are not to be held sacred; if they can be *deprived,* or robbed not only of such donations but likewise of their *own* private contributions and estates; and if the education of their children . . . can be taken out of their own hands, and given to the state . . . —then all our religious, or civil liberty, is but an empty name! For the education of our own children, under such regulations and provisions as the laws and constitutions of our country (unfettered by state establishments) direct and allow, is certainly the most essential part of *liberty.*[167]

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[162] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* X, 23 *ff.*

[163] *Infra,* 217 *f.*

[164] *Pa. Gaz.,* March 19, 1788, 1.

[165] Dr. Smith and Collegiate Education. [Barnard's *Jour.,* XXVII, 491]

[166] *Pa. Gaz.,* March 19, 1788, 1.

[167] *Ibid.*

It was thus that the young bourgeois State may have found justification for its devotion to class education in a religious inheritance. Benjamin Rush laid great emphasis on the importance of religion as the basis of education in a republic,[168] and many other leaders of thought were probably of a like mind.

The interest of the various religious groups in education continued, and academies and seminaries under denominational control were established throughout the State.[169] The anxiety of the Friends, in this respect, remained as intense as in the earlier years of their educational activities, and new schools were established by them, as the following will indicate:

> The Committee appointed to consider the proposal brought up in the Year 1792 from Philadelphia Quarter, respecting the Establishment of a Boarding School for the Children of members of our Religious Society, brought in the following Report
>
> To the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania etc In pursuance of our appointment, we have carefully attended to the Concern brought up from the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia in the Year 1792, relating to the Establishment of a Boarding School, It appearing that by many Friends in that and other Quarterly Meetings, prospects had been entertained for extensive advantages to our Religious Society, to be derived from one or more such Institutions, in some suitable place or places in the Country, within the Limits & under the direction and Care of the Yearly Meeting, the Use and benefit whereof to be confined to the Children of Friends; and that divers Members of those Quarters, many of whom have had this Subject Ripening in their Minds for a number of years past, have by Donations and Subscriptions already secured the Amount of about five thousand Pounds, to be applied to the promoting such an establishment when the Yearly Meeting shall take the same under its care and Patronage.[170]

In 1795, it was reported that six hundred acres of land had been purchased for the purpose of a boarding school at Westtown,[171] and thus the present Friends school at that place had its beginning.

A few years earlier, 1791, the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia made provision for the establishment of two schools, one of which was to be located in Washington county, Pennsylvania, and be under the care of John M'Millan.[172] The Synod formulated the following rules for these schools at this time:

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[168] Mode of Ed. Proper in a Republic. [*Essays*, 8]

[169] *Infra*, 232, 246 *f*.

[170] *Min. Phila. Yrly. Mtg.*, 1794.

[171] *Ibid.*, 1795.

> 1st The learned languages and the usual circle of sciences shall be taught in them, to as many as shall be sent there for instruction.
>
> 2d During the course of academical education, and from the first initiation of the students into the seminaries, a course of religious instruction shall also be entered upon, and continually adhered to during their residence there, according to the principles of our church . . .
>
> 3d . . . The Presbytery of Redstone shall, . . . superintend the seminary in Washington county.
>
> 4d In one or other of these institutions, it is the advice of the Synod, that all the youth within our bounds who intend to engage in the ministry of the gospel, shall be instructed.
>
> 5th As there are a number of pious youth in our country who might be serviceable in preaching the gospel, but, through want of sufficient ability, are unable to obtain an education; it is the intention and desire of Synod that the ministers in their respective Presbyteries shall seek out such, and that they, being examined and approved by the Presbytery, shall be placed in the respective seminaries, at the expense of the Presbytery who shall approve them.
>
> 6th In order to obtain the proper supplies for such indigent students, the Presbyteries are exhorted to use their influence . . . with the pious and benevolent, to make annual contributions for raising a fund for this purpose, . . . and from it the youth, upon the foundation, are to draw their supplies, by an order from their respective presidents. And these youth, upon their obtaining their education, at the expiration of one year, after being settled in some line of business, shall begin to refund to the treasury the expenses of their education, in such time and manner as the Presbytery may direct.[173]

This Presbyterian concern for the religious education of youth continued. In 1873, the following Constitution of the York Collegiate Institute was adopted by the members of the Session of the Presbyterian Church of York:

> Deeply impressed with the importance of increasing popular facilities for intellectual and moral culture, and especially solicitous for the Christian Education of Youth, in this region where Providence has cast our Lot. The Undersigned have determined to make in the following conveyance, a humble dedica-

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[172] *Supra,* 68 *f.*, 71.

[173] Reprinted in Smith: *Hist. of Jeff. College,* 21–3. Footnote.

> tion of some of the means wherewith our Heavenly Benefactor has blessed us.
>
> We desire in this way, to lay the foundation of an Institution for the purpose of instructing young persons not only in the ordinary branches of Literature and Science, but also, and especially in regard to the great Business and End of Life!
>
> Earnestly hoping that this Institution may . . . prove an eminent agency for advancing the interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom, to His Patronage and blessing we humbly commit it. . . .
>
> No person shall be chosen as Principal Instructor or President of this Institution, unless he be a Professor of the Christian Religion, in good and regular standing with some Evangelical Church, a man of exemplary manners, of high literary attainments, with good knowledge of Human Nature, and a natural aptitude to impart Instruction and to enforce good government. . . .
>
> And whereas it is hoped that many students in this Institution may be devoted to the sacred work of the Gospel Ministry . . . it is required and enjoined as a regular duty of the President, that he take pains not only to establish his pupils in the general Faith of Christianity, but also, early and diligently to instruct them in the great and leading Doctrines of the Scriptures, *e.g.* The Existence of one only living and true God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, The Fall of Man and Depravity of Human Nature, The Necessity of Regeneration, The Atonement of Jesus, Repentance towards God, Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, Justification by Free Grace, with other associated principles of our Holy Christian Religion . . .
>
> And in order to prevent the smallest perversion of this Foundation from its true intent it is again declared, That the great object of the enterprise proposed is the *Promotion of Sound Christian Education.*[174]

Among the Germans, not only the question of religion, but also for some decades the question of language had some influence in shaping educational policies. The German Lutherans, for instance, had many elementary schools scattered through the State.[175] German was probably the language of all of these schools. Until 1795 it had been the language of the parochial school in Lancaster, but in this year Muhlenberg advocated the establishment of an English school here so that all the children might learn English.[176] The question of the use of English or

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[174] *Min. Y. C. I.*, I, 2–9.

[175] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 279.

[176] Schmauk: *The Luth. Church in Pa.* [*Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.*, XI, 349]

German by preachers in Lutheran churches was taken up by the Synod in 1805, and while it was now conceded to be necessary to have special churches for Lutherans who did not understand English, there were evidently some regrets at the inroads being made on the old tongue, and parents were advised to teach German to their children.[177] This same attitude characterized, probably, all the German sects in the State, which represented a considerable portion of the entire population for many decades after the Revolution. The opposition of some elements among the German population to higher education[178] continued, and voices of protest against our modern high schools are heard even at the present time from German farming communities.[179] Because of the great number of citizens of German birth or extraction in the State, the attitude of this group on the question of education is of considerable importance. The distribution of races in the population of Pennsylvania, according to the census of 1790, an apparently questionable source, places the total English population at 249,654, and the German at 110,357, with considerably fewer Scotch, Irish, Dutch, and French.[180] This estimate is based entirely on the names of the heads of families, and consequently lies open to many errors. It is probable that the number assigned to the English is too high and that to the Germans too low. All German laymen were not opposed to education above the rudiments. When the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung* first appeared, in 1789, the publishers announced that, among the advantages to be derived from a reading of newspapers by the Germans, there would develop a taste for reading useful books, and that schools would be established and "a county school at Reading will receive encouragement."[181] The interest of the officials of the Luthern and Reformed churches in higher education, chiefly as a means to providing their churches with an educated ministry, continued.[182] Reference will be made elsewhere to educational institutions established by these groups.[183]

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[177] *Doc. Hist. Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 352–3; 357–60.

[178] *Supra*, 18.

[179] An Amish Farmer Speaks. [*The Coatesville Record*, Aug. 5, 1931, and following issues]

[180] *A Century of Population Growth*, 1790–1900, 116.

[181] Knauss: *Social Conditions Among Pa. Germans*, 28–9.

[182] Petition of citizens of Perry county on behalf of Pa. College, Gettysburg, n. d. [State Archives]; *Doc. Hist. of Evang. Luth. Minist.*, 355–6; Dubbs: *The Reformed Church in Pa.* [*Pa. Ger. Soc. Procs.*, XI 281–93]; Nevins: *Men of Note of Cumberland Valley*, 339.

The Episcopalian need for secondary schools was partly supplied by the Philadelphia Academy in the decades preceding the Revolution,[184] and in similar institutions established at Philadelphia, York, and other places in the succeeding years.[185] Probably the earliest secondary school established by the Methodists in Pennsylvania was the Union School, at Uniontown, in 1792.[186] That institution survived in Union Academy, chartered in 1808,[187] and in Madison College which received the property of the Academy, in 1827.[188] Of later educational activities of the Methodist Church more shall be added later.[189] Here, however, it is fitting to note this early evidence of the interest of that body in secondary and higher education.

The earlier anxiety among the Moravians and Baptists[190] regarding education led to the establishment of other schools under their control in the nineteenth century, while the Roman Catholics, from about 1850 on, were building up a system of secondary schools, which assumed considerable proportions in the past few decades of the present century.[191]

While the protests of some denominations against the idea of secular education, as embodied in the later public school system,[192] were not audibly urged against the non-sectarian academy, it is evident, from the continuity of purely sectarian institutions, that some denominations were not willing to enter into a compromise with the State, or other agencies, when the education of their children was involved.

V. *Development of Realism*

The Renaissance spirit of questioning and investigation probably had much to do with the daring venture that led to the discovery of America by Columbus. In 1736, Franklin wrote:

> How surprising it is to look back so little a way behind us and see that even in less than two hundred years all this (now so self-wise) part of the world did not so much as know whether

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[183] *Infra,* 232, 247.

[184] *Infra,* 182 *ff.*

[185] *Infra,* 232, 247.

[186] Smith: *Allegheny—A Century of Ed., 1815–1915,* 69–70.

[187] *Laws of Pa.,* 1808, Ch. XXIII.

[188] *Ibid.,* 1827. Act No. 47.

[189] *Infra,* 232, 247.

[190] *Supra,* 14 *f.,* 73.

[191] *Infra,* 247, 262.

[192] *Supra,* 164 *f., Infra,* 466.

> there was any such place as a Russia, a China, a Guinea, A Greenland, or a North Cape! That as to America, it was never supposed there was any such place. . . . As they were ignorant of places, so of things also; so vast are the improvements of science that all our knowledge of mathematics, of nature, of the brightest part of human wisdom, had their admission among us within the last few centuries . . .
>
> What's now discovered only serves to show
> That Nothing's known to what is yet to know.[193]

Interest in the sciences appeared early in the colonial period.[194] Keimer, in his first announcement of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* said his newspaper "would be the most compleat Body of History and Philosophy ever yet published since the Creation."[195] It would contain articles, he said, taken from *Chambers Dictionary* on a wide variety of scientific subjects which he enumerated by name. The interest of some of our colonial leaders in the sciences is well supported by evidence. Francis Alison wrote, in 1759:

> I am sorry I am able to give you so little satisfaction concerning the Comet; when it first appeared, Mr Grew our professor of Mathematicks, could see it but twice, the weather was so hazey. I got up about three, one morning, to observe it with him, but the skie was clouded, & ye morning was so raw, that I almost lost my health by it, which brought me to a resolution that effectually destroyed my star-gazing. . . . I have determined to give my self no further trouble till I be alowd to converse with Newton, Halley, Whiston, & Flamstead, & some others of ye same complexion, if these great names be alowd to shine in one constellation in heaven.[196]

A few years later, Alison regretted that natural history was not more adequately studied in colonial colleges. He stated that he himself had read the works of Linnaeus, and he went on to say: "I once or twice read Botanical Lectures to the students under my care, to teach them at least the terms and various ways of classing the vegetable kingdom; but the want of a Physick Garden to give them samples was a great discouragement. I also taught them to classify the Fossils."[197] In this same document, Alison stressed the importance of chemistry.

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[193] Bigelow: *The Works of B. Franklin,* I, 435–6.

[194] *Supra,* 22, 24 *f.*

[195] *Loc. cit.,* Oct. 1, 1728.

[196] Letter to Esra Stiles, May 27, 1759, in Dexter: *Extracts From the Itineraries And Other Miscellanies of Esra Stiles,* 422–3.

[197] Letter to Esra Stiles, Dec. 10, 1762. [By permission of the Library Committee of Yale University]

This interest, which characterized some of our colonial scholars, led to many great scientific achievements, and some of the early scientists of Pennsylvania stand high in the list of the great scientists of all times. John Bartram was called by Linnaeus "the greatest natural botanist in the world;"[198] David Rittenhouse was a noted astronomer;[199] Franklin made independent discoveries in electricity;[200] "Kinnersley must be put high in the list of those who busied themselves with experimental science;"[201] Rush's *Syllabus of Chemistry* marked the beginning of a great interest in this subject in Philadelphia;[202] and Thomas Say's discoveries in entomology "were greater than those ever made by a single individual."[203] These individual achievements were encouraged by scientific societies founded for the purpose. Edgar Fahs Smith says of these:

> From the sturdy efforts of William Penn's men of science came, in time, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, (oldest scientific body in this Western World) the Chemical Society of Philadelphia, oldest organization of its class in the world, the Academy of Natural Sciences where that rare spirit Gerard Troost, and congenial associates like Adam Seybert made mineralogy and geology of paramount importance —all pioneer work, but of such character that Philadelphia was further enriched as a scientific center, in the new world. And finally came the Franklin Institute. Every science was cultivated by it, but especially those which might promptly contribute to man's immediate use and profit.[204]

Penn had provided for the encouragement of the "authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions."[205] In the eighteenth century there appeared in Pennsylvania many makers of mathematical and scientific instruments.[206] We find the new State, in 1787, by a special act, granting to George Wall of Bucks county exclusive rights to the profits from the sale of an instrument called a "trigonometer" which he invented.[207] During the period just preceding the Revolution, courses of lectures, sometimes accompanies by scientific experiments, were given in Philadelphia.[208] Ebenezer Kinnersley, principal of the English School of the Philadelphia Academy, was probably the most notable of these early popularizers of the sciences. Edgar Fahs Smith rated his contribution as an experimental scientist very highly,[209] and another would bestow on him the credit for some scientific discoveries for which Franklin has received all the glory and world-wide acclaim.[210] Outside of Philadelphia the sciences were popularized in the same way during the early academy period.[211] Notable inventors, as John Fitch and Oliver Evans, had appeared before the close of the eighteenth century.[212] Yet there was occasionally evident some opposition to certain scientific practices, and a distrust of the scientist. The "Rev. Mr. Masley" called, in 1722, the practice of inoculation for smallpox "an unjustifiable art . . . and a distrust of God's over-ruling care,"[213] and Dr. Shippen, in 1770, published a lengthy article in the *Gazette* in an attempt to redeem his character and reputation, which had been seriously damaged by the rumor that he had taken up "Bodies from the several Burying-grounds in this Place" for purposes of anatomical study.[214] Graves had to be opened to allay the fears and horrors of an outraged citizenry.[215]

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[198] Smith: Early Science in Phila. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LI, 16]

[199] *Ibid.*, 20.

[200] *Ibid.*, 21.

[201] *Ibid.*, 23.

[202] *Ibid.*, 24–5.

[203] *Ibid.*, 25–6.

[204] *Ibid.*, 25–6.

[205] *Supra*, 27.

[206] *Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LI, 291–306.

[207] Wall: *A Description with Instructions, for Use of a . . . Trigonometer*, 5–6.

While in the field of literature, the achievements in the decades before and following the Revolution were not so notable as in that of scientific discovery, much imported literature was evidently read, and libraries continued to be established.[216] The demand for better literature is evident from the many literary classics published in Philadelphia before 1800.[217] In 1818, we hear that: "The Americans suffer us to manufacture books for them. . . . But although they write little on general topics, they read much; and you see no house without books in it. I am pleased to find in this new township [in Susquehanna county] a public library which was commenced by a donation of books from Mr. R. and some of his friends."[218] Thus there continued to be maintained a certain community of thought and intellectual life between the peoples of Europe and Pennsylvania.

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[208] *E.g., Pa. Gaz.*, July 26, 1744, 4; April 18, 1751, 3; Nov. 6, 1755, 3; Jan. 1, 1767, 4.

[209] *Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, LI, 23.

[210] Smith: *Life and Correspondence of Wm. Smith*, I, 340–1.

[211] *E.g., Pa. Herald and York Gen. Adv.*, April 7, 1790, 3; *Intelligencer and Wkly. Adv.* (Lancaster), May 16, 1812, 3; *Der Libanoner Morgenstern*, Aug. 17, 1832, 3.

[212] West: *Story of Am. Democracy*, 368.

[213] Watson: *Annals*, II, 372.

[214] *Loc. cit.*, Jan. 11, 1770, 3.

[215] *Ibid.*

[216] Gordon: *Op. cit.*, Part II, 353–9; *Ibid.*, 81.

[217] Jones: *America and French Culture*, 37.

[218] Johnson: *Letters from the British Settlement in Pa.*, 110.

> Oh, East is East, and West is West
> And never the twain shall meet.

In the distant future, this assertion of the poet may be proved untrue. Ages of formation, it is true, lie back of the widely different cultures of the East and the West. In any attempt to analyze the forces that lie back of our own attitudes, our customs, our interpretation of life, our fundamental philosophy, our institutions, one must keep this fact in mind: that the roots of many of them may be traced back to ancient developments in western civilization. Thus, while native forces were at work in shaping the development of secondary education in Pennsylvania, as in the country at large, we can see in our schools as they developed our indebtedness to the culture of Greece and Rome. Other ancient currents there were, which passed over into the thought-life which is now our inheritance. To trace these currents from their source to modern times cannot be attempted here. The facts regarding many forces which have been briefly presented in this chapter will suffice to suggest the reason for many educational practices during a period of developments extending well over a century.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY

I. *Origin*

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was a city of about 15,000 inhabitants, a proud capital of a colony whose total population was approximately 150,000.[1] Significant changes had taken place in the social, economic, political and religious life of the colony in the seventy years that had elapsed since the founding of the Penn Charter School, in 1689. From advertisements of merchants in the Philadelphia newspapers, it appears that a bourgeois class, composed largely of small merchants, had become a part of the social structure of the colony,[2] and of the farmers some had risen to a state of comfort and comparative opulence.[3] Foreign and domestic trade, and industry, had assumed significant proportions,[4] and the private master had appeared in response to new economic demands.[5] The Germans in the colony had become so numerous that men like Franklin[6] and William Smith[7] considered them a menace to English power and prerogatives. The religious texture of the colony had, also, changed radically in the first half of the century, Quaker numerical superiority having given way to a preponderance of Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed, with a militant Episcopalian minority struggling for power and respect in a decidedly dissenting environment.[8] In 1739, the religious consciousness of the colony was stirred to its depths by the preaching of Whitefield, who began his activities here in November of that year.[9] Even Franklin was so much impressed by his preaching that, on one occasion, instead of contributing his pennies, as he had planned, he emptied his pockets as well of the silver and gold he carried, and gave all to swell the collection.[10] A reputed audience of five thousand in Germantown, of ten thousand in Philadelphia, of seven thousand in Chester, listened to the famous preacher on one single occasion in each place,[11] and all his audiences were probably very large. One writer describes his preaching in Philadelphia thus: ''All he said was Demonstration, Life and Power! The Peoples Eyes and Ears hung on his Lips. They greedly devour'd every Word. I came home astonished! Every Scruple vanished; I never saw nor heard the like, and I said within myself, *Surely God is with this man of Truth.*''[12] By all but the Episcopalians, he seems to have been received with open arms. An Episcopal minister wrote of him, in 1740: ''He has violently exclaimed . . . against the Body of the Bishops and Clergy of England, as no Preachers of Jesus Christ, but as sorcerers, Simon Magnus's with a great deal more of the same stuff, which tho' false and unchristian, are yet swallow'd by our ignorant, giddy people without chawing.''[13]

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[1] *Supra,* 7.

[2] *Supra,* 6.

[3] Perry: *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church,* II, 315.

[4] Smith: *A Brief State of the Province of Pa.,* 10; *Supra,* 4.

[5] *Supra,* 90 *ff.*

[6] *Supra,* 160.

[7] Perry: *Op. cit.,* II, 541 *ff.*

[8] *Ibid.,* 207–8. This entire volume throws considerable light on religious controversies and jealousies in the colony; see also *Pa. Gaz.,* June 10, 1731, 1–2.

[9] *Pa. Gaz.,* Nov. 8, 1739, 3.

[10] Franklin: *Autobiography,* 131.

The feeling, too, was developing with increasing intensity that the educational needs of the colony were not being adequately provided for. Francis Alison wrote, in 1767:

> What gives me most satisfaction on a review of my services done to mankind is. . . . That at my arrival here there was not a College, nor even a good grammar School in four Provinces, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Jersey & New York; but on the other hand all y^t made any pretensions to learning were branded as letter learned Pharisees; & this desperate cause, of promoting learning in this Province, I undertook, encouraged by our Synod,[14] who allowed me only twenty pounds currency, per ann. & fifteen for an assistant; & obliged us to teach all gratis, that were pleased to accept of learning on these terms; & in this the success was beyond our expectations; & it roused a spirit in Philad^a to erect an academy, & then a College; & since that time Learning became reputable, even amongst those that gave y^e nickname of Letter-learned Pharisees, brought up at y^e feet of Gamaliel.[15]

While Franklin has come to receive almost undivided credit for the founding of the Philadelphia Academy it is probable that Alison, and certain that others in the colony,[16] had an influence upon the development of the plan, as Franklin presented it.

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[11] *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 29, 1739, 2; Dec. 6, 1739, 3.

[12] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, Dec. 27, 1739, 1.

[13] Perry: *Op. cit.*, 207–8.

[14] See *Supra*, 77 *ff.*

[15] Letter to Esra Stiles, Dec. 12, 1767, in Dexter: *Extracts From the Itineraries . . . of Esra Stiles*, 431.

[16] Peters: *Sermon*, 15 [in Gilbert: *Hist. of Col. & Acad. of Phila.*]

Nor does it seem unlikely that the success of the Presbyterian school, at New London,[17] and the successful teaching of Alison, whom Esra Stiles proclaimed "the *greatest Classical Scholar in America especially in Greek,*"[18] played a part in preparing the way for the new institution.

It was in the midst of this environment that the Philadelphia Academy was conceived and established. The urge of social, economic, political and religious problems must have roused the consciousness of colonial leaders to a realization of the needs of the colony, to an extent never before experienced. The religious activity of Whitefield, and the general religious revival that followed in his path must have developed, among probably some less desirable results, a new sense of the duty of man to his fellows. The intense interest in religion is seen in the number of religious writings that were published, and the religious articles that appeared in the Philadelphia press.[19] The German menace, as it was considered by some, seems to have sharpened the political wits of some colonial leaders. Social and economic conditions, moreover, added extra force to the demand for a new educational institution. The colonial mind was certainly in a mood to listen to new proposals.

It was at this opportune moment that Franklin, evidently conscious of the convenience of the occasion, saw fit to promulgate an educational philosophy that had been taking form in his mind since the days of his printer's apprenticeship in Boston, when he dared to sneer at the education provided in the Brahmin college of the New England metropolis.[20] He had already been a leader in various Philadelphia enterprises. In 1727, he founded the Junto, a club for the mutual improvement of its members, and a forerunner of the American Philosophical Society.[21] In 1731, he established the first circulating library in America.[22] In 1743, came his *Proposal* which materialized in the American Philosophical Society, in 1744, the primary purpose of which was the advancement of science.[23] Peter Kalm referring to this society about a decade later said of it: "Its objects would have been 'the curiosities of the three kingdoms of nature, mathematicks, physick, chemistry, oeconomy, and manufactures. But the war, which ensued immediately, stopped all designs of this nature, and since that time nothing has been done towards establishing any thing of this kind.''[24]

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[17] *Supra,* 77 *ff.*

[18] *Literary Diary or Journal of Occurrences,* 41. *MS.* [By permission of the Library Committee of Yale University.]

[19] *Pa. Gaz.,* Jan. 15, 1740, 4; April 9, 1741, 3; Feb. 19, 1744–5, 3.

[20] Woody: *Ed. Views of B. Franklin,* 103 *ff.*

[21] *Ibid.,* 20, 24.

[22] Franklin: *Autobiography,* 92–3.

[23] For reprint see Woody: *Op. cit.,* 57 *ff.*

In the same year that Franklin established the society referred to, he attempted to establish an academy here. "I therefore," he says, "in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Rev Richard Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he having more profitable views in the service of the proprietors, which succeeded, declined the undertaking, and not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie awhile dormant."[25]

In 1749, Franklin returned to the prosecution of his scheme for an academy. He tells us: "Peace being concluded, . . . I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled 'Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.' This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy."[26] An unsigned letter, most likely from the pen of Franklin, in August, 1749, acquainted the public with the plan that was in the making. It read:

> In the settling of new countries, the first care of the planters must be to provide and secure the necessaries of life. . . . We may therefore excuse our ancestors that they established no Academy or college in this province, wherein their youth might receive a polite and learned education; . . . the *culture* of *minds* by the finer *arts* and *sciences* was necessarily postpon'd to times of more wealth and leisure.
>
> Since those times are come, and numbers of our inhabitants are both able and willing to give their sons a good education, if it might be had at home, free from the extraordinary expense

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[24] Kalm: *Travels in North America,* I, 55.

[25] *Autobiography,* 135–6.

[26] *Ibid.,* 148.

> and hazard in sending them abroad for that purpose; and since a proportion of men of learning is useful in every country, and those who of late years come to settle among us, are chiefly foreigners, unacquainted with our language, laws and customs; it is thought, a proposal for establishing an Academy in this province will not now be deem'd unseasonable. Such a proposal the publick may therefore shortly expect.[27]

In the *Proposals* which followed, in this year, Franklin proclaimed:

> The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country. . . .
>
> It is proposed, That some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit, apply for a Charter, by which they may be incorporated, with power to erect an Academy for the Education of Youth, to govern the same. . . .[28]

This treatise of Franklin on education is, on the whole, a rather full exposition of his educational philosophy, although, as we shall see later, he probably laid less emphasis on his convictions regarding the importance of a useful English education than he felt the subject deserved. In lengthy footnotes, he quotes frequently from the writings of Milton, Locke, Hutcheson, Walker, Rollin, and Turnbull.[29] After expressing his views on the proper relationship which ought to exist between the trustees and the students, the ideal location for the new institution, the equipment of the school, the qualifications of the masters, and the importance of physical exercises, he revealed at some length his views regarding the curriculum of the new institution. "As to their Studies," he said, "it would be well if they could be taught every Thing that is useful, and every Thing that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those Things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental. Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended."[30]

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[27] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 24, 1749, 1.

[28] Franklin: *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, 3–4.

[29] For reprint of the entire treatise see Woody: *Op. cit.*, 151 *ff*.

[30] *Proposals*, 11.

The philosophy thus expressed, with its open utilitarianism, is in keeping with the whole character of Franklin, "a man," as one writer describes him, "who is less concerned with the golden pavements of the City of God than that the cobblestones on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia should be well and evenly laid, who troubles less to save his soul from burning hereafter than to protect his neighbors' houses by organizing an efficient fire company, who is less regardful of the light that never was on sea or land than of a new-model street lamp to light the steps of the belated wayfarer."[31]

And Franklin proceeds with his theories:

> All should be taught to write a fair Hand, and swift, as that is useful to All. And with it may be learnt something of Drawing, by Imitation of Prints, and some of the first Principles of Perspective.
>
> Arithmetick, Accounts, and some of the first Principles of Geometry and Astronomy.
>
> The *English* Language might be taught by Grammar; in which some of the best Writers, as Tillotson, Adison, Pope, Algernoon, Sidney, Cato's Letters, etc., should be Classicks; The Stiles principally to be cultivated, being the Clear and the Concise. Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing, properly, distinctly, emphatically; not with an even Tone, which *under-does,* nor a theatrical, which *over-does* Nature.
>
> To form their Stile, they should be put on Writing Lettres to each other, making abstracts of what they read; or writing the same Things in their own Words . . .
>
> But if *History* be made a constant Part of their Reading, such as the Translations of the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, and the modern Histories of ancient *Greece* and *Rome,* etc may not almost all kinds of useful Knowledge be that Way introduced to Advantage, and with Pleasure to the Student As
>
> *Geography,* by reading with Maps . . .
>
> *Chronology,* by the Help of *Helvicus* or some other Writer of the Kind . . .
>
> *Ancient Customs,* religious and civil . . .
>
> *Morality,* by descanting and making continual Observations on the Causes of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power, etc. mentioned in History . . .
>
> *History* will show the wonderful Effects of *Oratory,* in governing, turning and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities, Nations . . .

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[31] Parrington: *The Colonial Mind,*
178.

> When Youth are told, that the great Men whose lives and Actions they read in History, spoke two of the best Languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful; and that the finest Writings, the most correct Compositions, the most perfect Productions of human Wit and Wisdom, are in those Languages, which have endured Ages, and will endure while there are Men; that no Translation can do them Justice, or give the Pleasure found in Reading the Originals, that those Languages contain all Science; that one of them is become almost universal, being the Language of Learned Men in all Countries; that to understand them is a distinguishing Ornament, etc. they may be thereby made desirous of learning those Languages, and their Industry sharpened in the Acquisition of them. All intended for Divinity should be taught the *Latin* and *Greek;* for physick, the *Latin, Greek,* and *French;* for *Law,* the *Latin* and *French;* Merchants, the *French, German,* and *Spanish;* And though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign Languages; yet none that have an ardent Desire to learn them should be refused; their English, Arithmetick, and other Studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected.[32]

These recommendations on studies he concludes, by recommending "*Universal History . . . Natural History . . . Arbuthnot* on Air and *Aliment, Sanctorious* on Perspiration, *Lemery* on Foods . . . *Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating* . . . History of *Commerce . . . Mechanical* Philosophy." The whole grand scheme, however, will be of little avail if the formation of character be neglected. He therefore remarked:

> With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated that *Benignity of Mind,* which shows itself in *searching for* and *seizing* every Opportunity *to serve* and *to oblige.* . . .
>
> The Idea of what is *true Merit,* should also often be presented to Youth, explained and impress'd on their Minds, as consisting in an *Inclination* join'd with an *Ability* to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family; which Ability is (with the Blessing of God) to be acquired or greatly encreased by true Learning; and should indeed be the great *Aim* and *End* of all Learning."[33]

That the views expressed in these *Proposals* of Franklin did not fully represent his own convictions as to the ideal education of youth, but rather a compromise with traditions and feelings of his age, appears from his *Observations Relative to the Inten-*

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[32] *Op. cit.,* 11–25.

[33] *Ibid.,* 27–30. For similar expression of purpose see Franklin's letter to Johnson, 1750, in Bigelow: *The Works of Benjamin Franklin,* II, 204–5.

tions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia,[34] 1789. In this document, he states that he originally intended to establish an exclusively English school, and that many men were in sympathy with this plan. It had, however, very influential and wealthy opponents, out of deference to whose opinions, as well as to attract their subscriptions, he decided to include the learned languages in his scheme, although he planned to use all his influence to foster the English School above all else. In his *Idea of the English School,* embodied as one of many documents[35] in Gilbert's *History of the College & Academy,* he provided for six classes, the work of which would carry the student gradually from English grammar and orthography, in the first, to a study of history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy, and the reading of the best English authors, in the sixth class. The purpose of education in this English School was stated by Franklin as preparation for business and "the several offices of civil life." To enter this school he would require an ability in the student to "pronounce and divide the Syllables in Reading and to write a legible Hand."[36] When, in 1789, he wrote his *Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy,* he protested bitterly, almost with his last breath, and as the sole survivor of the original founders, against the perversion and neglect by the trustees of this design.[37]

The influence of Franklin in the founding of the new institution is well known, and while he did not succeed in shaping its development in all its aspects, he at least breathed some of his utilitarianism into the soul of this, his cherished creation. He gave the new institution the name academy. This was not the first time this name had been heard in the colony. Whitefield designated Tennent's "Log College" an academy,[38] but the appellation was evidently seldom used in Pennsylvania before Franklin employed it. The question as to what influenced Franklin to use this name is more interesting than important. The name as applied to an educational institution dates back to the sixth century B. C., when it was used in Greece. Milton, in his *Tractate on Education,* cited frequently by Franklin in his *Proposals* of 1749, used the term, and DeFoe's *Essay Upon*

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[34] Reprinted in full in Woody: *Op. cit.*, 192 *ff.*

[35] Reprinted in full in Woody: *Op. cit.*, 120 *ff.*

[36] Franklin: *Idea of the English School,* 1. [*Loc. cit.*]

[37] Woody: *Op. cit.*, 192 *ff.*

[38] *Supra,* 65.

Projects, with which Franklin was familiar, has been supposed by some to have influenced his views on education, if not to have suggested to him the name for the new institution.[39]

II. *Establishment and Control*

On November 10, 1750,[40] it was ordered by the trustees of the new institution "That the Academy be opened on the seventh day of January next"[41] and it was opened on that date.[42] The following public announcement of the opening, dated "December 11, 1750," appeared in the *Gazette:*

> Notice is hereby given, That the Trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first Monday of January next; wherein Youth will be taught the Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other mathematical Sciences; with natural and mechanic Philosophy, etc. agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the rate of Four Pounds per Annum, and Twenty Shillings Entrance.[43]

The Constitutions referred to in this announcement provided for twenty-four trustees, among whom was Franklin.[44] While not a single breath of sectarianism entered into Franklin's plans for the school, the membership of the board of trustees was predominantly Episcopalian. In a letter to Samuel Johnson, in 1750, Franklin said that three-fourths of them were of the Church of England, and the remainder gentlemen of "moderate principles."[45] William Smith, from the time he became head of the institution, in 1754, seems to have used it in the interests of that denomination. Writing to Doctor Bearcroft, in 1756, he referred to Doctor Jenney's opposition to the school because it was not a "Church Establishment" and remarked:

> Had our College been opened on that Plan in such a Place as Philadelphia, the Students would indeed have been a very scanty Number. The People would not have borne even the Mention of such a Design at first. However the Church, by soft and

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[39] *E.g.,* Brown: *Making of Our Middle Schools,* 175; see also Drake: B. Franklin and the U. of North Carolina. [*The High School Journal,* XII, 70.]

[40] Old style.

[41] *C. A. C. M.,* I, 7½.

[42] *Ibid.,* 8½.

[43] *Pa. Gaz.,* Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[44] *C. A. C. M.,* I, 1–10.

[45] Barnard's *Journal,* XXVII, 466.

easy Means, daily gains Ground in it. Of Twenty four Trustees 15 or 16 are regular Churchmen; and when our late additional Charter was passed, I who am a Minister of the Church of England had the Preference of two other Ministers of other Perusasions of longer Standing than me in the Institution, and was made Provost of the same by the unanimous Voice of the Trustees. We have Prayers twice a day, the children learn the Church-Catechism, & upon the whole I never knew a greater Regard for Religion in any Seminary.[46]

An anonymous writer, in 1762, stated that "On public occasions . . . the Services of the Church is always used; & the daily Prayers for Morning & Evening in the College is a Form composed & collected by Church Ministers & printed by order of the Trustees."[47] The commencement exercises, in 1759, "opened by Prayers performed after the Rites of the Church of England."[48] In 1764, "Tho. Cant. Thos. & Rich Penn. Sam Chandler" wrote the trustees from London, calling their attention to the dangers from sectarian jealousies that might result from a changing of the non-sectarian character of the institution.[49] The trustees replied: "You may be well assured that we shall be ever zealous to preserve the Plan of Christian Liberty, on which it is the Glory of this Institution to be founded; and at the same Time that we shew all due Regard to our national Church, we shall never violate our Faith pledged to other religious Denominations."[50] There, evidently, were some reasons for the admonitions from London, for, in 1763, Mr. Peters addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury bewailing the fact that so few of the teachers were Churchmen: "With care," he remarked, "& foresight this may be set right for the future & when Dr. Smith returns it will be no difficult matter to form a System for the doing of it, especially as above two thirds of the Trustees are members of the Churches under my care."[51] In 1768, he wrote again, this time to the Bishop of London, saying: "Dr. Wrangel wants to take a just advantage of this general antipathy to the Presbyterians and to unite the great body of Lutherans and Swedes with the Church of England. . . . This Dr. Smith and I think may be done by means of our Academy.

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[46] Perry: *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church*, II, 563.

[47] *Ibid.*, 571.

[48] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 103–4.

[49] *Ibid.*, 260–2.

[50] *Ibid.*, 267.

[51] Perry: *Op. cit.*, II, 391–2.

We might have a professorship of Divinity opened in it wherein German and English Youth might be educated.''[52] Some Presbyterians were aroused by these attempts to control the institution in the interests of one denomination. Francis Alison wrote, in 1766:

> The College is artfully got into y^e^ hands of Episcopal Trustees. Young men educated here get a taste for high life & many of them do not like to bear y^e^ poverty & dependence of our ministers. Those that pass Tryals for y^e^ ministry meet with hard Treatment from y^e^ Brethren y^t^ favor Jersey College, & can hardly find settlements, and under that discouragement they are flattrd & enticed by their Episcopal acquaintances to leave such biggots & go to London for orders. Now two or three of our ablest young men are ready to sail for London for this purpose; this makes parents uneasy, & it gives me pain, as our enemys gathr strength by our loss, & Jersey College is so unfit to make scholars, that we have no great pleasure to send them there.[53]

The control of the Academy, to which the College had been added, in 1755, had probably by this time created not a little religious bickering. A letter written by a Mr. Mackean, in 1758, refers to the attitude of the Quakers: ''The Rev. Mr. Smith has long been an object of the Quaker hatred upon several accounts. . . . He is . . . at the head of the College and Academy, which has long met with the greatest opposition from that party as they justly fear it will be a means of promoting true Religion and Loyalty and thereby exterminate their power.''[54] Whatever the feeling of the Presbyterians may have been toward the institution, they seem to have sent their sons to it in goodly numbers. The Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter to Mr. Duché, in 1763, cites a letter of Mr. Neill, minister at Oxford, as follows:

> He also complains that the College of Philadelphia is dwindling away, especially since Dr. Smith's absence, into a mere Presbyterian Faction: that the numbers of Presbyterians amongst the Trustees increases, that of 15 Teachers in the College, all are Presbyterians except Dr. Smith: . . . that many times more Dissenters than members of our Church are bred there, and thus they get instead of mechanics persons of Learning for their ministers, whilst we get few from thence: that the members of our Church are ill treated in the College and not chosen into offices tho' better qualified than others: that academical honours are

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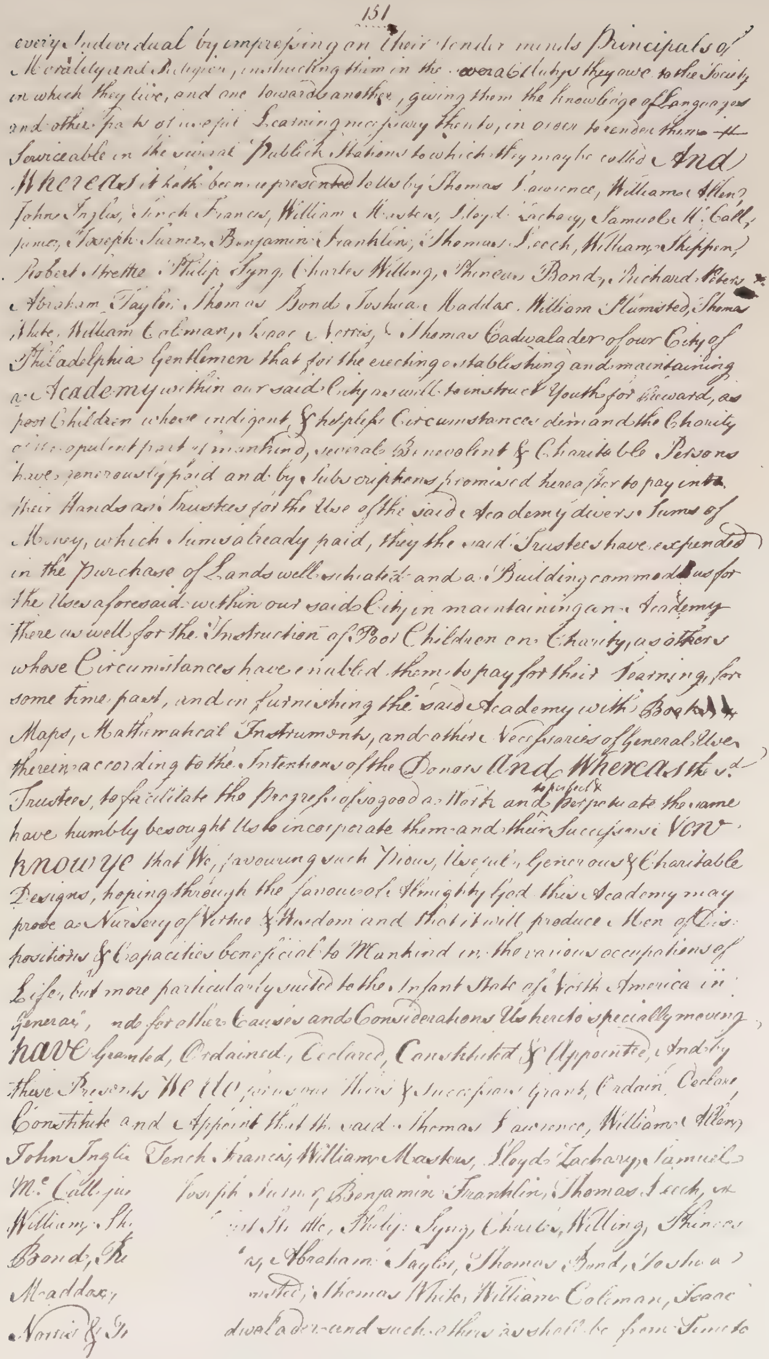
[52] *Ibid.*, 433.

[53] Letter to Esra Stiles, Oct. 30, 1766, in Dexter: *Op. cit.*, 428.

[54] Perry: *Op. cit.*, 271–2.



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every Individual by impressing on their tender minds Principals of Morality and Religion, instructing them in the several Dutys they owe to the Society in which they live, and one towards another, giving them the knowledge of Languages and other parts of useful Learning necessary thereto, in order to render them Serviceable in the several Publick Stations to which they may be called And Whereas it hath been represented to Us by Thomas Lawrence, William Allen, John Inglis, Tench Francis, William Masters, Lloyd Zachary, Samuel McCall, junr, Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, William Shippen, Robert Strettle Philip Syng, Charles Willing, Phineas Bond, Richard Peters, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bond, Joshua Maddox, William Plumsted, Thomas White, William Coleman, Isaac Norris, & Thomas Cadwalader of our City of Philadelphia Gentlemen that for the erecting establishing and maintaining an Academy within our said City as well to instruct Youth for Reward, as poor Children whose indigent & helpless Circumstances demand the Charity of the opulent part of mankind, several Benevolent & Charitable Persons have generously paid and by Subscriptions promised hereafter to pay into their Hands as Trustees for the Use of the said Academy divers Sums of Money, which Sums already paid, they the said Trustees have expended in the purchase of Lands well situated and a Building commodious for the Uses aforesaid within our said City in maintaining an Academy there as well for the Instruction of Poor Children on Charity, as others whose Circumstances have enabled them to pay for their Learning, for some time past, and in furnishing the said Academy with Books Maps, Mathematical Instruments, and other Necessaries of General Use therein according to the Intentions of the Donors And Whereas the sd. Trustees, to facilitate the Progress of so good a Work and to perfect & perpetuate the same have humbly besought Us to incorporate them and their Successors Now Know Ye that We, favouring such Pious, Useful, Generous & Charitable Designs, hoping through the favour of Almighty God this Academy may prove a Nursery of Virtue & Wisdom and that it will produce Men of Dispositions & Capacities beneficial to Mankind in the various occupations of Life, but more particularly suited to the Infant State of North America in General, and for other Causes and Considerations Us hereto specially moving, Have Granted, Ordained, Declared, Constituted & Appointed, And by these Presents We do, for us our Heirs & Successors Grant, Ordain, Declare, Constitute and Appoint that the said Thomas Lawrence, William Allen, John Inglis Tench Francis, William Masters, Lloyd Zachary, Samuel
Mc Call jur Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, W
William Sh ert Strettle, Philip Syng, Charles Willing, Phineas
Bond, Ri rs, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bond, Joshua
Maddox, msted, Thomas White, William Coleman, Isaac
Norris & Th dwalader and such others as shall be from Time to

Facsimile of a Section of the Charter of "The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania," Granted July 13, 1753. Taken from Commission Book A II, 150 ff., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

improperly bestowed, and particularly that a degree of Master of Arts hath been given to a very ignorant Dissenter, who was not long since a maker of Leathern Breeches.[55]

This first attempt in the colony to establish a semi-public non-sectarian institution created evidently some difficulties.

In 1752, the trustees sought a charter for the school[56] and, in the following year, it was incorporated by Thomas and Richard Penn, under the title *The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the province of Pennsylvania.* The charter created the trustees a self-perpetuating body, and authorized them "to erect, set up, maintain, and support an academy or any other kind of seminary of learning in any place within the said province of Pennsylvania where they shall judge the same to be most necessary and convenient for the instruction, improvement, and education of youth in any kind of literature, erudition, arts, and sciences, which they shall think fit and proper to be taught."[57] In 1754, Smith and Alison suggested to the trustees the great advantage that would accrue, if the professors could confer degrees.[58] The trustees applied for a new charter[59] and, in 1755, the institution was incorporated as a college, under the title, *The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania.* In the preamble it was stated that it had been represented that "one class of hopeful students has now attained to that station in learning and science, by which in a well regulated seminary, youth are entitled to their first *degree.*"[60] This charter, in compliance with the wishes of the trustees,[61] placed William Smith in the position of provost of the College and Academy, and Francis Alison, as vice-provost, and rector of the Academy,[62] the former a Churchman, as has just been noted, and the latter a Presbyterian, and former founder of a Presbyterian school at New London, already described.[63] Neither charter mentioned the religious affiliation of trustees or teachers, and the non-sectarian character of the institution was thus legally preserved.

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[55] *Ibid.*, 389–90.

[56] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 23.

[57] *Commission Book* A, II, 150 *ff.* [Harrisburg.]

[58] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 45.

[59] *Ibid.*, 46.

[60] *Commission Book* A, II, 193 *ff.*

[61] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 49.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Supra*, 77 *ff.*

III. *Support*

Most of the funds for the support of the new institution were raised by subscription. Franklin was probably the most active worker in raising money for the new venture. So eloquently and convincingly did he present the claims of the school to the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, that that body voted the trustees an appropriation of £700 to be paid in installments over a period of five years.[64] Fifty pounds per year of this total from the city were appropriated by the Council for the use of the Charity School, and a similar amount for the use of the Academy, the Council claiming the right to nominate each year one student of the Charity School for a place in the Academy. Among the arguments by which Franklin urged the claims of the new institution to the benevolence of the city were: (*a*) the advantages of education at home from a moral as well as a financial standpoint; (*b*) the necessity for educated civil officials in a country swarming with foreigners; (*c*) the need for a school to train good teachers for work among the rural inhabitants, where schoolmasters were frequently "vicious imported Servants, or concealed papists;" and (*d*) the economic value of a large concourse of students from other provinces, who will spend considerable sums of money yearly in the city.[65] The arguments sound clear, pointed, and forceful as the voice of a machine gun. Peters in his *Sermon* at the opening of the Academy thankfully acknowledged this first distinctly public contribution, which resulted from Franklin's appeal.[66] The largest contribution, one said to have been "above Two Thousand Pounds" was made by the trustees themselves.[67] In 1753, Franklin, in a letter to William Smith, said that the subscriptions totalled £4,000.[68] An early subscription, of £100, came from a London merchant.[69] The proprietors gave £500.[70] Whitefield gave a gift to the institution, in 1756.[71] Smith was sent by the trustees to England, in 1762, to solicit subscriptions.[72] An anonymous writer, in 1788, addressed a letter "To the Honourable Representatives of Pennsylvania in General Assembly,'' in which he censured the new government for depriving the trustees of their charter, designating the act as a confiscation of private property, and describing the sources and amount of the institution's revenues. He stated that from Great Britain came £6,970; from Charleston, 1,000 guineas; from Jamaica, £3,132; from the Penns in money and land, £4,500; and from contributors in Philadelphia about £5,000.[73] A comparison of these figures with the records in the *Minutes* of the trustees[74] shows them to be a fairly complete and accurate statement of the sources and amount of money contributed to the institution. A part of the Philadelphia contribution came through early lotteries for the benefit of the school.[75] Lotteries in aid of the institution were frequently advertised.[76] A law to abolish the use of lotteries, proposed in 1759, was said to be ''principally intended to destroy the College, Academy, and Charity School of this City.''[77] The law was passed, but soon repealed, and when the trustees were notified, they immediately took steps to arrange for another lottery.[78] From the time that Smith was first appointed provost, Thomas Penn made an annual gift of £50 to the trustees to help pay his salary. To make the gift permanent, he donated to the institution a large tract of land at Perkasie.[79]

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[64] *Min. of Com. Council of Phila., 1704–1776*, 529–30.

[65] *Ibid.*, 527–8.

[66] *Op. cit.*, 18, in Gilbert: *A History of the College & Academy.*

[67] *C. A. C. M.*, II, 126.

[68] Smyth: *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 127–8.

[69] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 72.

[70] Smyth: *Op. cit.*, III, 90.

[71] *Ibid.*, 338.

[72] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 151–2.

These gifts to the school were supplemented by tuition fees. The first students paid £4 per year and a twenty shillings entrance fee.[80] In addition to this, the students paid a ''share of the expenses of firing in the Winter.''[81] This rate seems to have been continued for many years. An attempt, in 1757, to raise the rate, for students in the College, from £4 to £10 per year was defeated in a meeting of the trustees, and the tuition remained unchanged.[82] In 1766, the trustees ruled: ''That no Student or Scholar be for the future admitted into any of the Schools, without producing a Receipt from the Collector of the Tuition-money for the Time Being; nor without an

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[73] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 19, 1788, 1.

[74] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 174–5, 278, 291; II, 41.

[75] *Ibid.*, 77; Smyth: *Op. cit.*, III, 267.

[76] *E.g.*, *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 21, 1755, 3; July 10, 1755, 3; March 17, 1757, 3; Nov. 9, 1758, 4.

[77] *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 339.

[78] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 127.

[79] *Ibid.*, 128–9.

[80] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[81] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 7¼.

[82] *Ibid.*, 78, 86.

Engagement in Writing first signed by some substantial Person residing in or near this City, & entering such Scholar.''[83] The tuition rate at this time remained at ''Twenty Shillings per Quarter,'' with the ''usual Dues for Quills, Ink, Firewood.''[84] In 1779, the tuition of students was by far the most important source of revenue.[85]

IV. *Organization*

In 1740, a movement was set on foot, as a result of Whitefield's activities, to erect a large building in Philadelphia for the purpose of accommodating itinerant preachers and a charity school.[86] In 1741, the building seems to have been completed, the funds for the purpose coming in the form of subscriptions, free materials, and free labor.[87] The building was evidently not used for school purposes until after the opening of the Academy.[88] One of the first acts of the Academy trustees was the purchase of this building for the convenient sum of ''seven hundred seventy and five pounds eighteen shillings and eleven pence and three farthings.''[89] Changes had to be made in the building, and the Academy opened in ''a private House.''[90]

The ''Constitutions of the Public Academy''[91] provided for the establishment of two schools: the ''Latin School,'' sometimes called ''the Latin and Greek School,'' and the ''English School.'' The master of the former was to be ''stiled the Rector of the Academy,'' and was to ''superintend the Instruction of all the Scholars, in the other Branches of Learning taught within the Academy, and see that the Masters in each Art and Science, perform their Dutys.''[92] The duties of the master of the English School were confined to teaching and the general instructional work of his school. The trustees were authorized to contract with either of these masters for a term of five years. The salary of the rector was fixed at £200 per year; of the English master, at £100 per year.[93] The Constitutions also state: ''Neither the

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[83] *Ibid.*, 304.

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Ibid.*, II, 136.

[86] *Am. Wkly. Mer.*, June 11, 1741, 3.

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] Peters' *Sermon*, 17. [*Loc. cit.*] The trustees sought the first teacher for the Charity School in August, 1751. [*C. A. C. M.*, I, 14–5.]

[89] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 3.

[90] *Ibid.*, II, 127.

[91] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 1a–10j; see Woody: *Ed. Views of B. Franklin*, 182 *ff.*

[92] *Ibid.*, 4d.

[93] *Ibid.*

Rector, nor English Master shall be removed, unless disabled by sickness, or other natural Infirmity, or for gross voluntary Neglect of Duty continued after two admonitions.”[94]

A mathematical school, as such, was not provided for by the Constitutions, which merely required the trustees “to engage Persons, capable of teaching the French, Spanish and German Languages, Writing, Arithmetick, Algebra, the several Branches of the Mathematicks, Natural and Mechanick Philosophy, and Drawing; who shall give their Attendance, as soon as sufficient Number of Scholars shall offer to be instructed in those Parts of Learning.”[95] The teachers of these subjects were not privileged, as to salary or tenure, as were the rector and English master. Brown in *The Making of Our Middle Schools*,[96] following, probably, Wickersham in *History of Education in Pennsylvania*,[97] states that “The academy was organized in three schools, the Latin, the English, and the Mathematical, each having a separate master.” William Smith, in 1762, in describing the organization, mentioned the Mathematical School as a distinct school.[98] The facts, as they appear from the *Minutes* of the trustees, do not reveal any plan for a separate mathematical school, Theophilus Grew being employed, in 1750, merely as “a Master in the Academy to teach Writing, Arithmetick, Merchants Accounts, Algebra, Astronomy, Navigation, and all other Branches of the Mathematicks.”[99]

The Charity School was not, either in plan or practice, related to the Academy, except in that both were under the control of the trustees. Peters stated that “One of the most promising Children is to be yearly chosen out of the Charity School by the Corporation, and educated gratis in higher Learning in the Academy.”[100]

Thus was the Academy organized. David Martin was appointed the first rector on March 29, 1750.[101] Martin died in 1751,[102] and Francis Alison, with some diffidence as to his own fitness, took over the conduct of the school in January, 1751–2.[103] David James Dove was appointed the first English master, in 1750,[104] and Theophilus Grew, as we have seen, was appointed teacher of the mathematics at this same time. Alison remained with the school until the charter was withdrawn in 1779,[105] holding, as we have seen,[106] the position of vice-provost of the College and rector of the Academy, from 1755. Dove, one of the most picturesque of our colonial masters, saw fit to disagree with the trustees on the proper mode of conducting his school. The *Minutes* read: "The Trustees being informed that Mr. Dove makes a Practice of leaving his School at Eleven a Clock in the Morning, and at four in the Afternoon; and such frequent Absences of the Master being thought a Disadvantage to the School, Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters are desired to speak to him about it, and request his Attendance during the School-Hours."[107] Dove was present at a subsequent meeting of the board, and said "he thought himself usefully employed for the Benefit of the Publick in teaching a School for Girls whilst he was absent from the Academy,"[108] and requested their indulgence, but preferred to resign the school, if they could not consent. They appointed Ebenezer Kinnersley to his place, in 1753.[109] Franklin, in his *Observations Regarding the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia,* regretted that Dove, whom he considered an excellent teacher,[110] was thus removed from the headship of the English School.[111] Grew and Kinnersley, like Alison, were appointed to professorships, the former of mathematics and the latter of English, in the College, in 1755.[112] Grew died in 1759,[113] but Kinnersley was still master of the English School when the trustees attempted to withdraw their support from it in 1769.[114]

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[94] *Ibid.*, 4^{d}–5^{e}.

[95] *Ibid.*, 6^{f}.

[96] *Op. cit.*, 183–4.

[97] *Op. cit.*, 61.

[98] *Infra*, 195.

[99] *C. A. C. M.*, I, $7\frac{1}{2}$–$7\frac{3}{4}$.

[100] Sermon, 18. [*Loc. cit.*]

[101] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 5.

[102] Franklin, in announcing his death, paid a high tribute to his abilities and success as a teacher, to his classical scholarship, stating that he had been high Sheriff of Huntingdon County, N. J., for thirteen or fourteen years before coming to the Academy. *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 14, 1752, 1.

While, as we have seen, a mathematical school was not a part of the original plan, one soon began to develop, although it does not seem to have been recognized as a separate unit until the reorganization of the institution as the University of Pennsylvania. Peters at the opening of the Academy spoke of Grew's department as a "school."[115] In 1751, the trustees appointed "a Committee to visit the Mathematical and Writing Schools, and consider what Regulations may be necessary respecting the Number to be sent up to these Schools at one Time, and the Hours most proper to be appointed for the Latin boys, and likewise for the English Boys to be there, so as not to incommode one another."[116] In 1757, the writing master attended the Latin School for two hours each day,[117] although in this year the Mathematical School seems to have had separate existence.[118] In 1760, it was reported to the trustees that there were twenty boys in the "mathematical school," and that "Numbers of Boys" came here from the "Lattin and English Schools" to learn to write.[119] Yet, in a report of the number of students in the schools in 1761, the Mathematical School was not mentioned.[120] The committee, appointed by the University trustees, in 1779, to examine conditions in the various schools reported "That In two classes under the care of the Provost & Vice Provost there are—15 Boys. In the Grammar School there are, in seven classes, and in the

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[103] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 18; see letter of Franklin to Johnson, 1752, in Barnard's *Jour.*, XXVII, 469.

[104] *C A. C. M.*, I, 7½–7¾.

[105] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, X, 23 *ff.*

[106] *Supra*, 186.

[107] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 26.

[108] *Ibid.*, 29–30.

[109] *Ibid.*, 32.

[110] Letter to Johnson, 1750, in Barnard's *Jour.*, XXVII, 468–9; also *Supra*, 98 *f.*

[111] Woody: *Op. cit.*, 205–7.

[112] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 55.

[113] *Ibid.*, 109.

[114] *Ibid.*, II, 9; *Infra*, 196 *f.*

Grammar		63 Boys
In the English School		63 Boys
		. . .
In the Charitable School	40 Boys	
and	14 Girls	54
		195 in all."[121]

It would thus seem that when the trustees of the University took charge of the institution, the mathematical did not exist as a separate school. Such a school, however, existed continuously from this time on,[122] having its own teacher,[123] although, after 1780, it was combined with the English School under one master. In that year, James Canon was appointed "Master of the English & Mathematical School"[124] and, in 1781, the trustees ruled

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[115] *Sermon*, 20. [*Loc. cit.*]
[116] *C. A. C. M.*. I, 17.
[117] *Ibid.*, 89.
[118] *Ibid.*, 80.
[119] *Ibid.*, 112.
[120] *Ibid.*, 144.
[121] *T. U. P. M.*, III, 29.
[122] *Ibid.*, 136, 170, 218.
[123] *Ibid.*, 126.
[124] *Ibid.*, 46–7.

"That the Mathematical School, in the Academy, shall not be Separate from, or independent on, the English School."[125]

In 1780, a German school was established with John Christopher Kunze, already mentioned as a founder of a *Seminarium*,[126] at its head.[127] In subsequent reports it was listed as a separate school.[128] It was designed to prepare boys for the science classes in the College, and boys entering it were required to be able "to Read a plain English Book."[129] In 1786, it had fifty-four students[130] but, in 1787, the number had dwindled to six.[131] In this year, the "German College and Charity School" of Lancaster was chartered,[132] and the German students were probably attracted to this centre hereafter.

V. *Relation of the Academy to the College*

Franklin writing to Johnson in July, 1752, said:

> We have now several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of Philosophy, and Lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Allison undertakes Logic and Ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches till we shall be provided with a Rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instructions of youth in the higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools.[133]

What considerations or influences created the desire, with which Franklin seems to have been in entire sympathy, to expand the scope of the Academy we cannot determine. The idea of a college was not expressed, nor clearly implied, in Franklin's *Proposals* of 1749, nor in the Constitutions drawn up by the trustees, although these latter were extremely liberal in their provisions for a broad curriculum.[134] Peters, at the opening of the Academy, suggested the probable need of a college in the future, indicating that it was a part of the intention of the founders.[135] A feeling probably had developed here that educational provisions were very imperfect as compared with those in Europe. Edward Shippen writing from London, in 1749, said: "I now feel more concern on account of the Education of Youth in my own Country than ever I did. I see how much we are defective in opportunities to give them Learning and how much we are excelled by those in Europe."[136] The willingness of the trustees to study European schools, and probably to be guided by their experience, may be gathered from the fact that, in 1751, they had a pamphlet, describing the plan of Francke's *Paedagogium* at Halle, translated, so that their committee might use it in drawing up rules for the schools.[137] Franklin was a member of this committee.[138] The pamphlet was suggested by Whitefield,[139] and a copy of it is still preserved in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania. More important, however, than these influences was probably the fact that there were students in the Academy who desired higher education, as Franklin represented, and the economic welfare of the city, as well as the advantages of home education, may have determined the upward expansion of the Academy. The arguments that Franklin advanced before the Common Council for the support of the Academy[140] were equally applicable to the case of its expansion, and it was probably felt to be more desirable to keep boys near home than to allow them to go to Princeton, Yale, or other colleges. And thus began, in 1752, the Philosophical School, the forerunner of the College. In the following year, appeared William Smith's *The General Idea of the College of Mirania.*[141] Franklin read it, and on May 3, 1753, in a letter to Smith, he praised it eloquently.[142] The pamphlet created quite a stir among the gentlemen of the Academy. Mr. Allen took six copies; Mr. Peters, ten.[143] Mr. Hall, a prominent bookseller, soon had it on his shelves.[144] In it, Smith described what he considered an ideal educational scheme for his mythical Mirania, where social, political, and economic conditions resembled those of New York or Pennsylvania. Passing over the political purpose of his scheme, he viewed education as a preparation of one class for the professions; of another for mechanic pursuits. He went on to recommend a college education for the former and, for the latter, a school "so much like the English school and academy in Philadelphia that a particular account of it is here needless."[145] The course in the English school would cover a period of nine years, and fit a boy for "every profession wherein languages are not needed."[146] The Latin school course would cover a period of five years, students to enter it from the third class of the English school, and proceed, at the age of fourteen, to the college where they would remain for five years.[147]

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[125] *Ibid.*, 81.

[126] *Supra*, 13 *f.*, 84 *f.*

[127] *T. U. P. M.*, III, 43, 46.

[128] *Ibid.*, 170, 218.

[129] *Ibid.*, 127–8.

[130] *Ibid.*, 218.

[131] *Ibid.*, 227.

[132] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XII, 391. *ff.*

[133] Barnard's *Jour.*, XXVII, 469.

[134] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 1–2.

[135] *Sermon*, 18. [*Loc. cit.*]

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[136] Lewis: Edward Shippen. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, VII, 16.]

[137] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 15.

[138] *Ibid.*, 8.

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] *Supra*, 187.

[141] Smith: *Discourses on Public Occasions*, Appendix 2.

[142] Bigelow: *Op. cit.*, II, 290.

[143] *Ibid.*

[144] *Pa. Gaz.*, June 14, 1753, 2.

Smith's theory was received so favorably that the trustees, in May, 1754, appointed him "for sometime upon Trial" to teach "Logick, Rhetorick, Ethicks and Natural Philosophy."[148] Almost immediately, as we have seen,[149] he suggested a new charter for the institution, and the College was legally established, in 1755.[150] The organization of the whole institution seems to have been changed immediately, the philosophical and the Latin schools becoming the College, while, in the Academy proper, were retained the English and mathematical schools only.[151] Smith has left us the following plan of the whole system, for 1762:

	Schools	*Masters*	
College	Three Philosophy Schools	Provost and Vice Provost	
	Latin and Greek Schools	The Professors of Languages Tutors, a Writing Master, etc.	
	Students and Scholars in this Part—About		100
Academy	English School	The Professor of English and Oratory with one Assistant and Writing-Master	
	School of Practical Mathematics	The Professor of Mathematics	
	Scholars in this Part		90
Charity Schools	Charity School for Boys	One Master and One Assistant	
	Charity School for Girls	One Mistress	
	Scholars in this Part		120
		In all	310[152]

There is, unfortunately, little evidence as to the age of students on entering the various schools, but they were probably admitted when very young. Of four students in the "Senior Philosophy Class" of 1756, who signed a proclamation in defence of Smith, who was imprisoned for an alleged political offence,[153] two were in their nineteenth and two in their twenty-first year. The College offering a two- and the Latin School a four-year course when these boys entered the latter, it follows that they probably entered the Latin School, two at thirteen, and two at fifteen years of age. Smith implied, however, that in 1762 some students entered the Latin School under nine years of age.[154] William White, it is said, was placed, at the age of seven "in the English department of the preparatory school," under Kinnersley; that he entered the "grammar school" at the age of ten; and that he was admitted to the College at the age of fourteen.[155] In 1768, some of the boys were so young that the steward had to comb their hair,[156] and Graydon tells us that he entered the English School at the age of eight.[157]

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[145] *Ibid.*, 46–9.

[146] *Ibid.*, 49.

[147] *Ibid.*, 50–63.

[148] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 40. Franklin would have had him appointed, in 1753, but for shortage of funds—Bigelow: II, 335–6.

[149] *Supra*, 186.

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] Smith: Postscript, written in 1762, to *General Idea of College of Mirania.* [*Discourses*, 105 *ff.*]

[152] *Ibid.*, 121.

The general scheme of organization, in 1762, differed, Smith said, from the ideal plan only in that the college course was reduced, by necessity, to three years.[158] The Latin School, however, at this time had four classes and the college course was not extended to three years until 1756.[159] It will be noted that the old Latin School of the original Academy had come to be mothered and nursed by the College, creating probably good reasons for Franklin's complaint that the English School had been neglected by the trustees.[160] The treatment accorded to the English School was represented fairly by Franklin. In 1751, it had ninety students[161] and, during Dove's mastership, two ushers had to be employed,[162] a monitorial plan having been used before these were appointed.[163] Under Kinnersley, its popularity began to wane and, in 1753, its students numbered only forty-one.[164] In 1763, parents complained about Kinnersley's mode of teaching English, but the trustees made no change.[165] They were probably aware of this popular dissatisfaction, for, two months earlier, they recorded their "opinion . . . that the Original Design should be prosecuted, of teaching the Scholars of that and the other Schools the Elegance of the English Language, and giving them a proper Pronunciation, & that the old Method of hearing them read and repeat in public should be again used."[166] The enrollment in the English School had probably fallen off considerably by this time. In 1757, there were sixty boys in the Latin School, and only thirty-one in the English School.[167] In 1769, the trustees, being "unanimously of opinion" that the school was too costly, and that students could get English instruction in many other schools in the city, withdrew Mr. Kinnersley's salary, allowing him to conduct the school as his own private affair if he wished. They would furnish, they said, a free room for the school, and give him his house rent-free as compensation for teaching public speaking two afternoons each week in the College.[168] The question, however, of charter requirements was soon raised, and the trustees, not sure of the legality of their action, employed Mr. Power to teach the English School, Kinnersley being retained "until Spring."[169] The English School was preserved, presumably because of its rights under the charter, and we find it existing in 1779, but then there were only twenty-four students in the "English & Mathematical School," while there were fifty-seven in the "Grammar School of the Academy."[170] It appears evident that the trustees were not willing to support and encourage the English as they did the Latin School. Under the new trustees, created by law in 1779, the English School again became the most crowded part of the institution having ninety-two students in 1782.[171]

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[153] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 91. For a very interesting account of this case, see *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 339 *ff.*, 438 *ff.*

[154] *Discourses*, 114–5.

[155] Sprague: *Annals*, V, 280.

[156] *Infra*, 214.

[157] *Memoirs of a Life*, 15.

[158] *Discourses*, 106.

[159] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 67–8.

[160] *Supra*, 181.

[161] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 6.

[162] *Ibid.*, 36.

[163] *Ibid.*, I, 26.

[164] *Ibid.*

[165] *Ibid.*, 217.

VI. *Purpose*

The ultimate goal of education, as Franklin expressed it, was "the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths."[172] Students were to be educated "to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves and to their Country."[173] The same purpose was embodied in the preamble to the Constitutions signed by the trustees at the organization of the Academy.[174]

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[166] *Ibid.*, 200.
[167] *Ibid.*, 80.
[168] *Ibid.*, II, 9.
[169] *Ibid.*, 12.
[170] *Ibid.*, 134.
[171] *T. U. P. M.*, III, 136.
[172] *Proposals*, 5; also Bigelow: II, 204–5.
[173] *Proposals*, 5.
[174] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 1.

Smith, in his *General Idea of the College of Mirania,* defined purpose in terms of social well-being and political unity, an ideal with which Franklin was in sympathy.[175] In 1762, the immediate purpose of the Latin School had become, expressly, preparation for college.[176] In a narrower sense, purpose, as Franklin expressed it, was defined in terms of preparation for a life of usefulness. "It is therefore proposed," he said, "that they learn those things that are likely to be *most useful,* and *most ornamental.* Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended."[177] The purpose of the English School was very definitely expressed in terms of a preparation for business and civil life.[178] Smith, in 1762, said that there were about four hundred students in colonial colleges, of whom sixty were preparing to enter the professions, while the others were "designed for Merchandize, Trade, Navigation, and the Mechanic Professions; and the Academy and lower Schools in the Philadelphia Seminary are wholly intended for raising up Youth in this way."[179] Peters, at the opening of the Academy, defined purpose in terms of civil and religious liberty, taking as his text *John* VIII: 32: "And ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."[180] Smith, in "A Poem" dedicated to the trustees in 1753, may be said to have expressed the mind of Franklin, the trustees and himself, on the purpose of the Academy:

> To follow Nature, and her Source Adore;
> To raise the *Being,* and its end Explore;
> To center every Aim in *Common Weal;*
> In *publick* Deeds to spend all *private* Zeal;
> With social Toils, in every street, to glow;
> In every House, with well-earned Wealth to flow;
> To plant each *Virtue* in their Children's Hearts;
> To grace their *Infant Land* with polished Arts;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Heavens! how my Heart beats rapture, to behold
> The little Heroes, decent, graceful, bold
> The Rostrum mount, with British Ardor warm'd
> And, by the sacred Soul of Glory charm'd
> With Hands out-stretch'd, rowl, tingling from their Tongues

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[175] *Op. cit.,* 42.

[176] *Ibid.,* 114–5.

[177] *Proposals,* 11.

[178] *Idea of the English School.* [*Loc. cit.*]

[179] Smith: *Life and Corr. of Wm. Smith,* I, 311.

[180] *Sermon,* 1–4. [*Loc. cit.*].

Sage Truths of *Justice, Freedom, Right* and Wrong,
In numerous Periods, sweeter than my Song.[181]

VIII. *Curriculum*

The studies offered to students in the Philadelphia Academy were more numerous than those of any other secondary school established previously in the colony, with the possible exception of an unusual school of a private master,[182] and in this respect it was a unique institution in colonial America.[183] We have already seen Franklin's program of studies,[184] and the public announcement of the first studies of the Academy.[185] The Constitutions read:

> An Academy for teaching the Latin & Greek Languages, the English Tongue, gramatically and as a Language, the most useful living foreign Languages, French, German and Spanish: As matters of Erudition naturally flowing from the Languages, History, Geography, Chronology, Logic and Rhetorick; Writing, Arithmetick, Algebra, the several Branches of the Mathematicks, Natural & Mechanick Philosophy, Drawing in Perspective, and every other useful Part of Learning and Knowledge, shall be set up, maintained, and have Continuance in the City of Philadelphia.[186]

In the first public announcement of the studies, Spanish was not included, but there were added by name "Merchants Accounts, Geometry, . . . Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy."[187] The Academy, probably, began with instruction in these subjects. A new emphasis was, probably, placed on English throughout the whole institution. At the formal opening it was stated:

> In the Latin School, the Masters will likewise have it particularly in Charge to correct, refine and beautify our Mother Tongue, to the end that their Scholars may be enabled to understand it perfectly well, and to write it with Purity and Elegance. How much this is wanted, may be easily judged, if it be considered, what a mean Figure many, who understand the learned Languages, make when they come to write in English.[188]

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[181] In University of Pennsylvania Library.

[182] *Supra,* 95 *ff.*

[183] For description of other colonial schools see Grizzell: *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865,* 1–27; Brown: *Making of Our Middle Schools,* 31–104.

[184] *Supra,* 179 *f.*

[185] *Supra,* 182.

[186] *C. A. C. M.,* I, 1–2.

[187] *Pa. Gaz.,* Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2; *Supra,* 182.

[188] Peters: *Sermon,* 22. [*Loc. cit.*]

In the English School plan of Franklin, which Dove, the first teacher, probably followed,[189] the curriculum was as follows:

First or Lowest Class—English grammar; spelling; reading Croxall's *Fables,* and little stories.
Second Class—Reading, with proper emphasis and modulation; *Spectator* recommended; meaning of sentences; grammar.
Third Class—Speaking properly and gracefully; elements of rhetoric; "Rollin's *Ancient and Roman Histories*" and English history used as readers; "natural and mechanic history," as in *Spectacle de La Nature.*
Fourth Class—Composition; boys to write letters to one another; penmanship; ethics; history; geography; use of maps and globes.
Fifth Class—Letter-writing; essays in prose and verse; logic.
Sixth Class—History, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy—all these continued; reading and explaining the best English authors, as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, "the higher papers in the *Spectator* and *Guardian,*" and "the best translations of Homer, Virgil and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, etc."[190]

Yet, while there would appear, from this expressed interest, a great desire to cultivate the mother tongue, an examination of the first consignment of books to the Academy, in 1750, leads one to question the force of convictions, in general, regarding the importance of the vernacular.[191]

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[189] We have seen that his teaching pleased Franklin—*Supra,* 98 *f.*

[190] *Idea of the English School,* 1–2. [*Loc. cit.*]; see Woody: *Op. cit.,* 101–110.

[191] "Books delivered to the Rector of the Academy.

N. Testamentum Gr . . .
Strabonis Geographia . . .
Zenophontis Opera . . .
Pitisci Lexicon . . .
Homeri Opera . . .
Antoninus . . .
Longinus de Sublim . . .
Septuaginta Gr . . .
Ciceronis Opera . . .
Virgilii Opera . . .
Silius Italicus . . .
Ainsworths Dictionary . . .
Euripides . . .

Luciani Opera . . .
Sophocles . . .
Epictetus & Porphyrius . . .
Phalaridis Epist . . .
Poetae Minores, Gr . . .
Anacreon . . .
Tacitus . . .
Livii Historia . . .
Ovid . . .
Horace . . .
Cornel. Nepos . . .
Martial . . .
Aurelius . . .

Juvenal & Persius . . .
Hist. August. Scriptores . . .
Boethius . . .
Lactantius . . .
Corpus Juris . . .
Plautus . . .
Florus . . .
Pomponius . . .
Eutropius . . .
Suetonius . . .
Mythographi, Latini . . .
Johnson's Commentaries . . .
Clerici Opera, Philosoph . . .

The best picture of the curriculum of the Latin School is that of Smith, in 1762. In 1756, he recommended, to the trustees, changes that had the approval of the faculty.[192] The new program of studies was published soon after,[193] and the Latin School curriculum had taken the following form in 1762:

Latin and Greek Schools

1st Form or Stage. Grammar. Vocabulary. Sententiae Pueriles. Cordery. Aesop. Erasmus.

N. B. The youth to be exact in declining and conjugation; and to begin to write exercises, for the better understanding of Syntax. Writing, Reading and Speaking of English to be continued likewise, if necessary.

2d Stage. Selectae e veteri Testamento. Selectae e profanis Auctoribus. Eutropius. Nepos. Metamorphosis. Latin Exercises and Writing continued.

3d Stage. Metamorphosis continued. Virgil with Prosody. Caesar's Comment. Sallust. Greek Grammar. Greek Testament. Elements of Geography and Chronology. Exercises and Writing continued.

4th Stage. Horace. Terence. Virgil reviewed. Livy. Lucian. Xenophon or Homer begun.

N. B. This year the youth are to make Themes; write letters; give descriptions and characters; and to turn Latin into English, with regard to punctuation and choice of words. Some English and Latin orations are to be delivered, with proper grace both of elocution and gesture. Arithmetic begun.

Some of the youth, it is found, go thro' these stages in three years, but most require four, and many five years; especially if they begin under nine or ten years of age. The teachers must exercise their best discretion in this respect.

Theophrastus . . .
Hesiodi Opera . .
Dionysii Geogr . . .
Caesar . . .
Terence . . .
Minutius
Ars Critica . . .
Vopiscus de Historicis Gr & Lat . . .
Leges Wallicae
Pindar Gr & Lat

"Books delivered to the English Master

A Bible . . .
Ainsworth's Dictionanry, Eng. & Latin . . .
Bailey's Dictionry . . .
Dyche's Dictionary . . .
Cawley's Works
Milton's Paradise Lost & Regained . . ."
Milton's Prose Works
Rollins Belles Lettres

C. A. C. M., *I*, Appendix. The Latin works were purchased by the trustees, the English donated by Franklin and others. [*Ibid.*]

[192] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 67–8.

[193] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 12, 1756, 1.

Those who can acquit themselves to satisfaction in the books laid down for the fourth stage, after public examination, proceed to the study of the sciences, and are admitted into the Philosophy Schools, by the name of Freshmen or Noviciates, with the privilege of being distinguished with an under-graduate gown.[194]

In a very general way Smith described the studies in the "English Academy," which, he said, "consists of two parts, an English and Writing School, and a school for the Practical branches of the Mathematics, Drawing, etc. In the former besides Writing, the Pupils are taught the Mother-tongue Grammatically, together with a correct and just pronunciation."[195]

Thus in the main stood the curriculum of the Academy. The modern languages were occasionally taught, but probably only when students demanded them. Mr. Cramer "a Gent^{m} from Germany"[196] was reported to the trustees, in 1753, as qualified to teach French, Italian, German, music and painting, and he was employed "to teach those Things or such of them as the Trustees should require in the Academy."[197] In 1755, it was stated that he was now "unnecessary," and his subjects were probably dropped from the program for some years. A European traveller refers, probably, to this phase of the work, between 1750 and 1754:

"A *gymnasium* (college) has been established in this city. . . . The Germans are most numerous among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Many of these Germans study diverse languages in said *Gymnasium.*"[198] After 1780, German again became, for a time, a prominent study in the institution, a special school being established, as we have seen, for the purpose of teaching German students.[199] French seems to have been in demand after 1760. Mr. Fontaine, who had been teaching the subject, died,[200] and "several students & Scholars" requested the trustees for permission to learn this language.[201] In 1763, other students expressed the wish to have the Rev. Mr. Rothenbuhler teach them French, and the trustees gave them a room for the purpose, with the understanding that this study would not interfere with their school hours.[202] Spanish was being taught by Paul Fooks, in 1775, who taught French as well.[203] Penmanship was evidently considered an important study, and the writing master seems to have been always busy. Writing was among the first subjects taught.[204] Franklin stressed it in his *Proposals*.[205] The trustees sought a "suitably qualified . . . Writing Master" in 1751.[206] A few months later Horace Jones was appointed assistant to Grew, "the Trustees having seen a Specimen of his Writing."[207] The writing master was frequently referred to.[208] His duties were sometimes mentioned. For 1764, we read: "An addition of Ten Pounds p. annum is ordered to be made to Mr. Johnson's Sallary, in Consideration of doing the whole Duty of Writing Master in both Schools, and making Pens between 6 & 8 in the morning in Summer, and between School Hours in Winter."[209] The trustees felt that he had not time to teach other subjects, and he seems to have been kept extremely busy in his own special field.[210] The writing master visited the Latin School for a few hours each day,[211] spending, probably, the remainder of the day among the English and mathematical students.

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[194] Postscript to *General Idea of College of Mirania,* 114–5. [*Loc. cit.*]

[195] *Ibid.,* 111–2.

[196] *C. A. C. M.,* I, 37.

[197] *Ibid.,* I, 38. Who taught them previously, if at all, cannot be determined.

[198] Mittelberger: *Op. cit.,* 51.

[199] *Supra,* 193.

[200] *C. A. C. M.,* I, 124.

[201] *Ibid.*

Not much light can now be thrown on the question as to what the teacher of mathematics taught. Grew, who was the first to have charge of this work, had been a successful teacher of many mathematical branches for several years in the city, emphasizing the practical aspects of his subjects.[212] He probably taught all of the mathematical subjects enumerated in the announcement made by the trustees at the opening of the institution.[213] Mathematics seems to have received some attention at all times from the trustees. In 1766, the trustees refused to appoint a proposed teacher of the subject because "he did not profess a Knowledge of Euclid, or the fundamental Demonstrations of the practical Parts of Mathematics.[214] For 1773, we read: "A Mathematical Master should be appointed, there being many boys now in the Institution who come only to learn the practical Branches of Mathematics, & who have no opportunity to acquire them but under the Writing Master. . . . Nor have the Students who are intended for the College any Opportunity of Learning those Parts of Arithmetic, Algebra, Fractions &c which they ought to understand before their Admission into the College Classes.''[215] The trustees, in 1767, considered it essential in the education of medical doctors.[216] In this year, they agreed that ''Such Students as have not taken a Degree in the Arts, in any College, shall before receiving a Degree in Physic, satisfy the Trustees and Professors of this College, of their Knowledge of the Latin Language and such Branches of the Mathematics, Natural and Experimental Philosophy as shall be judged requisite to a Medical Education.''[217] The trustees, under the new charter of 1779, sought immediately teachers of Latin, English, writing, arithmetic, and mathematics,[218] and a Mr. Patterson was appointed ''Teacher of writing and arithmetic and the mathematics in the Academy.''[219]

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[202] *Ibid.*, I, 192.

[203] *Pa. Pack.*, Aug. 14, 1775, 1.

[204] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 1–2; *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1750–1, 2.

[205] *Op. cit.*, 11.

[206] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 9.

[207] *Ibid.*, 13.

[208] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, 87–8.

[209] *Ibid.*, 276.

[210] *Ibid.*, II, 60.

[211] *Ibid.*, I, 89.

[212] *Supra*, 90, 93, 100 *ff*.

[213] *Supra*, 182.

[214] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 303.

There is very little certain information now available as to what texts were used in the Academy. Grew wrote, in 1753, his *Description of the Use of the Globes* chiefly for the use of the Academy students,[220] and it was probably used for many years. In Latin, Davy's *Adminiculum Puerile* was published, in 1758, for the use of the same school.[221] Mr. Beveridge, the Latin teacher, in 1761, reported, however, that ''he was under great Difficulties in the Discharge of his Duty . . . for want of a proper Grammar, there having as yet been no particular Grammar in use in that School.''[222] In 1764, ''a bill was presented,'' to the trustees, ''for binding 149 Academy Grammers, amounting to £4:6:11,'' which shows that the school was well supplied with grammars.[223]

VIII. *Method*

Franklin in his *Proposals*, of 1749, emphasized the importance of a sympathetic relationship between the trustees and students. In the Constitutions of the Academy, which soon followed, it was recommended that the teachers "look on the Students as, in some Measure, their own Children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection; and when they have behaved well, gone thro' their Studies, and are to enter the World, they shall zealously unite, and make all the Interest that can be made, to promote and establish them, whether in Business, Offices, Marriages, or in any other Thing for their Advantage, preferable to all other Persons whatsoever, even of equal Merit."[224] The words are almost identical with those used by Franklin in his *Proposals.* In his plan, Franklin recommended the visitation of the Academy by the trustees, and the Constitutions embodied the hope that the "Trustees will make it their Pleasure and in some Degree their Business, to visit the Academy often; to encourage and countenance the Youth, countenance and assist the Masters, and by all Means in their Power, advance the Usefulness and Reputation of the Design."[225] The trustees frequently visited the schools.[226] They were, moreover, careful in the selection of teachers, attention being given to their scholarship and morals. In 1758, Mr. Beveridge was appointed master of the Latin School, after Peters "had examined him in a close Manner, by which he was satisfied as to his Knowledge of the Latin, & as his Testimonials certified this same as well as that he was a man of Virtue & good Morals."[227] Apparently, many of the original trustees favored the establishment of the school "in some Village in the Country, as best favouring the Morals of Youth too apt to be corrupted by the bad Examples abounding in populous Cities."[228] The question of cost determined its location in the city.[229] Parents, too, were anxiously concerned regarding the moral training of their sons. The establishment of a boarding house for out-of-town students was discussed in 1761.[230] The trustees had this matter under consideration from the beginning,[231] but realizing now that "people would not send their children from afar because there was no supervision of their morals,"[232] they established a "Lodging House,"[233] which they continued to operate until 1775.[234] The importance attached to the moulding of moral character, and the method of thus educating students, appear in the rules frequently laid down for the government of the school. Those adopted in 1761 read in part:

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[215] *Ibid.*, II, 60.

[216] Smith had recommended the same in 1762—See *Discourses on Public Occasions in America*, 157 *ff*.

[217] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 319.

[218] *Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 15, 1779, 1.

[219] *T. U. P. M.*, III, 35.

[220] *Supra*, 126.

[221] *Supra*, 117.

[222] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 126–7. For information regarding possible texts, see *Supra*, 116 *ff*.

[223] *Ibid.*, 252.

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[224] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 8^{h}.

[225] *Ibid.*, 7^{g}–8^{h}.

[226] *Ibid.*, 35; *T. U. P. M.*, III, 218.

[227] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 94.

[228] Peters: *Sermon*, 16–7. [*Loc. cit.*]

[229] *Ibid.*

[230] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 137.

[231] Peters: *Sermon*, 18. [*Loc. cit.*]

[232] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 146–7.

[233] *Ibid.*

[234] *Ibid.*, II, 93.

> Whereas the Honour and Reputation of this Institution depend on the good morals and behavior of the Youth who are educated in it, and the favourable opinion which the World may conceive of our Discipline & Government; and Whereas Blasphemy, taking God's sacred Name in vain, Cursing, Swearing, Drunkness, Gaming & other Acts of open Immorality are held in the utmost abhorence in every Christian Society, it is trusted that none of the Youth belonging to this Institution will be found Guilty of any of these enormous Vices; but if contrary to our Hopes & most ardent Wishes we should have the Sorrow to find any Student or Schollar convicted of any of the aforesaid Offences, he shall for the first time in open Faculty be severely reprimanded and admonished, & shall moreover pay a Fine not exceeding three Shillings, or be chastized, and for the second Offence he shall publicly ask Pardon or be degraded from his Rank and Seat for a reasonable Time; and if after this he continues in any of these Vices, without giving Hopes of amendment, he may be forbid the Institution as a Person of Evil Example. . . .
>
> If any Student or Scholar, without a reasonable Excuse, shall on the Lord's day neglect attending divine worship in some one or other of the religious Societies in this City, he shall on proper Conviction thereof pay six pence, and moreover, if he perseveres in such Neglect after due admonition, he shall be chastized if under fourteen Years of Age, and if above that Age be brought to public Confession, degraded, subjected to some Exercise, or presented to the Trustees as the Faculty shall think proper—
>
> If any Student or Scholar shall be guilty of the scandalous crimes of Piffering or Stealing, he shall make full Restitution, and more over be admonished or chastized privately for the first Offence, & publicly for every succeeding Offence, till brought before the Trustees to be finally dealt with or expelled, as they shall direct. . . .
>
> If any Students or Scholars shall be found guilty of fighting or quarrelling both Parties shall be chastized for the first offence, and if found to be notoriously quarrelsome or troublesome after due admonition, they shall be presented to the Trustees.
>
> No Student or Scholar shall use provoking, abusive, or reproachful Language to his School Fellows or shall be guilty of Lying or shall use, abuse or hire another's Book or Books or do any Damage in his Cloaths or otherwise.[235]

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[235] *Ibid.*, I, 130 *ff*.

One can still discern in these rules the philosophy expounded at the opening of the Academy ten years earlier:

> The Infant enters the World, the Creator pointing out by the Lines of his Face, the Tone of his Voice, the State of his Spirits, the Quickness of his Attention, that the ruling Passions, and the leading Inclinations of the Soul are of the impetuous and overbearing Kind, commands Parents, Nurses and Tutors, to season the Soul with Instructions, and a Discipline suited to this Disposition. *Be sure* (says the Author of this Frame) *to keep a strict Hand over him, reprove, chastize, correct, use Severity, if necessary, but let this be seldom, and when the Fault is glaring; nor give over when you have begun, till you have quelled the tyrannical Spirit.*[236]

Thus would youth in its moral aspects be trained. On the intellectual side, a similar philosophy probably determined to a considerable degree the method of instruction: "Further," said the speaker just referred to, "in a State of Ignorance the rational Faculties of the Soul, for want of Use, may be so extremely weakened, as not to exert themselves whilst in Union with the Body. As Exercise gives Strength to the Nerves, and preserves the Health, so Thinking strengthens the Powers of the Mind, and promotes the Health of the Soul."[237] This is but the disciplinary conception of John Locke fortified by an appeal to religious teachings. Individual differences, too, were beginning to be recognized, but their significance in the field of method was probably not keenly felt. Peters said it was possible to discern in the interests exhibited by children the purpose for which God designed them. Some will, he said, shed tears "when their little Companions are indisposed. . . . Does not the Voice of God, the Voice of Nature, cry aloud, *Teach him the sanatory Art of Medicine.*"[238] Another manifests "an innate Love of Truth and Right. Does not this point out the Profession of Law, as if a Voice from Heaven should call it out."[239]

The Academy students, then, were probably subjected to rigorous moral and mental discipline. Departures from the customary methods of actual instruction were aimed at, and probably adopted for a time in practice. Peters said that in addition to studying the classics grammatically, it was "intended Lectures shall be read to those who are forward enough in their Learning, wherein the Subject Matter of each Author will be explained and illustrated, and his Style, Spirit and Elegance, pointed out. . . .

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[236] Peters: *Sermon,* 13. [*Loc. cit.*]

[237] *Ibid.,* 7.

[238] *Ibid.,* 12.

[239] *Ibid.*

Nor is it proposed in the Childrens Exercises to proceed by the Methods in ordinary Use, which in general only consult the making *Latin* according to Grammar Rules, or the right Construction of an Author by them: But that Exercises, adapted to the Capacity and Proficiency of the Scholars, shall be composed by the Masters, and consist of History, Morals, and the plain Parts of Natural Philosophy; all which may, by these Means, be taught along with the Languages.''[240]

In 1762, when Smith described the work of the Latin School, we find no reference to this lecture method.[241] At that time, evidently, stress was laid on the memorization of rules and paradigms in Latin grammars, Latin composition, and orating in Latin ''with proper grace both of elocution and gesture.''[242] It was in this year that Alison and Beveridge, who had charge of this school, reported that ''the variety of Grammars used by the Boys in the Latin School was very prejudicial to their Learning'' and that they had printed a ''proper grammar for the use of the academy.''[243] The grammar method apparently was still in good repute. Written exercises were demanded, and the trustees frequently examined them. In 1767, it was minuted ''That strict Orders be given to the Masters of the Latin School, to receive no exercises from the Boys that were blotted, underlined, or not written in as fair & good a Hand, as the Boy can be supposed capable to write.''[244]

In the English School, great emphasis was placed by Franklin on the reading of English authors, while grammar would not be neglected.[245] In 1763, the trustees recommended that the students be taught ''the Elegance of the English Language. . . . giving them a Proper Pronunciation & that the old Method of hearing them read and repeat in public should be again used.''[246] Dove, as Franklin would have it, stressed elocution, and proper enunciation. Graydon bequeaths the following humorous reminiscence of Dove's manner of teaching: ''Dove was there, and in endeavouring to correct my utterance, as I had an ill habit of speaking with my teeth closed, as if indifferent whether I spoke or not, he bawled out in one of his highest tones: 'Why don't you speak louder? Open your mouth like a Dutchman—say *yaw.*' "[247] Dove was not in the Academy at this time, but this method was probably typical of his teaching. The same writer has left us a description of the method used by Kinnersley in the English School:

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[240] *Ibid.*, 21.

[241] *Supra*, 195 *f.*, 201.

[242] *Supra*, 201.

[243] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 174.

[244] *Ibid.*, I, 328.

[245] *Supra*, 179.

[246] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 200.

> The task, of the younger boys, at least, consisted in learning to read and to write their mother tongue grammatically; and one day in the week . . . was set apart for the recitation of select passages in poetry and prose. For this purpose, each scholar, in turn, ascended the stage, and said his speech, as the phrase was. This speech was carefully taught him by the master, both with respect to the pronunciation, and the action deemed suitable to its several parts. Two of these specimens of infantile oratory, to the disturbance of my repose, I have been qualified to exhibit.[248]

Some idea of the method used in the teaching of mathematics may be gathered from a list of instruments presented to the master in 1750, from which it will appear that practice rather than principles was stressed.[249] Whether or not the students were practised in the use of all these instruments, we cannot say, although Peters said that the teacher of mathematics had been furnished by the trustees with "Mathematical Instruments of all Sorts for the better Instruction of the Scholars in the Use of them."[250]

Public examinations were commonly resorted to as a stimulus to study. In 1770, "The Trustees considering that nothing can contribute more to keep up a laudable Emulation and Diligence among the Youth educated in this Seminary, than regular and stated Examinations of the different Schools and bestowing Premiums and other marks of Approbation on the most deserving Scholars,'' appointed four days in the year for such examinations and arranged for prizes in the form of books, money and medals, to be worn by students.[251] Corporal punishment seems to have been frequently resorted to, but apparently rather for the sake of discipline and good order than as a stimulus to study. Graydon tells us that Dove substituted ''disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was seldom used in canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form, for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell, and lighted lantern, and in this 'odd equipage,' in broad day light, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school.''[252]

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[247] Graydon: *Memoirs of a Life*, 16.

[248] *Ibid.*, 16–7.

[249] *C. A. C. M.*, I, Appendix. The instruments were: "A Brass Gunters Scale; A Pair 12 Inch Steeljoint Compasses; A Brass Sliding Gunter; A Gauging Rod; A 12 Inch Theodolite, Ball, Locket & Staff; A Circumferentor; A 12 Inch round Protractor; A large pair Steeljoint Compasses; A 12 Inch plotting Scale; A 12 Inch Sector; A Hadleys Quadrant; A Case of Drawing Instruments; A Speckled Wood parallel Ruler, with a Crossbar; An Azimuth Compass; A Cross Staff; A Nocturnal; a Davis's Quadrant.

"For the Writing & Drawing School Universal Penman; Principles of Drawing; A Set of Sieges, 6 Prints; 7 Works of Charity; 7 Prints by Baron; Memoires D'Artillerie . . .; Theatre of the present War; A 16 Inch Reflecting Telescope; A Model of a Waggon with Friction Wheels; A Camera Obscura; A Pair of 18 Inch Globes; 6 large maps."

[250] *Sermon*, 20. [*Loc. cit.*]

Dove's capacity, too, for inflicting severe corporal punishment has been described in a most fascinating picture left us by Mitchell in *Hugh Wynne*. From this it appears that Dove used the birch freely not only on boys, but on girls as well. The latter he compelled to remove their ''stays'' before he applied the rod.[253] His whipping is described as ''terrible and cruel.''[254] Parents, moreover, are shown to have resented not so much his use of the rod as the dishonorable means he sometimes employed to detect the culprit. Whether the practices were indulged in or not while Dove taught at the Academy cannot be determined, but it is a safe assumption that his methods of inculcating morality were not of the gentle sort, while he probably put the student, whose lack of knowledge had been well established, on public exhibition.

The trustees were not opposed to corporal punishment. Boys were to ''be chastized'' as a minor punishment for ''enormous vices,''[255] and a similar provision was made for the offence of being absent from divine service on Sundays. Chastisement was also provided for the offence of being absent from school "without reasonable excuse," and for a variety of other offences.[256] "Corporal Punishment" was provided for sauntering about the College or College yard or for making "Use of Another's Book or Books without his Permission."[257] In 1765, the trustees told Mr. Kinnersley that in ordinary disciplinary cases he was to exercise the same authority as a father.[258] There seems, therefore, to be good grounds for assuming that corporal punishment was sometimes administered, and even to the College boys, for the rules referred to made no distinction between students in this respect.

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[251] *C. A. C. M.*, II, 15.

[252] *Op. cit.*, 14–5.

[253] *Op. cit.*, 28–9.

[254] *Ibid.*, 31.

[255] *Supra*, 206.

The trustees took care that a sufficient number of teachers and ushers were provided. The Constitutions provided that "The Rector shall be obliged, without the Assistance of any Usher to teach Twenty Scholars . . . and Twenty five Scholars more, for every Usher provided for him."[259] The English master was required to teach forty students, an usher being allowed him for every "Sixty Scholars more" in his school.[260] In 1753, the Latin School had two, and probably more, ushers.[261] An usher was sought for the English School, in 1751.[262] The ushers were sometimes called tutors. In 1752, John Jones was described as "Tutor in the English School,"[263] and in the following year he was referred to as "Usher in the Writing School."[264] In order to secure and hold good teachers, the trustees paid fairly liberal salaries to them. Franklin tried to persuade Johnson to take charge of the English School in 1750,[265] and, in 1751, he reported that the Latin master received £200, the English master £150, the mathematical professor £125, and the ushers £60 yearly.[266]

IX. *Student Life*

The rules of 1761 provided:

> From the first of April to the first October, the Morning Bell for convening the several Schools shall begin to ring at Six;

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[256] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 130 *ff*.

[257] *Ibid.*, 133.

[258] *Ibid.*, 299.

[259] *Ibid.*, 4^{d}.

[260] *Ibid.*, 5^{e}.

[261] *Ibid.*, 36.

[262] *Ibid.*, 6, 12.

[263] *Ibid.*, 24.

[264] *Ibid.*, 30.

[265] Barnard's *Journal*, XXVII, 466.

[266] Smyth: *The Writings of B. Franklin*, III, 53–4.

> and from the first of October to the fifth of April it shall begin to ring at Eight; allowing one Quarter of an Hour for calling the Students & Scholars together from the several Parts of the City.
>
> The Evening Bell shall begin throughout yᵉ Year a little before Five.
>
> And whereas Nothing tends more effectually to preserve Order in the Schools, to discourage Slothe & promote a manly Spirit of Industry than a punctual Attendance at the said Hours of Duty; every under-Graduate Student & Scholar, belonging to this Institution, shall, both Morning and Evening, while the Bell is yet tolling, repair decently to the Publick Hall or other convenient place, appointed for that Purpose, there to answer the calling of their Names as hereafter directed. . . .
>
> The Roll being called someone of the Professors or Tutors who may be appointed for that Purpose . . . shall go up into the Oratory & in the Morning shall begin the Day by devoutly reading such Portion of the Holy Scriptures as he may select for that Purpose. In like Manner a short Portion of Scripture may be read in the Evening as often as it can be conveniently done. And both Morning and Evening a Conclusion shall be made with Prayer. . . .
>
> After Prayers every Class shall sit down, until the daily Monitors be examined; and then the highest Schools, and Classes shall go out first, each according to their Order, and none shall presume to rise from his Seat till it be the turn of his Class to depart.
>
> For each Violation of these Rules and Ordinances or any of them without a reasonable excuse the Offender shall be chastized, or incur a Pecuniary Mulct of two English half Pence.[267]

The monitors referred to were not teachers, but students appointed weekly by the teachers in "every school belonging to the Institution . . . to note down and deliver into the Faculty after Prayers every Evening & before Dismission of the Schools, the Names of the Delinquents, as often as any of them shall be guilty of talking, whispering, or behaving any way indecently in the time of Prayer, reading the Holy Scripture, or calling the Roll."[268]

The happy ebullition of the boyish spirit was probably effectively arrested by such rules as the following:

> None shall climb over the Fences of the College Yard, or come in or out thro the Windows, or play Ball or use any Kind of Diversion within the Walls of the Building; nor shall they in

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[267] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 133 *ff.*

[268] *Ibid.*, 133.

> the Presence of the Trustees, Professors or Tutors, play Ball, Wrestle, make any indecent Noise, or behave in any way rudely in the College Yard or Streets adjacent.
>
> None shall play Ball against the Glass Windows, or any part of the Building where the Window Shutters are open, nor shall break down or injure the Fences of the College Yard, or the Doors, Windows or any Part of the Building, or any Seats or other Furniture within the Same, or deface the Walls or any Part aforesaid, by Writing, cutting or painting on them. . . .
>
> For every Violation of any of the Rules contained in the last four Sections the Offender shall incur a Fine not exceeding four Pence, or be chastized. . . .
>
> To prevent the indecent Noise which has heretofore been complained of in the several schools, no one in getting his Lesson shall be suffered so loud as to be heard by any Person near him; and whosoever offends against this Article shall be chastized.[269]

This theoretically quiescent and subdued life of the student differed considerably from the actual life. Severe penalities were provided, as we have seen, for the crimes of quarreling and fighting, but the students ignored the penalities. Graydon tells us:

> A few days after I had been put under the care of Mr. Kinnersley, I was told by my class mates, that it was necessary for me to fight a battle with some one, in order to establish my claim to the honor of being an academy boy; that this could not be dispensed with, and that they would select for me a suitable antagonist, *one of my match*, whom after school I must fight, or be looked upon as a coward.[270]

He tells us that because fighting was a "capital crime," and he did not covet pugilistic distinctions, he decided to avoid the encounter. He describes his flight and combat thus:

> My persecutors . . . followed close at my heels. Upon this I moved faster and faster, until my retreat became a flight too unequivocal and inglorious for a man to relate of himself, had not Homer furnished some apology for the procedure. . . . To cut the story short, my spirit could no longer brook an oppression so intolerable, and stung to the quick at the term coward which was lavished upon me, I made a halt and faced my pursuers. A combat immediately ensued between Appowen and myself. . . . I received his first directly in my gullet. The blow for a time depriving me of breath and the power of resistance, victory declared for my adversary, though not without the acknowl-

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[269] *Ibid.*, 131 *ff.*

[270] *Op. cit.*, 17.

edgement of the party, that I had at last behaved well, and shown myself not unworthy of the name of an academy boy.[271]

The teachers frequently complained that the students were unruly. Alison reported, in 1763, that they did not attend "publick Worship on Sunday," and did not show "due Civilities to their Professors & Masters."[272] The whole teaching staff informed the trustees, in 1764, of the general disregard for "the Laws" among the students, and asked for greater powers in enforcing them.[273]

The life of the students in the boarding house[274] throws some interesting side lights on the schools and life of the colony. The steward was responsible for many personal services to the students. In 1768, a committee of the trustees reported "that the Care of the Boys, with respect to their Linnen, Combing their Heads & other Matters, in which the younger part of them could not be trusted to themselves, had always been considered as part of the Steward's Duty."[275] To all of the boarders was given a service becoming the sons of a nobility. In discussing the "Porters Duty" the trustees stipulated: "The Remainder of his Time, he is to employ in attending the Boarders, making up their Fires in the Morning, carrying up their Wood, cleaning their shoes, & doing such other Services about the House as commonly belong to the office of a Porter in Colleges."[276] The manual labor schools of the nineteenth[277] were a radical departure from the spirit and practice of this comparatively aristocratic school of the eighteenth century.

Holidays and vacations were given the students, at first with some reluctance. In 1752, the trustees agreed "that no Hollidays be solicitted for the Boys by any of the Trustees separately."[278] In 1772, it was written:

> Whereas by the Rules and Usage of this Institution the following Holidays are allowed in the Latin and English schools, viz:

At Christmas	12
Jany 30th & Shrove Tuesday	2
At Easter	10

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[271] *Ibid.*, 18–9.
[272] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 201.
[273] *Ibid.*, 238.
[274] *Supra*, 205.
[275] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 332.
[276] *Ibid.*, II, 15.
[277] *Infra*, 450 *f.*, 453 *ff.*
[278] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 19.

Birthday of the Reigning Soverign	1
The 2nd Day of the Spring & Fall Fairs	2
At Whitsuntide Four Days	4
One day Each Quarter, allowed as soon as Two Thirds of the Tuition money for the preceding Quarter is paid	4
The Anniversary for opening the Academy, which was Novr 13th 1749	1[279]
Fourteen Days, preceeding Octr 3, Annually	14
In all Fifty Days	50

And Whereas it has been desired by many Parents . . . that an alteration might be made so as to have at least three weeks of those Holidays during the hot Weather . . . it is now ordered that the September Holidays, and six of the Christmas Holidays, together with three of the Easter Holidays be wholly abolished.[280]

The wishes of the parents were thus accorded with and the new plan provided for fifty-one holidays in the year.[281] A marginal note states that College students had one month more holidays than those of the other schools.[282]

X. *Spontaneous Student Activities*

The preacher at the opening of the Academy announced: "To add still to our good Fortune, some contiguous Lots and small Buildings on them, have fallen into the Trustees Hands. . . . These form a large and unincumbered Area for the Children's Exercise."[283] These good intentions, however, seem to have been frustrated as the regulations against ball-playing and other physical amusements would indicate.[284] As the institution developed there was no attempt made to provide for physical education, and the boys apparently resorted to clandestine means of providing for the needs of their physical nature.

Nor do we find any spontaneous literary activity among the students. The English and Latin schools had libraries, but the books appear to have been for the use of the teachers only. "The Grammar Schools," it was stated, "are provided with a Collection of the best *Classicks,* for the Use of the Masters.''[285] Students apparently were not encouraged to spontaneous activities. A writer describing the commencement exercises of the College, in 1767, said: ''We were then entertained with an English dispute, opened by Tilgham (who alone it is said composed his own piece). . . . Then they produced a Latin dispute. . . . The Latin was ill pronounced, & there was no action, for they spoke from desks.''[286] Spontaneous literary activities probably clashed with the disciplinary philosophy which, as we have seen, controlled the school.

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[279] The Anniversary of the first meeting of the trustees. *Cf. Supra,* 182.

[280] *C. A. C. M.*, II, 52.

[281] *Ibid.*

[282] *Ibid.*

[283] Peters: *Sermon,* 18. [*Loc. cit.*]

[284] *Supra,* 212 *f.*

Elsewhere in this study, brief reference will be made to the later history of the Philadelphia Academy. The facts regarding its origin and development, as presented in the present chapter, while they fall far short of an exhaustive account, cover the most significant items in the earlier history of an institution, which ranks high among the most notable and influential schools, not only of Pennsylvania but of the country as a whole.

[285] Peters: *Sermon,* 20. [*Loc. cit.*]

[286] Hornor: Extracts from the Letters of John MacPherson. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XXIII, 53.]

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT

I. *Legal Basis of the Academy*

Provincial legislation, as has been noted,[1] entrusted the education of youth to various religious denominations and private agencies. Public recognition, prior to the Revolution, in the form of charters, was bestowed on only two educational institutions, the Friends' Public School and the Philadelphia Academy. The interest of the government in education probably did not extend beyond the expressed desire to protect the property of incorporated educational bodies. An act of March 12, 1772, read: "Be it enacted, That, if any person or persons . . . shall maliciously and voluntarily burn the State-house of this province . . . or any church . . . or any academy or school-house, or library, belonging to any body politic or corporate, and shall be thereof legally convicted, every such person or persons shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy."[2]

This interest in education, thus vaguely and indirectly expressed in the punishment not unusual among Christians, gave way, under a new political régime, to a State interest in education, at once more powerful and more intelligent. The new interest found expression chiefly in the encouragement and recognition of academies, which had not previously been provided for by colonial law. The Constitution of 1776 provided that "A school or schools shall be established in each county by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."[3] The State thus definitely adopted a new educational policy, but at the same time it undertook to safeguard the long-established interests of the churches and educational corporations. The Constitution provided to this end that "All religious societies or bodies of men heretofore united or incorporated for the advancement of religion or learning, or for other pious, or charitable purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the enjoyment of the privileges, immunities and estates which they were accustomed to enjoy, or could of right have enjoyed under the laws and former Constitution of the State.''[4] While this clause was said to have been introduced to protect particularly the rights of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia,[5] it was applicable to all corporations of a religious and educational nature. A few years later, however, the new State saw fit to withdraw the charter of the institution which the Constitution, in this particular way, attempted to protect.[6]

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[1] *Supra*, 30.

[2] Smith: *Laws of Pa.*, I, 382.

[3] Sec. 44.

In the period that elapsed before the adoption of the Constitution of 1790, there was evidently some uncertainty in the minds of statesmen regarding the proper relation of the State to education.[7] That uncertainty, if not a measure of opposition to State interference in education, would seem to be implied in the following proposal made in the Convention of 1790: ''A school or schools shall be established in each county for the instruction of youth, and the state shall pay to the masters such salaries as shall enable them to teach at low prices.''[8] Mr. M'Kean and Mr. Finley proposed to add the words ''and the poor gratis,'' but Timothy Pickering, evidently feeling that the responsibility of the State was being overlooked, offered the following proposal: ''Knowledge generally diffused among the people being essential to the preservation of their rights, it shall be the duty of the legislature to provide for the instruction of children and youth, by the establishment of such schools in the several counties throughout the commonwealth. And the arts and sciences and all useful learning shall be further promoted in one or more universities.''[9] The vote on all these proposals was in the negative.[10] A month later the educational provision was again debated, and Mr. Pickering again led the supporters of a State system.[11] The discussion ended with the adoption of the following provisions: ''Section I: The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

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[4] Sec. 45.

[5] *The Proceedings Relative to the Calling of the Conventions of 1776 and 1790*, 118.

[6] *Ibid.*, 117 *ff.* A statement of the case arising out of the State's action regarding the charter.

[7] *Supra*, 155 *f.*

[8] *The Proceedings Relative to the Calling of the Conventions of 1776 and 1790*, 368.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, 369.

[11] *Ibid.*, 241 *ff.*

"Section II: The Arts and Sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning."[12] The third section, as adopted, provided for the protection of the rights of religious societies and corporate bodies "as if the Constitution of this state had not been altered or amended."[13]

The principle of state responsibility for education was thus embodied in these earliest constitutions. It was, however, more clearly defined in that of 1790, the clause providing for the education of the poor gratis being a foundation on which in later years was erected the whole public school structure. Following the adoption of the Constitution of 1776, the legislature considered the State in some measure responsible for the support of educational institutions, and for the encouragement of a county system of schools, although the Constitution was silent regarding the character of the schools to be thus encouraged. The first educational corporation that became the object of State benevolence was the "University of the State of Pennsylvania," chartered in 1779.[14] The act of incorporation provided for the transfer of some confiscated estates to this new institution. A fairly clear expression of the meaning of the first Constitution, as interpreted by the legislature, appeared in "An Act for the present relief and future endowment of Dickinson College, . . ." passed in 1786.[15] In the preamble to this act, the legislature referred to the obligations of the State under the Constitution, but regretted that because of "the present embarrassed state of public credit," the constitutional requirements could not be immediately complied with. In respect for the spirit of these requirements, the legislature would undertake to encourage private agencies engaged in educational work. Thus interpreting the Constitution and the obligations of the State, the legislature, by this act, set aside sixty thousand acres of unappropriated lands for the "sole and express purpose of endowing public schools in the different counties of the state, agreeably to the said 44 Section of the Constitution."[16]

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[12] Constitution, 1790, Article VII.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, X, 23 *ff.*

[15] Carey and Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, III, 155–9.

[16] *Ibid.*, 158.

It would thus seem that the legislature was conscious of the constitutional duties of the State, the lack of funds being advanced as a reason for the failure to comply with the Constitution. A few years earlier, 1784, in incorporating the "Public School at Germantown,"[17] the legislature advanced the same reason for its delay in establishing schools. The act read in part: "And . . . the finances of this state so soon after a long and expensive war, are not in a condition (without an increase of taxes already heavy) to carry into erection immediately the design of the said section by establishing schools at the public expense in all the counties of this state, but it is nevertheless highly proper to promote the laudable attempt of the petitioners by every reasonable encouragement until something further can be done by the legislature in a more extensive way."[18] Thus, the legislature harped on the motive of cost as an explanation of its educational inactivity. But there seems to have been another serious consideration which did not escape the attention of Pennsylvania statesmen, namely, the attitude of the people toward State control of education, and its support by public taxation. A committee of the House of Representatives, appointed, in 1792, to report on the establishment of schools for the education of the poor gratis, concluded that such a design could not be accomplished without imposing a direct tax upon the citizens, a procedure which was considered inadvisable until the sentiments of the people could be determined.[19]

Thus, in addition to a straitened treasury, the uncertainty regarding the attitude of the public mind toward a State system of schools supported by taxation, resulted in the adoption of a system of semi-public academies, in most of which a limited provision was made for the education of a few poor children at public expense. The provision thus made for the poor was a travesty on the Constitution of 1790, but it resulted in the encouragement of secondary education in most of the counties of the State. Even after the public school system had been established in 1834,[20] the State policy of bestowing annual grants on private secondary schools continued for some years, and was confirmed, in 1838, by "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the several Acts relative to a General System of Education by Common Schools." This act read in part:

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[17] The present Germantown Academy.

[18] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XI, 372.

[19] *H. R. Jour.*, II, 177.

[20] *Infra*, 475 *f*.

> Section 4. To encourage the Arts and Sciences, promote the teaching of useful knowledge, and support the Colleges, Academies, and Female Seminaries within this Commonwealth, there hereby is appropriated and shall annually be paid to said Colleges, Academies and Female Seminaries, in equal quarterly payments, the sums following to wit: to each University or College, now incorporated by the legislature, and maintaining at least four professors, and instructing constantly at least one hundred students, one thousand dollars; to each Academy and Female Seminary now incorporated, or which may be incorporated by the legislature, maintaining one or more teachers, capable of giving instruction in the Greek and Roman classics, mathematics, and English, or English and German literature, and in which at least fifteen pupils shall constantly be taught in either or all of the branches aforesaid, three hundred dollars; to each of said Academies and Female Seminaries, where at least twenty-five pupils are taught as aforesaid, four hundred dollars; to each of said Academies and Female Seminaries, having at least two teachers, and in which forty or more pupils are constantly taught as aforesaid, five hundred dollars; but no Academy in any City or County of the State where a University or College is established, and receiving the appropriation made by this Act, shall be entitled to receive the appropriation made by this Act for the benefit of Academies; this Section to continue in force for ten years and no longer.[21]

Wickersham bestows elaborate praise on the motives that prompted this legislative benevolence toward the academies, female seminaries and colleges.[22] Yet, in 1843, the legislature reduced the appropriation to these institutions to a total of $23,500, and decreed that "All laws heretofore passed directing certain sums to be paid annually to said colleges, academies and female seminaries be and the same are hereby repealed."[23] This action was apparently due to the financial difficulties in which the State found itself at this time,[24] and which even endangered the public school system which had been recently established. Thus ended the policy of State benevolence toward non-public secondary schools, although the legislature of 1849 still showed some concern for the welfare of these institutions. In that year, the directors of the common schools were permitted to appropriate a

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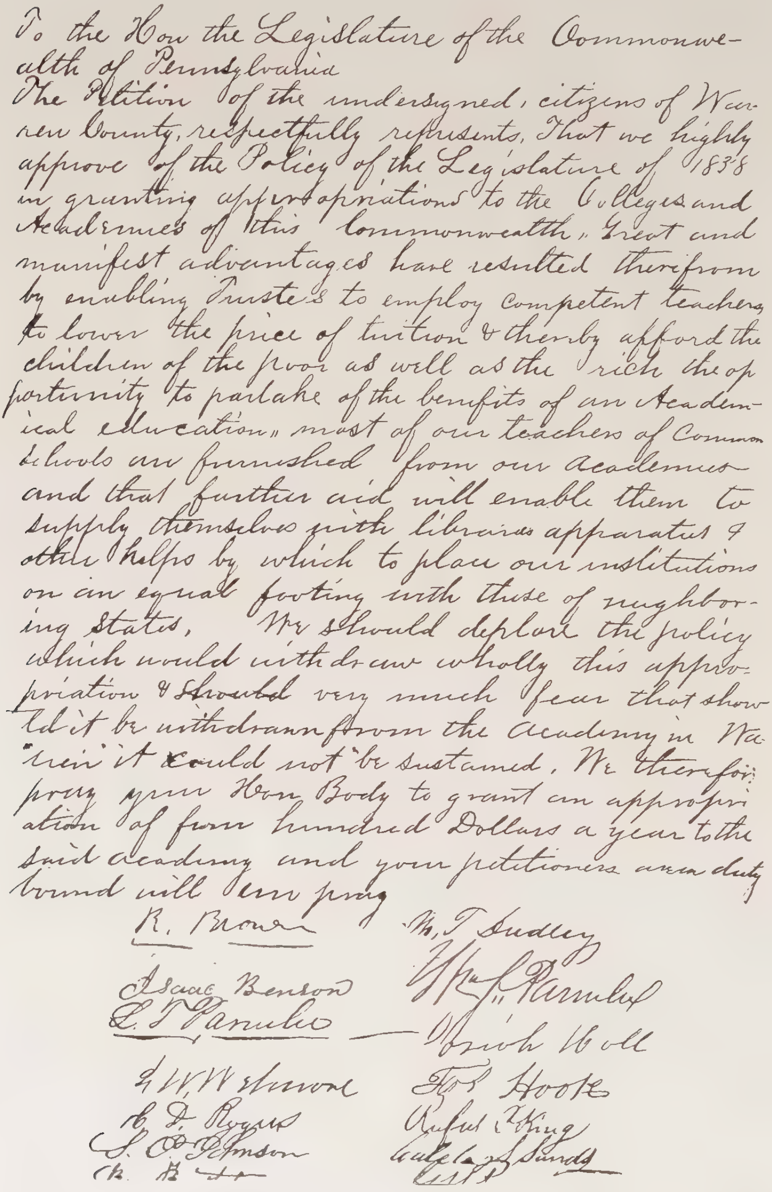
[21] *Laws of Pa.*, 1838, Act. No. 57.

[22] *Hist. of Ed. in Pa.*, 385, 389.

[23] *Laws of Pa.*, 1843, Act No. 176.

[24] *Rept. of State Supt.*, 1843, 30 *ff*.



To the Hon the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

The Petition of the undersigned, citizens of Warren County, respectfully represents, That we highly approve of the Policy of the Legislature of 1838 in granting appropriations to the Colleges and Academies of this Commonwealth. Great and manifest advantages have resulted therefrom by enabling Trustees to employ competent teachers to lower the price of tuition & thereby afford the children of the poor as well as the rich the opportunity to partake of the benefits of an Academical education. most of our teachers of Common schools are furnished from our Academies and that further aid will enable them to supply themselves with libraries apparatus & other helps by which to place our institutions on an equal footing with those of neighboring States. We should deplore the policy which would withdraw wholly this appropriation & should very much fear that should it be withdrawn from the Academy in Warren it could not be sustained. We therefore pray your Hon Body to grant an appropriation of four hundred Dollars a year to the said Academy and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray

R. Brown
M. T. Dudley
Isaac Benson
Wm. J. Parmlee
C. T. Parmlee
Ulrich Woll
G. W. Wetmore
Thos Hooke
E. D. Rogers
Rufus P. King
S. P. Johnson
Cutler & Sands

Petition to The Legislature, Signed by Fifty-one Citizens of Warren Borough, Praying For The Continuance of a State Grant to Warren Academy. From The Original in The State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

part of the district fund to endowed and religious schools, on condition that these be open to the visitation of the directors and conform with the common school system.[25] This benevolence, however, might be construed as an attempt to bring these schools eventually under the control of the directors. In 1862, the legislature provided for the transfer of academy property to the directors of the common schools throughout the State. The practice of transferring such property had been common for some time, and was authorized by the legislature in some cases by special enactment. Thus the property of the Union Academy, at Easton, was transferred to the town council, in 1835, for common school purposes;[26] of Reading Academy to the school district, in 1845;[27] and of Norristown to the school district, in 1848.[28] Petitions for authority to transfer property in this way were probably sufficiently numerous, by 1862, to warrant the passage of the following act:

> That the trustees of any academy, or seminary, in this commonwealth, which received money or land therefrom, for educational purposes, are hereby authorized and empowered to convey, by deed of not less than two-thirds of their number, to be approved by the court of common pleas of the proper county, all the real estate, buildings, and property, and funds of, or belonging thereto, to the board of directors, and their successors in office, of the common schools of the district in which the main building thereof may be situated, to be used and applied by said directors for the purpose of common school education therein and for no other purpose: Provided, That when a high school shall have been established therein, by means of said property, the citizens of the county within which said district is situated, shall have the right to have their sons and daughters admitted into such high school, if duly qualified, on paying to the treasurer of said district the same rate of tuition, for each, which it shall annually cost said district, per student, to keep said high school in operation, without adding anything thereto for the use of the building.[29]

This law created some difficulties for directors in some of the districts where a transfer was effected on the conditions stipulated with regard to high schools. The Greensburg district in Westmoreland county used academy property in aid of its high school, but soon found that the obligation to receive students from any part of the county was unduly burdensome. An appeal was made to the courts and the case eventually reached the Supreme Court of the United States where it was dismissed in October, 1921, on the grounds that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter.[30] The decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania requiring the school district to admit students from the county, in accordance with the law of 1862, thus remained valid and the district remained legally bound to admit, to its high school, duly qualified students from any part of the county. A supplementary act, of 1911, authorized the directors to use such county academy property for an ''industrial school'' for instruction in ''manual training, husbandry and domestic science,'' and permitted them to charge students from the county such tuition as it ''shall annually cost . . . for the maintenance of such industrial or high school.''[31] In 1915, another law authorized the trustees of academies or seminaries to work jointly with school directors, and bear a part of the district educational expenses, or to transfer their assets to the district with the understanding that the principal become a permanent fund and remain intact.[32]

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[25] *Laws of Pa.,* 1849, Act No. 316.

[26] *Ibid.,* 1835, Act No. 142.

[27] *Ibid.,* 1845, Act No. 185.

[28] *Ibid.,* 1848, Act No. 164.

[29] *Ibid.,* 1862, Act No. 466.

Such was the development of general laws dealing with the academies of the State. In the Constitutional Convention of 1873, the question of contributing public money to educational and other institutions under religious control was discussed at great length. Now, however, the problem, as most of the members saw it, was one of so framing the constitutional provision that it would be entirely impossible for any institution, under denominational control, to become a recipient of public funds. In the report made to the Convention by the Committee on Education it was recommended:

> Section 3. No money raised in any way whatever, for the support of public schools shall ever be appropriated to or used by any religious sect for the maintenance or support of schools exclusively under its control . . .
>
> Section 5. Neither the Legislature, nor any county, city, borough, school district, or other public or municipal corporation, shall ever make any appropriation, grant, or donation of land, money or property of any kind to any church or religious society,

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[30] *U. S. Repts.*, Vol. 263, Oct. Term 1923, 674.

[31] *Laws of Pa.*, 1911, p. 259.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1915, Act No. 87.

> or to any university, college, seminary, academy, or school, or any literary, scientific or charitable institution or society, controlled or managed by any church or sectarian denominations . . .
>
> Section 6. The arts and sciences may be encouraged and promoted in colleges and other institutions of learning, under the exclusive control of the State.[33]

In order to make certain that no sectarian school should ever receive public school money, the Convention agreed to strike out the word ''exclusively'' in the first article cited here.[34] The fifth section, as cited, was strengthened by adding, before the word ''university,'' the words ''to or for the use of,'' and, after the word ''managed,'' the words ''either in whole or in part.'' Section 6 was warmly debated. Some of the members construed it as a pretext for the establishment of a state college or university. Mr. Minor, of the Committee on Education, announced that the purpose of the section was not to force the State into the field of higher education, but to prevent any public funds from finding their way to any ''denominational college or university or seminary.''[35] A lengthy and animated debate resulted in the striking out of Section 6 entirely.[36] Under the old Constitution of 1790, which was not changed by the Constitutional Convention of 1838, the legislature was at liberty to appropriate money to any sectarian or non-sectarian institution of learning. Henceforth the legislature was shorn of its powers as regards sectarian institutions, and the energies and resources of the State were in future to be directed almost entirely toward the perfection of the public system.

II. *Academies Chartered by the Legislature*

From a legislative standpoint, as well as from that of the centre of interest, it would appear that two general types of academies developed in Pennsylvania. The first type is represented by an institution whose field of activity was frequently a whole county, and whose chartered privileges were bestowed by the State legislature itself. Many of the institutions thus chartered, before 1850, were intended to serve the county as a whole, and the county electorate, or the electorate of a part of the county, was given a voice in the appointment of trustees. The second type of academy came into prominence in the period following 1850, and was mainly the result of the interest of local communities in an education for their children higher than that provided in public common schools. Occasionally, the incorporators in applying for a charter expressed their discontent with the character of the work done in public schools. This type of academy was chartered, not by the State legislature, but by the county courts of common pleas, and from a numerical standpoint, it exceeded the earlier type of institution.

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[33] *Debates of the Convention,* II, 250.

[34] *Ibid.,* 439–40.

[35] *Ibid.,* 466.

[36] *Ibid.,* 473.

Of the institutions chartered by the legislature, only a part can be designated as county academies. The facts reveal that not only was it the intention of the legislature to establish such schools in the various counties, but that the legislature actually established them.

The Constitution of 1776 provided for the establishment of schools by the legislature "in each county."[37] John Dickinson recommended a system of county schools, in 1785.[38] Although the Constitution of 1790 provided for "the establishment of schools throughout the State,"[39] without any reference to county divisions, some members of the Convention still favored the plan of county schools,[40] and the Constitution as adopted did not prohibit such a scheme. In 1792, a committee of the House of Representatives reported in favor of a system of county secondary schools endowed by the State, pending the time when the people would accept the idea of a tax-supported public system. The report stated:

> That county schools would be highly advantageous . . . and that the situation of the public finances enables the Legislature to make proper donations in aid of such institutions. It is true, that county schools will not provide directly for the gratuitous instruction of the poorest class of people, but they will tend immediately to the same end, by proving a nursery for township schoolmasters. . . . The greatest benefit, however, to be derived from the establishment, will be, the opportunity afforded to the respectable yeomanry of *Pennsylvania* to have their children taught the most useful elements of science . . . and the foundation will be laid for a more enlarged plan, as soon as the wishes and circumstances of the people will render it practicable. . . .

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[37] *Supra,* 217.

[38] *Pa. Archives,* First Series, X, 523–4.

[39] *Supra,* 218 *f.*

[40] *Supra,* 218.

> In the examination of the principles upon which county schools ought to rest, your committee clearly perceived, that they must abandon the idea of admitting the poor . . . gratis. It was therefore thought, that the mode likely to be most generally useful, would be to make the tuition-money so low as to give every person, who could support his child at the place where the school was established, the benefits of the institution.[41]

It was then proposed that a bill be brought in to the following effect:

> 1. That a school be established at the seat of justice in each county.
> 2. That the school of every county having three or a less number of members in the House of Representatives, be allowed the sum of four hundred pounds for buildings, and four hundred pounds for a library; and that the school of every other county be allowed a sum of six hundred pounds for buildings, and six hundred pounds for a library; which said sums shall be paid out of the arrearages of taxes. . . .
> 3. That for the purpose of supporting in part a teacher, or teachers, of English grammar, and the elements of mathematics, geography and history, the school of every county having three or a less number of members in the House of Representatives, be allowed a yearly sum of seventy-five pounds, and the school of every other county a yearly sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. . . .
> 5. That in addition to the above donations, each school shall be entitled to receive a yearly sum of twenty-five pounds out of the general funds of the state, for the support of a teacher of the learned languages. . . .
> 6. That no child shall be admitted, unless such child can read and write. . . .
> 8. That the citizens of every county shall be entitled to have the use of the books of the school library.[42]

The recommendations of this committee were never embodied in a law, but they indicate that a plan of county academies appealed to the minds of some legislators in the early years of our independence. Burrowes and Hobart, in a report on the cost of education to the Constitutional Convention, in 1837, remarked regarding the early legislative practices in support of academies: "It seems to have been intended to endow one strong institution of this kind in each county as a kind of radiating point in the county system of education."[43]

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[41] *H. R. Jour.*, II, 177 *ff.*

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention*, III, 7.

The intention of the legislature may be seen in some of the early enactments regarding schools of this county type. Occasionally, the acts establishing new counties provided for the establishment of a county academy. Thus the trustees of Centre county, erected in 1800, were authorized to create "some productive fund, for the support of an academy or public school, in said county."[44] In erecting Crawford county, in the same year, Meadville was named as the county seat, "provided the inhabitants or proprietors of Meadville and its vicinity subscribe and secure the payment of four thousand dollars to the trustees of the county . . . for the use of a seminary of learning within said county."[45] The trustees of the county were authorized, at the same time, to set aside a part of their receipts from the sale of land for the "support of an academy or public school at the county town, in the said county."[46] In erecting the county of Beaver, the surveyor-general was requested to lay off five hundred acres adjoining the town of Beaver, "for the use of such school or academy, as may hereafter be established by law in the town of Beaver."[47] Citizens of the counties seem to have been conscious of this plan. One wrote from Dauphin in 1789: "We have as yet no Academy or public schools but shall in common with the other Counties of the State have a Tract of Land granted & appropriated by the Legislature for the Establishment of one."[48]

Frequently, the control of the academy was vested by law in the county electorate. Thus, by the charter of Bedford Academy, in 1810, it was provided that a certain number of trustees be elected annually by the citizens of the county.[49] Similar provision was made in the case of academies at Carmichaels,[50] Gettysburg,[51] Waterford,[52] Williamsport,[53] Chester,[54] Butler,[55] Erie,[56] Mercer,[57] Meadville,[58] Venango,[59] Orwigsburg,[60] Allentown,[61] Lebanon,[62] Kittanning,[63] Warren,[64] Mifflinburg,[65] Dundaff,[66] and Clarion.[67]

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[44] Smith: *Laws of Pa.*, III, 409.

[45] *Ibid.*, 423.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*, 429.

[48] Original Letters and Documents. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, VI, 117.]

[49] *Laws of Pa.*, 1809–10, Chap. CXVII.

[50] *Ibid.*, CXX.

[51] *Ibid.*, XCIX.

[52] *Ibid.*, 1811, CXXIX.

[53] *Ibid.*, CXX.

[54] *Ibid.*, XXVI.

[55] *Ibid.*, XXVI.

[56] *Ibid.*, CXXI.

[57] *Ibid.*, CIV.

[58] *Ibid.*, LXVI.

[59] *Ibid.*, 1813, XXVII.

[60] *Ibid.*, CLX.

After 1830, this practice of having the people of the county, without other qualifications, elect the trustees, almost entirely disappeared, and other requirements than county citizenship were established. Thus, for instance, in the case of academies at Coudersport,[68] Willardsburg,[69] Brookville,[70] New Bloomfield,[71] Tuscarora,[72] Sunbury,[73] Honesdale,[74] Columbia,[75] Frankfort,[76] Centreville,[77] and West Alexander,[78] in addition to being citizens of the county, the electors of trustees were required to have contributed sums of money ranging from one to twenty dollars to the funds of the academy. The abandonment of the idea of county institutions appears in such acts as that incorporating Berwick Academy, in 1839, when all citizens of the State who had contributed $10 to the funds of the academy were privileged to vote,[79] and in that incorporating the Franklin Institute of Butler county, in 1843, when the qualified voters of Prospect village were authorized to elect the trustees.[80]

That the electorate of the counties exercised their rights under the charters, appears from proclamations of elections in many counties. Erie and Waterford Academy trustees were thus elected, in 1822.[81] In 1825, the sheriff of Adams county, announced the election of county officers, among them one State senator, two representatives, one county commissioner, and "Two Trustees of the Gettysburg Academy."[82] Similar proclamations of the election of two trustees of Dundaff Academy appeared, in 1837 and 1839.[83]

The trustees of these county academies were, in many cases, required to submit their accounts to the county auditors, usually under penalty of a fine of twenty to forty dollars, to be paid by each trustees where this obligation had been ignored. This was required, for instance, in the case of Bedford,[84] Greensburg,[85] Lebanon,[86] and Kittanning[87] academies. The county auditors sometimes reported the financial condition of these county institutions, as in the case of the Erie and Waterford academies, for the period 1812–1819,[88] and of Waterford Academy, for 1928.[89]

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[61] *Ibid.*, 1814, LXXXVII.

[62] Smith: *Laws of Pa.*, 1816, Chap. 4159.

[63] *Laws of Pa.*, 1821, CLXIV.

[64] *Ibid.*, 1822, CXXVI.

[65] *Ibid.*, 1827, Act No. 136.

[66] *Ibid.*, 1830, Act No. 39.

[67] *Ibid.*, 1840, Act No. 247. It is not proposed to submit a complete list.

[68] *Ibid.*. 1837, Act No. 56.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1838, Act No. 95.

[70] *Ibid.*, Act No. 60.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*, 1839, Act No. 170.

[76] *Ibid.*, 1840, Act No. 77.

[77] *Ibid.*, 1840, Act No. 149.

[78] *Ibid.*, Act No. 66.

[79] *Ibid.*, 1839, Act No. 179.

[80] *Ibid.*, 1843, Act No. 28.

[81] *Erie Gaz.*, Oct. 17, 1822, 3.

[82] *Adams Centinel*, Sept. 21, 1825, 1.

[83] *Independent Volunteer*, Sept. 14, 1837, 3; *Montrose Volunteer*, Sept. 19, 1839, 4.

Thus were established, in many counties of the State, secondary educational institutions, public, in many cases, in the provision made by law for their control and, as we shall see, public to some extent in the manner of their support. While the legislature was thus actively establishing institutions of the county type, it was also encouraging, by the bestowal of charters and frequent grants, institutions of a denominational or more definitely local character. Germantown Academy, the first distinctly secondary school to be chartered by the new State, was local in its character. As in the case of most county academies, it was called a "public school."[90] Germantown Academy dates its origin to December, 1759, when "several of the Inhabitants of Germantown & places adjacent" met and agreed to erect a building "the lower floor whereof should be for the use of an English & High Dutch or German Schools and be continued for that use & no other forever."[91] Money was raised among the inhabitants by popular subscription, and the school was established under the name of *"The Germantown Union School."*[92] The project was distinctly a community undertaking and thus described.[93] The first public announcement of the school appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 5, 1761.[94] The founders evidently gave the institution the name "Union School" because the English and German citizens in the community combined to establish it. David James Dove, the first master of the English School, had sixty-one students in 1761, and Hillarius Becker, the first master of the German School had seventy students at the same time.[95] The motives and spirit which inspired the founding of this Academy, and gave form to its control, found expression, as late as 1837, in the following enactment:

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[84] *Laws of Pa.,* 1810, CXVII.

[85] *Ibid.,* XLIV.

[86] Smith: *Laws of Pa.,* 1816, Chap. 4159.

[87] *Ibid.,* 1821, CLXIV.

[88] *Erie Gaz.,* Feb. 22, 1820, 4.

[89] *Ibid.,* Jan. 29, 1829, 1.

[90] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* XI, 372; *Supra,* 219 *f.*

[91] *G. A. M.,* I, 1.

[92] *Ibid.,* 1 *ff.*

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] It evidently aimed to be a rival of the Philadelphia Academy. The advertisement referred to stated: "The Air is known, from long Experience, to be pure and healthy; often recommended by the best Physicians to Invalids. . . . The Opportunities and Examples of Vice and Immorality, which ever prevail in large Cities, here will Seldom present themselves to decoy the youthful Mind from its natural Inclination to Virtue."

> Hereafter it shall be lawful for all citizens residing within the limits of the township of Germantown, qualified to vote for county or state officers, to be entitled to vote at all elections for the choice of trustees to manage the concerns of said public school; that Germantown and its vicinity, as far as the eligibility of trustees for the said public school is concerned, be composed of and defined to be the townships of Germantown, Bristol, and Roxborough, and . . . parts of Penn township . . . and that none but citizens residing within the above limits, shall be eligible to serve as trustees of the said public school of Germantown, and that the provision in the charter relating to a German school be complied with.[96]

Among other academies not established to serve a county, but a community, and to which the State made no appropriation at the time of incorporation, were those at Stroudsburg,[97] Danville,[98] M'Connellsburg,[99] Le Raysville,[100] Womelsdorff,[101] Monongahela,[102] Pottstown,[103] New London,[104] Wysox,[105] Pottsville,[106] and Wilkinsburg.[107] A law, approved April 4, 1866, in the case of Athens Academy, provided for the election of trustees by the borough and township voters.[108] There were a host of others similar to these, which were chiefly the result of local initiative, and whose support depended upon subscriptions to the stock of the academy company. The legislature recognized and encouraged these local efforts, by the bestowal of the privileges that belong to corporate bodies. Not only did the State contribute nothing to their support but, after 1838, it specifically excluded many of them from participation in the grants provided for by the act of that year.[109] Thus were excluded Mannington Academy and Boarding School,[110] Columbia Academy,[111] Gibson Academy,[112] Juliet Academy and School for Teachers,[113] Frankfort Academy,[114] Mount Vernon Academy,[115] Rome Academy,[116] and a number of others.

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[95] *G. A. M.*, Oct. 16, 1761.

[96] *Laws of Pa.*, 1837, Act No. 57.

[97] *Ibid.*, 1814, CLXXII.

[98] *Ibid.*, 1818, CXIII.

[99] *Ibid.*, 1819, CXI; called "English School."

[100] *Ibid.*, 1830, Act No. 16.

[101] *Ibid.*, 1834, Act No. 145.

[102] *Ibid.*, 1836, Act No. 76; called "Manual Labor Academy."

[103] *Ibid.*, 1838, Act No. 60.

[104] *Ibid.*, 1839, Act No. 94.

[105] *Ibid.*, 1840, Act No. 122.

[106] *Ibid.*, 1848, Act No. 393.

[107] *Ibid.*, 1852, Act No. 284.

[108] *A. A. M.*, Nov. 16, 1866.

Other institutions of the smaller community type received from the legislature, not merely a charter, but a grant as well. The trustees of these were chosen, as a rule, by the subscribers to the stock of the corporation. Into this group would fall such institutions as the academies at Griersburg,[117] Lewistown,[118] Wellsborough,[119] and Ebensburg.[120]

In addition to the foregoing types there was chartered, and sometimes publicly endowed, a distinctly denominational type of academy. The first of these was the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Philadelphia, which was incorporated in 1787.[121] "York Academy" was chartered as a Protestant Episcopal school, in the same year.[122] Lititz Academy was chartered, in 1837, with the provision that the trustees were to be members of the society of the United Brethren's Church at Lititz.[123] Shamokin Collegiate Institute, under Evangelical Lutheran control,[124] and Dickinson Seminary, under Methodist Episcopal control,[125] were among those that received charters from the legislature. With the exception of the Episcopal Academy, purely denominational secondary institutions were seldom or never the objects of State grants.

III. *The Academy a Non-Sectarian Institution*

From the start, the new State was averse to bestowing its benevolence upon distinctly sectarian institutions. It is true that, in 1789, the Lutheran Church of Philadelphia received a grant of five thousand acres of land, for the purpose of establishing a free school for poor Lutheran boys,[126] but this was a very exceptional procedure The State felt much more kindly toward non-sectarian educational efforts, and when it made a grant to the "German College and Charity School,"[127] in 1787, it provided that the Charity School should be open to "both sexes and all religious denominations."[128] The great majority of the State-endowed institutions were evidently non-sectarian in character.

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[109] *Supra,* 221.

[110] *Laws of Pa.,* 1839, Act No. 186.

[111] *Ibid.,* 1839, Act No. 170.

[112] *Ibid.,* 1840, Act No. 35.

[113] *Ibid.,* 1840, Act No. 39.

[114] *Ibid.,* 1840, Act No. 77.

[115] *Ibid.,* 1840, Act No. 134.

[116] *Ibid.,* 1848, Act No. 388.

[117] Smith: *Laws of Pa.,* IV, 283.

[118] *Laws of Pa.,* 1815, LXXII.

[119] *Ibid.,* 1817, CLXXIX.

[120] *Ibid.,* 1819, CXV.

[121] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* XI, 479–83.

[122] *Y. C. A. M.,* I, 5 *ff.*

[123] *Laws of Pa.,* 1837, Act No. 84.

[124] *Ibid.,* 1854, Act No. 520.

[125] *Ibid.,* 1856, Act No. 270.

[126] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* XIII, 182–4.

While the charters are generally silent on the question of religious control, many of the incorporated institutions, by the provisions of their charters, were non-sectarian. Occasionally, one sect may have come to exert undue influence in the management of an institution, as was probably true of the Presbyterian group in the case of Bucks County Academy,[129] but this seems to have rarely occurred. The county academies, whose control was usually vested in the citizens of the county, who elected the trustees, were essentially non-sectarian,[130] as were, probably, also, those whose control ultimately rested in citizens of the county who had contributed a small donation to the support of the institution.[131] The same was probably true of most academies established and controlled by stock companies, for their charters did not exclude any denominational group from participating in the holdings of the corporation. Frequently, however, the charters specifically established the institutions on a non-sectarian basis. The charter granted to Dickinson College, in 1783, provided that: "Persons of every religious denomination among Christians shall be capable of being elected trustees; nor shall any person, either as principal, professor, or pupil, be refused admittance for his consciencious persuasion in matters of religion."[132] The same provision, in almost exactly the same words, was made in the charters of York County Academy, in 1799,[133] and of Norristown Academy, in 1804.[134] The charter of Loller Academy, in 1812, provided that "it shall not be lawful to choose more than three trustees out of any one religious persuasion . . . and that no person either as master, tutor or pupils shall be refused admission in the said academy, on account of his

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[127] Now Franklin and Marshall College.

[128] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XI, 391–8.

[129] Smith: *MS. Historical Notes*, I, 220. [Bucks Co. Hist. Soc.]

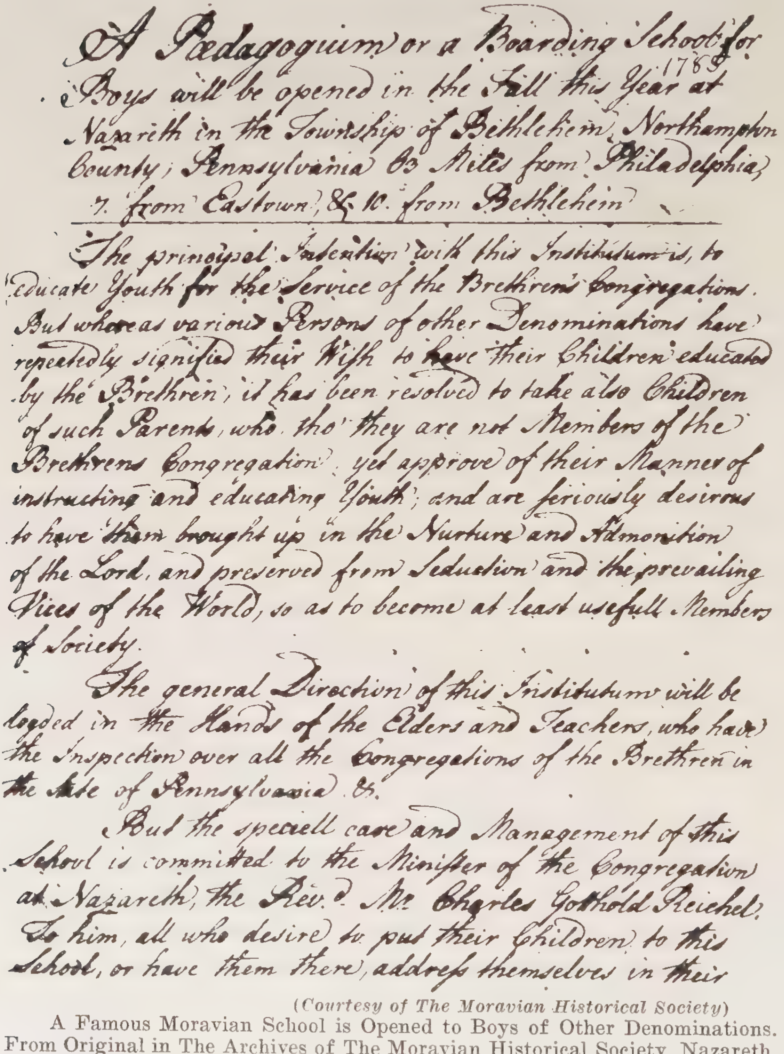
[130] *Supra*, 225 *ff*.

[131] *Supra*, 229.

[132] Carey and Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, II, 417.

[133] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XVI, 181–7.

[134] Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, VII, 362–5.



A Pædagogium or a Boarding School for Boys will be opened in the Fall this Year 1785 at Nazareth in the Township of Bethlehem, Northampton County; Pennsylvania 63 Miles from Philadelphia, 7. from Eastown, & 10. from Bethlehem

The principal Intention with this Institutum is, to educate Youth for the Service of the Brethren's Congregation. But whereas various Persons of other Denominations have repeatedly signified their Wiſh to have their Children educated by the Brethren; it has been resolved to take also Children of such Parents, who tho' they are not Members of the Brethrens Congregation, yet approve of their Manner of instructing and educating Youth; and are ſeriously desirous to have them brought up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, and preserved from Seduction and the prevailing Vices of the World, so as to become at least usefull Members of Society.

The general Direction of this Institutum will be lodged in the Hands of the Elders and Teachers, who have the Inspection over all the Congregations of the Brethren in the State of Pennsylvania &c.

But the speciell care and Management of this School is committed to the Miniſter of the Congregation at Nazareth, the Rev.d Mr Charles Gotthold Reichel; To him, all who desire to put their Children to this School, or have them there, addreſs themselves in their

(Courtesy of The Moravian Historical Society)

A Famous Moravian School is Opened to Boys of Other Denominations. From Original in The Archives of The Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

conscientious persuasion in matters of religion.''[135] Similar expressions appeared in the charters of other schools, as, for instance, Stroudsburg Academy, in 1814,[136] of Monongahela

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[135] *Laws of Pa.*, 1812, XXXIV. This charter shows the institution to have been privately endowed by Robert Loller.

[136] *Ibid.*, 1814, CLXXII.

Manual Labor Academy, in 1836,[137] and of Juniata Academy at Shirleysburg, in 1853.[138] Others established their religious liberalism by embodying in their charters, as in the case of Pottstown Academy[139] and Moscow Academy,[140] a provision extending the courtesy of the school to preachers of all denominations who came properly recommended. In Sugar Loaf Seminary, chartered in 1869, the religious instruction was to be "entirely unsectarian."[141]

The academy in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere in the United States,[142] was thus, generally, non-sectarian in control. This does not imply that the clergy were not to be found among the trustees of the institution. There were two clergymen on the first board of trustees of Bellefonte Academy,[143] and one on that of Wilkes-Barre,[144] Bedford,[145] Somerset,[146] Carmichaels,[147] and most of the other county academies. Lewistown Academy, more local in its character, had five clergymen on its first board of trustees,[148] and Lancaster County Academy had three.[149] The names of the first trustees of many of the local stock company academies seem to indicate that they were generally laymen, the title "Reverend" not often appearing, although it may have been omitted in the case of some of the trustees.

There were, then, incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania four general types of academies: (a) the county academy, whose trustees were appointed by the electorate of the county, or part of the county;[150] (b) the semi-county academy, whose control was vested in the citizens of the county who had contributed a small sum of money to the funds of the institution; (c) the community academy, whose trustees were chosen by the local electorate, or by the stockholders; (d) the denominational academy. The legislature granted a charter to one school of, apparently, a private nature. This was the Mannington Academy and Boarding School in Choconut township, Susquehanna county.

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[137] *Ibid.*, 1836, Act No. 76.

[138] *Ibid.*, 1853, Act No. 734.

[139] *Ibid.*, 1838, Act No. 60.

[140] *Ibid.*, 1840, Act No. 128.

[141] *Ibid.*, 1869, Act No. 1061.

[142] Brown: *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, 239–40.

[143] Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, 1805, VII, 406–9.

[144] *Laws of Pa.*, 1807, LVIII.

[145] *Ibid.*, 1810, CXVII.

[146] *Ibid.*, 1810, XCVII.

[147] *Ibid.*, 1810, CXX.

[148] *Ibid.*, 1815, LXXII.

[149] *Ibid.*, 1827, Act No. 155.

[150] This latter class, few in number, may be represented by Waterford Academy in Erie county. See *Laws of Pa.*, 1811, CXXIX.

John Mann was principal of this school, and the five trustees were all members of the Mann family.[151]

IV. *Support*

It has been noted that the legislature, in 1786, set aside sixty thousand acres of unappropriated land for "endowing public schools in the different counties of the state."[152] In the following year, a grant of ten thousand acres was made to the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Philadelphia,[153] of five thousand acres each to the Washington Academy,[154] and Pittsburgh Academy.[155] A number of similar grants followed: to Reading Academy five thousand acres, in 1788;[156] five hundred acres each, in 1799, for the support of "schools or academies" in Erie, Franklin, Warren and Waterford;[157] and of five hundred acres to Beaver Academy, in 1800.[158] In a report made by the State Treasurer to the House of Representatives, in 1840, it was stated that the land contributed to colleges, academies and charity schools prior to this year, amounted to 46,948 acres and 48 perches.[159] The academies, however, found this type of benevolence unprofitable, if not burdensome. One, referring to the land grants made to the Episcopal Academy, said that they "were long valuable simply as property to pay taxes on."[160] The land was, indeed, frequently of little value. Deeds of sale show that the income from this source was sometimes meager. Pittsburgh Academy, in 1806, sold eighty-five acres and twenty-nine perches for $116.13,[161] although, between this year and 1823, it received from the sale of lands about $19,000, which was to be paid by the purchasers in installments.[162] Beaver Academy gradually sold its five hundred acres, receiving from seven[163] to twenty-five dollars[164] per acre. In 1830, citizens of Warren county represented to the legislature that the land granted to the Warren

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[151] *Laws of Pa.*, 1839, Act No. 186.

[152] *Supra*, 219.

[153] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XI, 479–83.

[154] *Ibid.*, XI, 527–31.

[155] *Ibid.*, XI, 489–90.

[156] *Ibid.*, XIII, 37.

[157] Smith: *Laws of Pa.*, III, 381–3.

[158] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XVI, 545–66.

[159] *H. R. Jour.*, 1840, II, 449.

[160] Hart, Thomas: The Episcopal Academy—A Résumé. [*The Academy Scholium*, XXXIII, No. 9, June, 1921, 11.]

[161] *Deed Book*, III, 637. [Lawrence Co.]

[162] *Deed Book*, A, 305, 326, 359. [Butler Co.]

[163] *Deed Book*, D, 345–7. [Beaver Co.]

[164] *Ibid.*, L, 384.

Academy was "wild and uncultivated," and asked for $2,000 to enable them to erect an academy.[165] Oil was later discovered on this land,[166] but Superintendent Pressel, of Warren, states that the revenue from this source was small. As late as 1851, Erie Academy sold thirty-two acres and twelve perches for $536, an unusually high figure for these lands.[167] Some of this Erie land had probably been improved, for, in 1824, the trustees made the following announcement, which throws some light on the early value of the land and the difficulty of using it profitably:

> Whereas, sundry persons who have leased Lands of the Trustees, are desirous of giving them up, and have applied to the Trustees to be exonerated from their leases.
>
> Resolved, That all persons who have leased any Lands from the Trustees and are desirous of delivering up all their contracts and leases and who will pay, on or before the first day of December next, all monies due, which were due on their said leases on the first day of July last past, and delivering up their leases into the hands of the Treasurer, shall be exonerated from their said leases.[168]

The second, and most important, mode of public State support took the form of grants of money by the legislature to the academies. To many of these institutions of the county, semi-county, or local type, the legislature, at the time of granting their charters, or at a later date, made a gift usually of $2,000, but occasionally of a larger or lesser amount. In 1797, Washington Academy received $3,000 from the State.[169] In 1798, Bucks County Academy,[170] and Pittsburgh Academy,[171] received four and five thousand dollars, respectively, and, in 1799, York County Academy was the recipient of a gift of $2,000.[172] Henceforth, the gifts usually amounted to $2,000, and it would seem that it was the plan of the legislature to apportion its gifts on a county basis, not more than one academy in a county benefiting, and not more than $2,000 being allowed to each county. Thus, in 1810, the State granted $2,000 to county academies in Bedford,[173] Somerset,[174] Greene,[175] Adams,[176] and Westmoreland[177] counties.

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[165] *MS.* petition, dated Dec. 31, 1830. [State Archives.]

[166] *Deed Book,* XCII, 456–7. [Warren Co.]

[167] *Deed Book,* V, 501. [Erie Co.]

[168] *Erie Gaz.,* Oct. 26, 1824, 3.

[169] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* XV, 591–2.

[170] *Ibid.,* XVI, 62.

[171] *Ibid.,* XVI, 63–4.

[172] *Ibid.,* XVI, 181 *ff.*

[173] *Laws of Pa.,* 1810, CXVII.

[174] *Ibid.*

[175] *Ibid.,* CXX.

[176] *Ibid.,* XCIX.

[177] *Ibid.,* XLIV.

In 1813, however, when the legislature chartered two academies, the Delaware Academy and the Beechwoods Academy, in Pike county, it appropriated $1,000 to each, and in chartering the Lewisburg Academy, in 1840, it stipulated that only one academy in Union county would receive a grant under the act of 1838. In 1840, the State distributed $21,237.33 among academies, and the list shows that, in only a few instances, did more than one academy in a county share in the distribution.[178] According to the report of the State Treasurer, in 1840, the State, prior to 1838, distributed $106,900 among the academies, a sum which represents less than $1,000 for each institution chartered.[179] To stimulate local initiative and support, the legislature often voted its gift on condition that the trustees raise a certain amount by subscription. This was true, for instance, of Indiana Academy,[180] Wellsborough Academy,[181] Ebensburg Academy,[182] Clearfield Academy,[183] and some others. In the case of these academies, the State required the trustees to raise, by subscription, $1,000 as a condition for receiving a $2,000 grant. Much more frequently, however, the grant was unconditional.

From the facts presented, it appears that the main support of the academies came from other sources than the State treasury. Reference can be made to a few academies which were the objects of private benevolence. Donations of wheat and rye were made to Canonsburg Academy in 1794.[184] William Smith, in 1795, granted two acres of land in the town of Huntingdon to the "Trustees of the public grammar and *free* school for the Town and County of Huntington . . . as *incorporated by law*."[185] In 1803, William Montgomery provided, by will, an endowment of £50 per year for Danville Academy.[186] Private gifts were also made to Griersburg Academy, in 1805,[187] to the High German School House in Union county, in 1807,[188] and to Lower Merion Academy, in 1812.[189] In 1813, Abraham Witmer granted to the

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[178] *Rept. of State Supt.*, 1841, 13–4.

[179] *H. R. Jour.*, 1840, II, 449.

[180] *Laws of Pa.*, 1814, CLVI.

[181] *Ibid.*, 1817, CLXXIX.

[182] *Ibid.*, 1819, CXV.

[183] *Ibid.*, 1827, Act No. 23.

[184] Reprint of list of subscribers, in Smith: *Hist. of Jefferson College*, 31.

[185] *Deed Book*, E, 1. [Huntingdon Co.]

[186] *Will Book*, I, 49–53. [Columbia Co.]

[187] *Deed Book*, A, 326. [Beaver Co.]

[188] *Deed Book*, D, 457–8. [Union Co.]

[189] Parsons: The Lower Merion Acad. [*Hist. Soc. Montgomery Co. Sketches*, V, 147–8.]

Commissioners of Clearfield county "three . . . lots of ground in the said Town for the use and benefit of an Academy,"[190] which property the Commissioners transferred to the trustees of Clearfield Academy, in 1830.[191] The Episcopal Academy similarly benefited at the same time.[192] M'Connellsburg English School originated in a grant by Daniel M'Connell of a lot of ground for the purpose,[193] and Loller Academy had a similar origin.[194] Other gifts of land, by private citizens, were made to Curwensville Academy, in 1831,[195] to Eldersridge Academy, in 1876,[196] and to New Britain Seminary, in 1885.[197] How frequently the academies were the objects of private benevolence cannot be stated with much assurance, but the practice seems to have been a fairly common one. Popular subscriptions, also, were probably a frequent source of revenue of the earlier academies. When the Episcopal Academy at York was established, Mr. Campbell, the minister, solicited subscriptions in Philadelphia.[198] A fairly considerable sum was similarly raised in aid of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia,[199] and Germantown Academy also received money in this way.[200] Occasionally, a public academy became the object of denominational gifts. Thus, York County Academy arose out of a gift of a "large two story brick building"[201] by the vestrymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. John to the trustees of the new county academy,[202] and the trustees of Greene Academy, in Greene county, received a similar gift from the local Episcopal church, in 1810.[203] These gifts did not affect the public and non-sectarian character of these institutions. The trustees of the Greene Academy could say, in 1856: "It is held by the Trustees in trust for the county in which it is located . . .

"Established, and claimed as its property by the county . . . this Academy has always heretofore received the warm sympathies and support of the citizens.''[204] York County Academy, too, was established by its charter on a non-sectarian basis.[205]

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[190] *Deed Book,* A, 321. [Clearfield Co.]

[191] *Ibid.,* D, 318–9.

[192] *E. A. M.,* I, 132–3.

[193] *Laws of Pa.,* 1819, CXI.

[194] *Supra,* 233.

[195] *Deed Book,* E, 351. [Clearfield Co.]

[196] *Deed Book,* A, 58, p. 251. [Indiana Co.]

[197] *Deed Book,* 216, p. 480. [Bucks Co.]

[198] *Pa. Gaz.,* Sept. 28, 1785, 3.

[199] Hart, Thomas: The Episcopal Academy—A Résumé. [*Acad. Scholium,* XXXIII, No. 9, June, 1921, 10.]

[200] *G. A. M.,* 1 *ff.*

[201] "York Academy;" *Supra,* 232.

[202] *Stat. at Large of Pa.,* XVI, 181 *ff.*

[203] *Deed Book,* II, 500. [Greene Co.]

In a few cases the State permitted lotteries in aid of academies. This method of raising money was frequently resorted to in colonial days by the trustees of the Philadelphia Academy.[206] Germantown Academy conducted a lottery, in 1761.[207] Lower Dublin Academy was permitted, in 1798, to raise $5,400 in this way,[208] and the Union Academy at Doylestown was permitted, in 1805, to raise $2,000 in a similar fashion,[209] but the practice was seldom indulged in after the close of the eighteenth century.[210]

The main source of revenue of these academies was, undoubtedly, the tuition of students. The State grants were almost universally made on condition that the academies would educate from four to ten poor children gratis, the number generally being placed at four. The following seventh section of the act incorporating York County Academy may be considered typical: ``And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That as soon as the two thousand dollars mentioned in the preceding section shall be paid to the trustees, there shall be admitted into the said academy any number of poor students, who may at any time be offered, in order to be taught gratis, Provided the number so admitted shall at no time be greater than seven, and that none of the said students shall continue longer than two years, if others should offer.''[211] It is now impossible to determine how generally the academies fulfilled this obligation. Some of them made an effort to do so, but probably found it an unusually onerous duty. The Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia, in spite of large land grants, and other sources of revenue, found it difficult to keep its ``Free Schools'' open[212] and was forced to sell some of its property in the city.[213] The trustees of Lancaster County Academy, in 1828, announced regarding this obligation: ``Parents and others disposed to avail themselves of the foregoing provision, are requested to make application for the admission of their children to the Executive Committee.''[214] The trustees of the York County Academy, in 1827, decreed that "at the end of the present quarter . . . the two poor children in Mr. Skinner's school, be dismissed, to make room for others if application be made.''[215] In 1836, these latter trustees further decreed that "Whenever a poor student or students are admitted into the academy the board will not pay more than one half of the usual price of tuition. If the parent or guardian cannot pay the other half, the teacher is required to teach such student . . . without any further compensation than that paid by the board.''[216] It is probable, then, that the State grants to the academies were in many cases considerably lessened in value by this requirement regarding the instruction of the poor, and that the vast majority of the academies had to depend on other means of support, the chief one being that of tuition. The majority of the academies were established by stock companies, the par value of the shares usually running from five to twenty-five dollars. Examples of these are Pottsville Academy,[217] Edinboro Academy,[218] Paxton Male and Female Seminary,[219] and Chestnut Hill Academy.[220] This original support was supplemented by tuition.

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[204] *Catalogue*, 1856, 15.

[205] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XVI, 181 *ff*.

[206] *Supra*, 188.

[207] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 12, 1761, 4.

[208] Carey and Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, V, 300.

[209] Bioren: *Laws of Pa.*, VII, 410.

[210] For extent of use of lotteries in aid of academies see Martin: Lotteries in Pennsylvania Prior to 1833. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLVIII, 77–8, 91–2.]

[211] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XVI, 181 *ff*.

[212] *E. A. M.*, I, 112.

[213] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1822.

The cost of tuition in the academies gradually increased, but it was never very high in the period under consideration. In the English School of the Germantown Academy, in 1761, the tuition was fixed at "forty shillings pr annum.''[221] In 1774, the trustees agreed to employ Thomas Dungan as master of the English School, "on condition that he will use his endeavours to collect from the Parents & masters of such children as may be sent to the school, the pay for their learning at the rate of five shillings p quarter for those who only read & spell, and seven shillings & six pence p quarter for such as learn to write and cypher, and for such as may learn any branch of the Mathks or the Lattin at such rate as they may agree to pay; and for every scholar two shillings & six pence p year to be paid him for providing fire wood.''[222] The students in The William Penn Charter School, under Robert Proud, paid "one Guinea Entrance,'' and "six pounds a year for each Scholar.''[223] When the ''Protestant Episcopal Academy at York-Town,''[224] opened, in 1785, the rates were fixed at £6 per year in the classical and mathematical schools, and £3 per year in the English School, an entrance fee of £1. 15s being also charged.[225] Pittsburgh Academy, in 1794, charged ''five pounds per ann,''[226] Bucks County Academy, in the same year, fixed its rates as follows: ''For reading & writing, 10s per quarter, for reading, writing, arithmetic & English grammar, 12s 6d and for the Greek and Latin languages, & the Higher branches of literature 25s.''[227] A few years later, in 1802, the rates at Strasburg Academy, a proprietary Presbyterian school, were $20 per year.[228] In 1819, Loller Academy advertised that ''the terms for Boarding are one hundred and sixty dollars annually, tuition included.''[229] Germantown Academy announced, in 1826, that ''The rate of boarding will be 110 dollars per annum for youths under 12 years of age, and 135 dollars for those above that age, payable quarterly in advance, exclusive of bed, bedding, and washing. The tuition per quarter in the higher department, 10 dollars; in the lower, 3 dollars per quarter.''[230] In 1827, Northumberland Academy charged $5 per quarter in the classical department, and $3 per quarter in the English department.[231] The following advertisement of Erie Academy, for 1828, represents a plan of tuition which continued far into the century, the rates changing as time went on:

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[214] *Lancaster Intelligencer,* Feb. 19, 1828, 1.

[215] *Y. C. A. M.*, I, 110.

[216] *Ibid.*, I, 140.

[217] *Laws of Pa.*, 1848, Act No. 393.

[218] *Ibid.*, 1850, Act No. 375.

[219] *Ibid.*, 1857, Act No. 304.

[220] *Ibid.*, 1861, Act No. 59.

[221] *G. A. M.*, Feb. 5, 1761.

[222] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1774.

Tuition per quarter of twelve weeks, as follows

Reading, spelling and writing, on slates and paper	2.00
Rudiments of English Grammar and Arithmetic, as far as proportion	2.50
English Grammar by analyzing and parsing sentences.	
Arithmetick beyond proportion, Geography, with the use of the Globes, Rhetorick and History	3.00
Higher branches of Mathematicks, natural and moral philosophy, chymistry, astronomy, Latin and Greek languages	4.00[232]

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[223] *Min. Phila. Mo. Mtg.*, 1–30–1784.

[224] *Supra*, 232, 239.

[225] *Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 28, 1785, 1.

[226] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1794, 3.

[227] *Pa. Gaz.*, June 11, 1794, 3.

[228] *The Intelligencer and Weekly Adv.*, Oct. 27, 1802, 2.

[229] *Pa. Correspondent and Farmers' Adv.*, Oct. 26, 1819, 1.

[230] *Education* [a circular] Sept. 1, 1826. [School Archives.]

[231] *The Miner's Jour. and Schuylkill Coal and Navigation Register*, Dec. 1, 1827, 3.

[232] *Erie Gaz.*, Nov. 6, 1828, 3.

St. Luke's Academy in Pottsville, in 1831, charged $5 per quarter of twelve weeks in the English, $8 in the mathematical, and $10 in the foreign-language department.[233] In 1854, the following announcement of Clearfield Academy appeared:

> At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, August 24, 1854, the following rates and terms were adopted, *viz:*
>
> $2½ per quarter for each scholar learning Orthography, Reading, Writing, Danes Primary Arithmetic, and first lessons in Geography
> $5 per quarter for each scholar pursuing the English studies
> $8 per quarter for each scholar learning Latin and Greek, or either with or without English branches. French $5 per quarter extra.[234]

Subjects for which an "extra" charge was made became numerous as time went on. Thus, Strasburg Academy, for instance, had on its extra charge list, in 1851, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and instrumental music.[235]

The income of the academies depended, then, mainly on their enrollment, and the trustees and teachers seem to have done everything possible to increase the number of their students. Fervent promises of attention to the needs of pupils were held out by the trustees as a lure to parents. The trustees of Bucks County Academy announced: "Those parents who incline to send their children to this Academy for tuition, are assured by the Trustees, that no attention or assiduity will be wanting in themselves or the Teachers, to secure the proficiency of the Scholars, both in manners, learning and morals."[236] The trustees of Northumberland Academy announced, in 1813, that the school was "under the Superintendence and direction of the *Reverend* Isaac Grier . . . whose learning, piety and ability, are eminently calculated to inspire great confidence in those Parents and Guardians, who may feel disposed to place their children and wards under his tuition."[237] Whether or not the practice of providing boarding for students was employed to increase the income of the academies, is not easy to determine, but almost from the start the academies, in many cases, resorted to this plan. The Philadelphia Academy was forced to provide a boarding house in order to attract students.[238] Pittsburgh Academy, in 1794, provided boarding at £20 per year.[239] It was announced, in 1802, that Mrs. Elliott, the wife of the principal of Strasburg Academy, would "accommodate a few pupils at 100 Dollars per annum, for Board and Tuition."[240] The principal of Northumberland Academy, in 1827, undertook to board in his family students from a distance.[241] Unionville Academy, in Chester county, provided boarding for its students, in 1849,[242] and the practice became very general. Where the school had not a boarding house attached, the announcement usually called attention to the desirable boarding facilities in the vicinity. Bucks County Academy announced, in 1794, that "Boarding may be obtained for the Scholars in Newtown and its vicinity, at a reasonable rate."[243] In the Strasburg Academy, a proprietary institution, it was prescribed that all students from a distance board in the principal's family, and this advantage was enhanced by the consideration that the "seclusion" and "moral atmosphere" of the place made it, among schools, one of the most "favorable for intellectual, moral and religious improvement."[244] It was also stated that in this school "The student is . . . preserved from those allurements to vice and extravagance which too generally beset public schools."[245]

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[233] *Miner's Jour.*, April 16, 1831, 3.

[234] *Clearfield Republican*, Aug. 30, 1854, 3.

[235] *Catalogue*, 1851–2, 14–5.

[236] *Pa. Gaz.*, June 11, 1794, 3.

[237] *The Times* [Sunbury], May 28, 1813, 3.

Thus were the academies supported. Their struggle for existence might be very realistically portrayed by a fuller sampling of their advertisements, often of questionable veracity, than can be here presented. Their own probably much exaggerated accounts of their merits and achievements may be found scattered over the pages of the eighteenth and ninteenth century newspapers of the State, in circulars, and the later elaborate catalogues, through which they attracted students, and sought to convince the public of their right to exist. Their financial distress, too, might be concluded from the avidity with which these institutions sought charters from the legislature, after the passage of the act of 1838, in order to obtain a State gift of a

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[238] *Supra*, 205.

[239] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1794, 3.

[240] *The Intelligencer and Wkly. Adv.*, Oct. 27, 1802, 2.

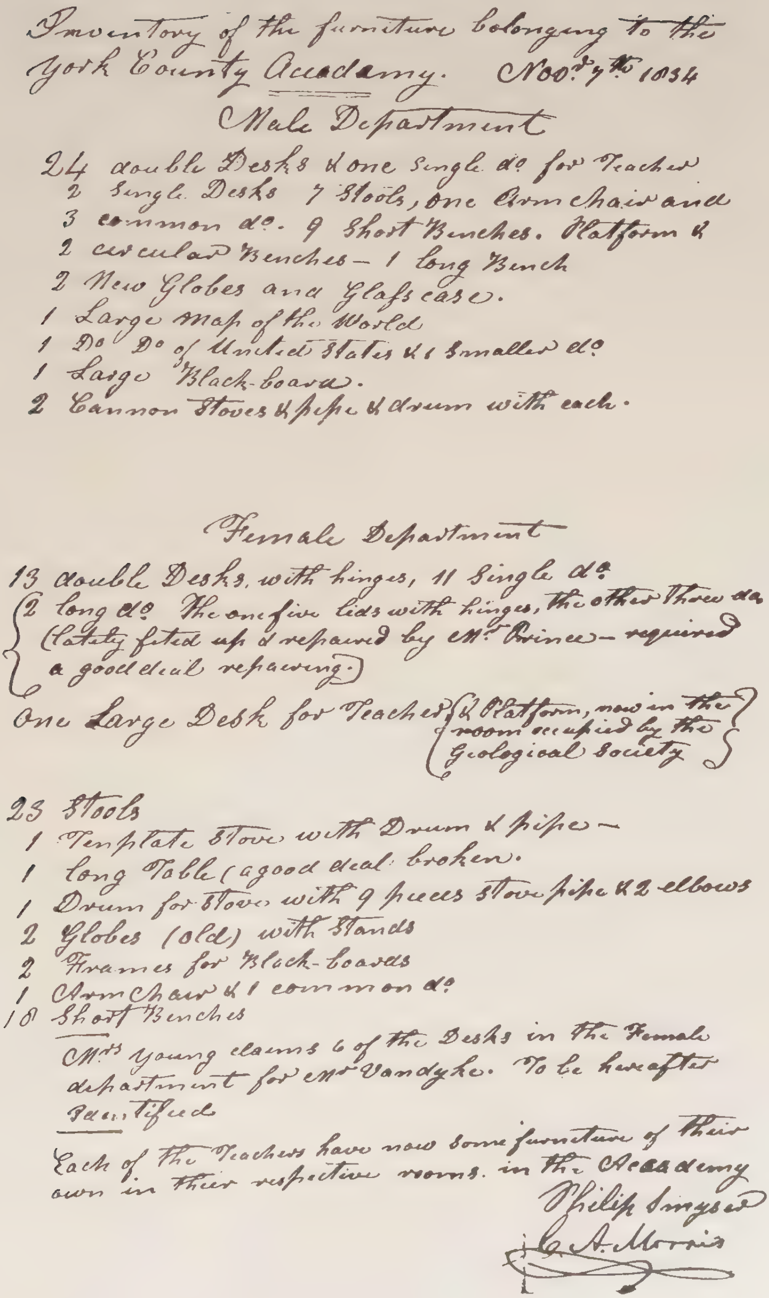
[241] *The Miners' Jour. and Schuylkill Coal and Navigation Register*, Dec. 1, 1827, 3.

[242] *Lancaster Exam. and Herald*, Aug. 29, 1849, 1.

[243] *Pa. Gaz.*, June 11, 1794, 3.

[244] *Catalogue*, 1851–2, 12 *ff*.

[245] *Ibid.*, 12.



Inventory of the furniture belonging to the
York County Acadamy. Novr 7th 1834

Male Department

24 double Desks & one single do for Teacher
2 Single Desks 7 Stools, one Arm Chair and
3 common do. 9 Short Benches. Platform &
2 circular Benches – 1 long Bench
2 New Globes and Glaſs case.
1 Large map of the World
1 Do Do of United States & 1 Smaller do
1 Large Black-board.
2 Cannon Stoves & pipe & drum with each.

Female Department

13 double Desks, with hinges, 11 Single do
2 long do. The one five lids with hinges, the other three do
(lately fited up & repaired by Mr Prince – required
a good deal repairing.)

One Large Desk for Teacher & Platform, now in the
room occupied by the
Geological Society

23 Stools
1 Tinplate Stove with Drum & pipe –
1 long Table (a good deal broken.
1 Drum for Stove with 9 pieces Stove pipe & 2 elbows
2 Globes (old) with Stands
2 Frames for Black-boards
1 Arm Chair & 1 common do
18 Short Benches

Mrs Young claims 6 of the Desks in the Female
department for Mr Vandyke. To be hereafter
Identified

Each of the Teachers have now some furniture of their
own in their respective rooms. in the Academy

Philip Smyser
C. A. Morris

A Glance at The Inside of a County Academy in the Year When The Public School System was Established. From the Original in The Possession of George Hay Kain, York, Pennsylvania.

few hundred dollars a year. The law books, recording the acts of the legislature, for four or five years following the passage of this act, are filled with charters granted to these institutions. Only institutions chartered by the legislature were entitled to grants under this law. Thomas H. Burrowes, in a letter to a committee of the trustees of Germantown Academy, in 1838, informed them of an official interpretation of the act barring every institution "unless it has been or shall be incorporated by direct law of the Legislature."[246] Measured by modern standards, the support of the academies was very meager.

V. *Academies Chartered by County Courts*

What has been said of the academies chartered by the legislature, applies in many particulars to academies chartered by the court of common pleas in the various counties. The first examples of this practice that the writer has found go back to the forties. Thus, Prospect Normal and Classical Academy was chartered, in Butler county, January, 1844.[247] Warren Institute followed a few months later.[248] In the fifties, the practice had become general. The writer has before him the records of charters granted to many academies by the county courts prior to 1910, a tabular statement of which is given elsewhere.[249] It will be seen by this table that more academies were chartered by the local courts than by the legislature itself. This was probably true in other states, as in Pennsylvania. From 1910 on, a few schools, chiefly in the vicinity of Philadelphia, were chartered, as, for instance, Beechwood School, Montgomery County, in 1913,[250] and Valley Forge Military Academy, in 1929.[251] Taking the State as a whole, however, few educational institutions were chartered after 1910.

Many of the academies chartered by the county courts were denominational in character. In 1849, the Collegiate Institute of the Presbytery of Susquehanna was chartered.[252] Other Presbyterian academies followed in the fifties: Witherspoon Institute,[253] and Luzerne Presbyterial Institute,[254] 1850; West Branch High School, in 1852;[255] the High School of Upper Buffalo, in 1853;[256] and others later. Of the denominational academies, the Presbyterian led considerably in numbers. The Evangelical Lutherans were also active, establishing "a seminary or public school" in Union county, in 1855,[257] another in Snyder county in 1858,[258] and another in Clinton county, in 1869.[259] The German Reformed Church appears on the list with its Clarion Collegiate Institute, 1859,[260] and the Protestant Episcopal with Yeates Institute of Lancaster, 1857,[261] and Mary Institute, 1864.[262] The Baptists had such schools as Keystone Academy, chartered by the Luzerne county court, in 1868,[263] and the Hall Institute, in 1888.[264] Mansfield Classical Seminary, in 1854,[265] and Wineland Grove Seminary, in 1882, were chartered as Methodist Episcopal schools.[266] Erie Conference Seminary was incorporated as a school of the United Brethren, in 1881.[267] Among incorporated Roman Catholic institutions, we find the German Catholic High School, of Pittsburgh, in 1862,[268] St. Benedict's Academy of Allegheny City, in 1879,[269] the Roman Catholic High School, Philadelphia, in 1881,[270] the Immaculate Heart Literary Institute, of Chester, in 1890,[271] and St. Edward's High School, of Shamokin, 1892.[272] The Schwenkfelders received a charter for Perkiomen Seminary, in 1892.[273] Of one hundred and seventy-eight academies, thus chartered before 1910, thirty-seven were denominational.

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[246] *G. A. M.*, Nov. 15, 1838.

[247] *Charter Book*, I, 304. [Butler Co.]

[248] *Deed Book*, J, 616. [Warren Co.]

[249] *Infra*, 252.

[250] *Misc. Book*, 80, p. 385. [Montgomery Co.]

[251] *Ibid.*, 125, p. 547; see also *Charter Books*, V, 458, 460; VII, 326, 429, 442; VIII, 425, 566. [Chester Co.]

[252] *Deed Book*, XXXII, 291–6. [Bradford Co.]

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[253] *Deed Book*, R, 339. [Butler Co.]

[254] *Deed Book*, LI, 466. [Luzerne Co.]

[255] *Deed Book*, XXXIII, 873. [Lycoming Co.]

[256] *Deed Book*, 3L, 577–8. [Washington Co.]

[257] *Deed Book*, P, 584. [Union Co.]

[258] *Deed Book*, I, 461. [Snyder Co.]

[259] *Misc. Docket*, 546–8. [Clinton Co.]

[260] *Deed Book*, VI, 452. [Clarion Co.]

[261] *Deed Book*, R8, p. 482. [Lancaster Co.]

[262] *Deed Book*, 2Q, 187–9. [Cumberland Co.]

[263] *Deed Book*, 125, pp. 27–9. [Luzerne Co.]

[264] *Corporation Docket*, I, 525–9. [Mercer Co.]

[265] *Deed Book*, XXV, 210–13. [Tioga Co.]

[266] *Corporation Book*, I, 94. [Westmoreland Co.]

[267] *Charter Book*, I, 364–6. [Erie Co.]

[268] *Charter Book*, I, 307–10. [Allegheny Co.]

[269] *Ibid.*, VI, 157.

[270] *Charter Book*, VI, 143. [Philadelphia.]

[271] *Charter Book*, B, 69. [Delaware Co.]

[272] *Charter Book*, I, 515. [Northumberland Co.]

[273] *Misc. Book*, XXXV, 304. [Montgomery county.] Of forty-eight secondary schools, of which the state superintendent furnished information in 1882, twenty-five were non-sectarian. Of the denominational schools, the Presbyterian were far in the lead in number. This list, however, is very incomplete.

From the viewpoint of purpose, some of these were of the normal and commercial variety. The Prospect Normal and Classical Academy, 1844,[274] Excelsior Normal Institute, 1859,[275] New Brighton Normal Seminary, 1856,[276] the Central Normal School Association of Pennsylvania,[277] and Parnassus Classical and Normal School[278] are on this list. Of the commercial schools we find Pittsburgh Commercial College, 1850,[279] Iron City Commercial College, 1855,[280] the Commercial College, of Warren, 1886,[281] Wilkes-Barre Business College, 1887,[282] American Business College, Allentown, 1895,[283] and a few others. But as a group there was little especially distinctive about these academies. They were very definitely local, and never received any State aid, except perhaps one extraordinary one, "Oswayo Academy or public school," whose charter, granted by the county court in 1845, gave it a legal or illegal right to the public school appropriations and funds of "Sub-District Number one" in Ceres township, McKean county, on condition that the trustees admit, free of charge, to the academy all children of the district, entitled to a common school education, provided, however, that none of these shall receive a higher education "than the Common School Laws of the Commonwealth afford."[284]

These locally chartered academies were, with the exception of the denominational institutions, established and controlled almost universally by stock companies, local citizens probably in most cases being the only participants. How frequently this local institution arose because of the inadequacies of the public schools cannot be determined, but it is significant to find an occasional one created for this reason. In the preamble to the charter of the Joint Stock Academy Association of Ulysses, in

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[274] *Charter Book,* I, 304. [Butler Co.]

[275] *Misc. Book,* XIII, 196. [Bucks Co.]

[276] *Deed Book,* XXXIX, 624. [Beaver Co.]

[277] *Deed Book,* T, 406. [Clinton Co.]

[278] *Corporation Book,* II, 332–4. [Westmoreland Co.]

[279] *Deed Book,* XCIII, 193. [Allegheny Co.]

[280] *Ibid.,* CXX, 63–4.

[281] *Charter Book,* I, 549–51. [Warren Co.]

[282] *Charter Book,* III, 336. [Luzerne Co.]

[283] *Charter Book,* IV, 412. [Lehigh Co.]

[284] *Deed Book,* F, 224–7. [McKean Co.]

Potter county, granted in 1866, it was stated that "our present imperfect system of Common Schools has been found inadequate to meet the yearly increasing wants of general Education in our vicinity."[285] In the following year, the preamble to the charter of Elysburg Academy Association, Northumberland county, embodied the following pointed comment regarding the public schools: "The deficiency of such a system in our community is too well apparent and . . . we are accountable to God for the means which we employ to improve the minds of our children and secure the importance of a higher grade of instruction than can be obtained in our Common Schools."[286]

VI. *The Academy a Bourgeois Institution*

There is considerable evidence in existence to show that the academies of Pennsylvania catered to families on the various economic levels of nineteenth century middle-class society. Many provisions appear in their charters to show that they did not, as a class, cater in any special way to the wants of the upper economic group. Their comparatively democratic character, rather, stands out as one of their most distinguishing marks. With a few exceptions, the price of their stock was placed so low that persons of very ordinary means could become stockholders, and exercise a voice in their control. Thus any one paying $1 toward the erection of a building for the Greenville Academy, Montgomery county, or any resident of Hanover township paying $4 annually for the education of a child in the academy was given the privilege of voting for trustees and officers of the institution.[287] Very frequently the price of the shares was fixed as low as $5, as in the case of the Union Academy of Damascus, 1849,[288] Stewartstown Academy, 1857,[289] Wilkinsburg Academy, 1858,[290] and Chanceford Academy, 1864.[291] It is true that the price of the shares was sometimes high, as in the case of Kishacoquillas Seminary, 1854,[292] where it was fixed at $50 per share, or of Chester Military Academy, 1867, where it was fixed at $250 per share.[293] These, however, were of the exceptional variety and, as a rule, the shares cost from five to twenty-five dollars, a great number of them falling into the five- and ten-dollar groups. There was no difference, in this regard, between the stock-company academies chartered by the legislature and those chartered by the county courts. As a rule, moreover, a very limited amount of capital and a very meager annual income was permitted by the charters. The capital stock of Union Academy of Damascus, in 1850, was limited to $2,000,[294] of Chanceford Academy, in 1864, to $1,000[295] and of Parnassus Classical and Normal Academy, in 1887, to $2.000.[296] The capitalization, however, was frequently much higher. The trustees of Kishacoquillas Seminary, in 1854, were permitted to increase their capital to $12,000.[297] The capital stock of Hollidaysburg Male and Female Seminary was fixed, in 1866, at $30,000,[298] and of McElwain Institute, in 1883, at $50,000.[299] These were exceptional, however, and the great majority were capitalized below the $10,000 mark. The yearly income was sometimes also fixed by the charter, and this, too, was usually very low. That of New Brighton Normal Seminary, in 1856, was limited to $2,000,[300] of Bloomsburg Literary Institute, in 1857, to $3,000,[301] and of Pine Flat Union Academy, in 1867, to $2,000.[302] Similar property limitations were placed on some of the academies chartered by the legislature. Thus the holdings of Danville Academy could not exceed $5,000 in value,[303] and the yearly value of the property of Le Raysville Academy was limited to a similar amount.[304]

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[285] *Misc. Book*, B, 189. [Potter Co.]

[286] *Deed Book*, Z. Z., 540. [Northumberland Co.]

[287] *Misc. Book*, VII, 551–3, 1854. [Montgomery Co.]

[288] *Deed Book*, XVIII, 114–7. [Wayne Co.]

[289] *Deed Book*, 4 B, 1857. [York Co.]

[290] *Charter Book*, I, 100–1. [Allegheny Co.]

[291] *Deed Book*, 4 O, 121–3. [York Co.]

[292] *Deed Book*, F. F., 104. [Mifflin Co.]

Taking many facts like these, found in the charters, and combining them with the low rates of tuition prevailing in the academies, it would appear that this institution was designed for a middle class in society, made up of people on various economic levels. It was cheap enough, probably, to appeal to the average farmer and the small business man, and the élite of a middle-class society could probably find enough of the ornamental and exclusive in it to satisfy their tastes. Though the expenses connected with it were low, as measured by modern standards, it was beyond the reach of those whose income was but sufficient to supply the primary essentials of life, food, clothing and shelter. In academies chartered by the State legislature, and which received grants from the State, provision was made, as has been noted,[305] for the education of a limited number of poor children gratis. The academies thus established and endowed were, however, few in comparison with the total number of such schools established in the State.

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[293] *Deed Book*, U, 2. [Delaware Co.]

[294] *Deed Book*, XVIII, 114–7. [Wayne Co.]

[295] *Deed Book*, 4 O, 121–3. [York Co.]

[296] *Corporation Book*, II, 332–4. [Westmoreland Co.]

[297] *Deed Book*, F. F., 104 *ff*. [Mifflin Co.]

[298] *Letter Book*, I, 67–70. [Blair Co.]

[299] *Incorporation Docket*, I, 364–7. [Mercer Co.]

[300] *Deed Book*, XXXIX, 624. [Beaver Co.]

[301] *Deed Book*, XIV, 599. [Columbia Co.]

[302] *Charter Book*, A, 96–8. [Indiana Co.]

[303] *Laws of Pa.*, 1818, CXIII.

[304] *Ibid.*, 1830, Act No. 16.

VII. *Extent of the Academy Movement*

Thus far we have considered only those institutions which were incorporated by the legislature and the county courts. Nor has any account been given of distinctly girls' schools which, at various times, received charters, because these shall be dealt with elsewhere.[306] An examination of newspaper files preserved in many libraries, newspaper offices, and occasionally private collections,[307] shows that an almost endless array of private schools, of a secondary character, existed in the State throughout almost the entire nineteenth century. They were generally designated by the name "academy," but frequently they were known as "select" schools. Not partaking of the semi-public nature of the academy, the extent and significance of this private institution will be estimated elsewhere.[308] The following table of academies, chartered by the legislature and the county courts, represents fairly completely the growth and extent of the semi-public academy movement in the State. The wide variation in the method of recording charters in the county records, and the fact that in a few counties these records have not been adequately safeguarded, render it probable that a number of charters granted by the county courts of common pleas have not been discovered. It is also probable that some few academies were incorporated by the legislature, whose charters have not been published among the printed laws of the State.

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[305] *Supra*, 240.

[306] *Infra*, 415 *ff*.

[307] Mr. M. Linn, Lewisburg, has in his possession an excellent collection of middle-state newspapers, covering the greater part of the nineteenth century, for the privilege of examining which the writer acknowledges his indebtedness.

[308] *Infra*, 263 *ff*.

TABLE I

CHARTERED ACADEMIES[309]

Chartered by the State		*Chartered by County Courts*	
1780–1789	5	1840–1849	7
1790–1799	6	1850–1859	43
1800–1809	14	1860–1869	25
1810–1819	32	1870–1879	25
1820–1829	10	1880–1889	32
1830–1839	24	1890–1899	32
1840–1849	27	1900–1909	14
1850–1859	24		
1860–1869	13	Total	178
Total	155		

Some general estimates have been made regarding the number of students attending academies in the period immediately following the passage of the act of 1838. For 1838, the number of pupils in twenty-one county academies reporting to the State was 1,188.[310] Two years later there was reported, from fifty-two academies, an enrollment of 2,652 students.[311] In subsequent records to 1843, the last year when the law required a statement of enrollment, the figures, as given in the *Reports of the State Superintendent,* show a slight increase[312] over those of the preceding years. The *Report* for 1841 shows a total enrollment of 4,154 in academies and female seminaries receiving money from the State.[313] This probably represented about one-half of those in secondary schools of this type. The state superintendent estimated that there were, in 1841, a total of 41,743 children who were not enrolled in public schools, academies, or seminaries, but he suggested that some of these were probably instructed in private schools of the condition of which he had no knowledge.[314] The enrollment in the incorporated academies of Pennsylvania probably never rose above 15,000, and many of the academy students were in the lower or elementary grades of these institutions.[315]

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[309] Based upon material collected from the *Laws of Pa.* and records in county courthouses.

[310] *Fourth Annual Report of State Supt.*, 58.

[311] *Sixth Annual Report of State Supt.*, 23.

[312] *Eighth Annual Report of State Supt.*, 8–9.

[313] *Ibid.*, 6, 9.

[314] *Ibid.*, 6.

VIII. *The Passing of the Academy*

In the *Report* of the state superintendent, for 1899, may be found a list of academies, seminaries, and other non-public schools in the State at the close of the century.[316] This list contains the names of "Collegiate and Scientific Institutions and Secondary Schools,"[317] which reported, or did not report, to the State Department. A few of the institutions were colleges, at least in name, and probably some of the schools called "parochial" were little above the elementary in their offerings. Among schools classified as commercial in character were some of the academy type.[318] The information about these institutions furnished by the *Report* is very meager, but, from the names on the list, it would seem that, at this time, there were more than two hundred and fifty schools of the academy or female seminary type, of which the State Department had some knowledge, and which apparently were in operation. A glance at the list will show that nearly two-thirds of the schools, reporting to the Department, were sectarian in character. Of one hundred and twenty-five which reported the date of their organization, eighty-seven were established after 1860, and, of these eighty-seven, by far the most were opened in the eighteen-seventies and eighties.[319] Many long-established Quaker and Moravian schools appeared on the list, while many Roman Catholic schools, established, generally, after 1870, greatly added to the number of the denominational type. Only sixty-three of one hundred and thirty-three reported that they had received a charter.[320] Among these chartered schools we find surviving a few, but only a few, of the ancient non-sectarian academies. Thus, Chambersburg, Germantown, Greersburg, and Harrisburg academies had succeeded in weathering the storms of nearly a century or longer,[321] but these were exceptions to a rule of decay before which many others of the same type had fallen victims, and which Chambersburg and Greersburg were soon to succumb to.[322] The Philadelphia Academy had long before passed from the scene. In 1857, it was in financial straits, because of the falling off in its enrollment.[323] In 1858, a committee reported to the trustees "That it is not obligatory upon the Trustees to keep up a separate Academy as distinguished from the University."[324] Action, however, was postponed. The University *Catalogue* of 1857–58 was the last to publish the program of the Academy, although, as late as 1877, there was still functioning the "Committee on the Academy and Charity School."[325] The Philadelphia Academy was, thus, closed probably in 1858.

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[315] *Infra*, 334 *f*. In 1883, the state superintendent published a list of "private schools," showing a total enrollment of 33,687 in these schools. Many of the schools on this list were undoubtedly unincorporated. [*State Supt. Rept.*, 1883, pp. XLIII–IV.]

[316] *Loc. cit.*, pp. CII–CX; CXLVI–CXLVIII.

[317] *Ibid.*, p. CII.

[318] *Ibid.*, pp. CXLVII–CXLVIII.

[319] *Loc. cit.*, pp. CII *ff*.

[320] *Ibid.*

[321] *Ibid.*

Most of the academies came to an end by the transfer of their property to the directors of public schools in the districts where they were located. The property of the Easton Academy was transferred to the borough in 1835[326] and, in 1849, to the school district.[327] Ebensburg Academy was being used by the district in 1837,[328] but no document has been found to show how the school district got possession of the institution. The Lower Dublin and Bustleton academies were leased at a nominal rent to the Philadelphia district, in 1842 and 1845,[329] Bustleton being entirely converted to public school purposes in 1852.[330] Reading Academy, evidently in financial straits, was offered for sale, in 1838[331] and, by special legislation, its entire property was donated to the school district, in 1850.[332] A transfer of property to school districts was effected in Norristown, 1848;[333] Lebanon, 1852;[334] Strasburg, 1856;[335] Greensburg,[336] Meadville,[337] and Northumberland,[338] 1862; Venango,[339] 1863; Indiana, 1864;[340] Orwigsburg, 1868;[341] Coudersport, 1869;[342] Somerset, 1869;[343] Berwick, 1871;[344] Lewisville,[345] Athens,[346] and Ulysses, 1873;[347] Erie, 1874;[348] Curwensville, 1875;[349] Clearfield, 1876;[350] New Bethlehem, 1877;[351] Beaver, 1879;[352] Brookville, 1883;[353] Doylestown, 1889;[354] Dewart, 1891;[355] Cross Creek, 1896;[356] Warren, 1898;[357] Waterford, 1899;[358] Hanover, 1900;[359] Chambersburg, 1908;[360] West Springfield, 1911;[361] Canonsburg, 1912;[362] Greersburg,[363] and Oley,[364] 1918.

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[322] *Infra,* 255.

[323] *T. U. P. M.,* Oct. 6, Dec. 7, 1857; Jan. 5, 1858.

[324] *Ibid.,* March 2, 1858.

[325] *Catalogue,* 1876–7, 3.

[326] *Laws of Pa.,* 1834–5, Act No. 142.

[327] *Ibid.,* 1848, Act No. 320; *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Oct. 30, 1849.

[328] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Cambria Sch. Dist., July 15, 1837.

[329] *Min. Bd. of Ed. of Oxford, Frankford, Lower Dublin, Byberry, Moreland,* Nov. 28, 1842; Nov. 25, 1844; July 28, 1845; *Min. Bd. of Control,* Oct. 13, 1845.

[330] *Laws of Pa.,* 1852, Act No. 131; *Min. Trustees of Bust. Acad.,* May 20, 1852.

[331] *Berks and Schuylkill Journal,* Aug. 18, 3.

[332] *Laws of Pa.,* 1845, Act No. 185; *Deed Book,* LVII, 625. [Berks Co.]

[333] *Laws of Pa.,* 1848, Act No. 164.

[334] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* July 8.

[335] *Record Book,* O 8, 132. [Lancaster Co.]

[336] *Deed Book,* XLVII, 371–2. [Westmoreland Co.]

[337] *Crawford Democrat,* April 8, 1862, 3; *Deed Book,* III, T, 452. [Crawford Co.]

In all these cases, and the enumeration is probably incomplete, the academy property was donated to the school district. In other instances, the property went to the districts by purchase, sometimes for a small sum, evidently intended to cover an indebtedness of the academy trustees; at other times, for the full value of the property. We find such transactions recorded for Saegerstown, 1855;[365] Shamokin, 1864;[366] West Pittston,[367] and Mount Joy,[368] 1873; East Springfield, 1878;[369] Wyalusing,

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[338] *Laws of Pa.*, 1862, Act No. 301.

[339] *Deed Book*, 83, pp. 427–8. [Venango Co.]

[340] *Laws of Pa.*, 1864, Act No. 660.

[341] *Deed Book*, CI, 527. [Schuylkill Co.] A ninety-nine years' lease, free of rent.

[342] *Laws of Pa.*, 1869, Act No. 916; *Deed Book*, M, 14. [Potter Co.]

[343] *Laws of Pa.*, 1869, Act No. 642.

[344] *Laws of Pa.*, 1871, Act No. 1203.

[345] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1873, 143.

[346] *A. A. M.*, March 14, 1872; March 18, April 14, 1873; Deed of Acad. to School Directors, May 8, 1873. [Spaulding Museum, Athens.] *Deed Book*, 146, p. 105. [Bradford Co.]; *A. A. M.*, May 19, 1881; June 21, 1882.

[347] *Laws of Pa.*, 1873, Act No. 724.

[348] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 31, 1874; Sept. 2, 1875; *Deed Book*, 214, p. 747–9; *Ibid.*, 217, p. 573.

[349] *Deed Book*, XII, 14. [Clearfield Co.]

[350] *Ibid.*, 273–4.

[351] *Deed Book*, XXVI, 260. [Clarion Co.]

[352] *Deed Book*, LXXX, 436–9. [Beaver Co.]

[353] *Deed Book*, XLIV, 138–40. [Jefferson Co.]

[354] *Deed Book*, 231, p. 134. [Bucks Co.]

[355] *Deed Book*, CV, 178. [Northumberland Co.]

[356] *Catalogue of Cross Creek H. School*, 1904–5.

[357] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, III, 223–4, 227, 266.

[358] *W. A. M.*, June 8, 15, 23, 1899; Sept. 24, 1900; *Deed Book*, 129, p. 86. [Erie Co.]

[359] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, IV, 9, 304.

[360] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, March 16, 1908. A 99 years' lease—*Deed Book*, CL, 333. [Franklin Co.]

[361] *Deed Book*, 187, p. 348. [Erie Co.]

[362] *Deed Book*, 408, p. 259–60. [Washington Co.]

[363] *Article Book*, XXV, 18. [Beaver Co.] A twenty-five year lease.

[364] *Min. Trustees Oley Acad.*, Jan. 9, April 8, 1916; Jan. 19, 1918.

[365] *Laws of Pa.*, 1855, Act No. 342.

[366] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, March 7, April 11, 1864.

[367] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 24, 1873.

[368] *Deed Book*, I 10, 519. [Lancaster Co.]

[369] *Deed Book*, XLI, 248. [Erie Co.]

1880;[370] Ferguson township, Centre county, 1888;[371] Loystown, 1893;[372] Mount Pleasant, 1904;[373] and Port Royal, 1914.[374]

Still other academies developed into colleges and State normal schools, or transferred their property to these institutions. In 1819, it was announced that the property of the Pittsburgh Academy would "probably soon be transferred to the 'Western University of Pennsylvania.' "[375] The actual transfer seems to have taken place in 1822, as an Academy student of the time later recalled.[376] Union Academy, of Uniontown, became the property of Madison College, in 1827,[377] and Lancaster Academy was similarly transferred to Franklin College, in 1840.[378] The State Normal School at Mansfield seems to have been the first to have evolved from an academy, the Mansfield Classical Seminary. The gentleman who helped to establish the Seminary said that, in 1861, "hardly a term of the Court passed without the Seminary being advertized for sale by the sheriff," and that the trustees decided to ask the State to recognize the institution as a normal school.[379] In 1863, this school was advertised under the titles "State Normal School For the 5th District, Pennsylvania, and Mansfield Classical Seminary,"[380] and "Mansfield Classical Seminary and State Normal School."[381] In the same year, Edinboro Academy was being similarly recognized by the State,[382] and Millersville Academy, chartered in 1855, applied for recognition as a normal school under the act of May 20, 1857, and was chartered as such, in 1863.[383] In 1866, the Maxatawny Seminary, became the Keystone State Normal School.[384] In 1868, a similar transformation of the Bloomsburg Literary Institute was planned,[385] although the change was not legally accomplished until 1909, when the name was changed to "Bloomsburg Literary Institute and State Normal School of the Sixth District," the original stockholders and contributors being allowed to elect nine of the trustees, the state superintendent being granted the power of appointing nine others.[386] In 1869, an academy at California was undergoing a similar transformation.[387] In 1870, the trustees of West Chester Academy were authorized to convert their institution into a State normal school[388] and, in 1887, the property of Carrier Seminary of western Pennsylvania was transferred to the Clarion State Normal School.[389] Thus is accounted for the passing of a few academies and the rise of some of our normal schools.

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[370] *Deed Book,* CLVII, 438. [Bradford Co.]

[371] *Deed Book,* LIV, 535. [Centre Co.]

[372] *Deed Book,* CXLV, 81–2. [Beaver Co.]

[373] *Deed Book,* 303, p. 241. [Washington Co.]

[374] Deed of property of Airy View Academy to School District. Possession of W. E. Towsey, Sec. of Bd. of Ed.

[375] *Pitt. Gaz.,* April 20, 1819, 4.

[376] M'Candless, Wilson: [An Address]. *Proceedings and Addresses at the Reopening of the Western University of Pa.,* 1856, 7.

[377] *Laws of Pa.,* 1827, Act No. 47.

[378] *Deed Book,* S. 6, p. 46. [Lancaster Co.]

[379] Elliott, Simon B: *Historical Address Delivered at the State Normal School, Mansfield,* 1890, 21.

[380] *Bradford Argus,* Aug. 6, 1863, 2.

[381] *The Agitator* [Tioga], April 22, 1863, 3.

[382] *Laws of Pa.,* 1863, Act No. 343. As late as 1913–14 the legal title of this school was "The Edinboro Academy and the Edinboro State Normal School"—*Deed Book,* 202, p. 244. [Erie Co.]

[383] *Deed Book,* D 9, 530. [Lancaster Co.]

[384] Deatrick [chairman]: *The Centennial Hist. of Kutztown,* 244.

Many other academies were sold by their trustees, probably in most cases to save the investment of stockholders, or to meet financial obligations. Thus ended Abbeville Institute, 1840;[390] and academies at Bloomfield, 1855;[391] Lock Haven, 1867;[392] Pleasant Valley, 1871;[393] Elysburg, 1888;[394] Danville, 1897;[395] Eau Clair, 1902,[396] and Elderton, 1909.[397]

Others were sold at sheriff's sales, as for instance, academies at Berwick, 1847;[398] Honesdale, 1861;[399] Pottsville, 1863;[400] Butler,[401] and North East, 1878;[402] Frankfort, 1880;[403] Allentown,

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[385] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1868, 83.

[386] *Misc. Book,* IX, 483–8. [Columbia Co.]

[387] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1869, p. XI.

[388] *Laws of Pa.*, 1870, Act No. 353.

[389] *Deed Book,* CIV, 427. [Clarion Co.]

[390] *Deed Book,* Q 6, 468. [Lancaster Co.]

[391] *Min. of Co. Commissioners,* Perry Co., Aug. 7, 8, 1855. For information regarding interesting connection of the county commissioners with this school, see *Auditor's Rept. Book* of Perry Co., for 1853 and 1854—not paged; *Journal of County Commissioners,* April 7, Oct. 31, Dec. 5, 1853; Jan. 6, 1854. [Perry Co.]

[392] *Deed Book,* R, 282. [Clinton Co.]

[393] *Deed Book,* 4–V, 454. [Washington Co.]

[394] *Deed Book,* 99, p. 542. [Northumberland Co.]

[395] *Deed Book,* XVIII, 470–1. [Montour Co.]

[396] *Deed Book,* 207, p. 17. [Butler Co.]. No record of a charter has been found.

[397] *Deed Book,* 174, p. 310. [Armstrong Co.]

[398] *Deed Book,* XIII, 22. [Columbia Co.]

[399] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 12, 1861.

[400] *Deed Book,* LXXIII, 130. [Schuylkill Co.]

[401] *Sheriff's Deed Book,* III, 830. [Butler Co.]. Witherspoon Institute.

[402] *Sheriff's Deed Book,* F, 601. [Erie Co.]. Lake Shore Seminary.

[403] *Sheriff's Deed Book,* III, 67, 175. [Beaver Co.]

1881;[404] Orangeville, 1884;[405] Slippery Rock, 1911;[406] and at Mercer, 1924.[407]

In a few cases the original name of the academy was changed, or its property transferred to another academy. Thus, the name of Wilkes-Barre Academy was changed, in 1838, to Wyoming Academy,[408] and the property of Williamsport Academy was transferred to the Williamsport Dickinson Seminary,[409] in 1848, as were most of the possessions of Butler Academy to Witherspoon Institute, in 1866–67, when the school district refused the property because of the obligation of educating pupils from the county.[410]

At the close of the first quarter of the present century, there had been a considerable falling off in the number of academies. Dr. Robert Cole, of the University of North Dakota, found fifty-two non-Catholic private boys' and coeducational schools in the State for the year 1924–25.[411] Of these, thirty-one were non-sectarian, the others belonging to various Protestant groups, the Quakers leading very materially in the number of schools. The writer has reason to question the date of origin claimed by a few of the schools on this list, the claim being based upon the assumption that a change in ownership or control has not interfered with the historical continuity of the institution. One ancient and notable institution,[412] Nazareth Hall, has come to its end since Cole wrote. News of its closing received wide publicity.[413] Other ancient institutions surviving in 1924–25, about whose continuous identity and secondary character, over a long period of time, there can be no doubt, were, in the order of their establishment, The William Penn Charter School, Germantown Academy, Harrisburg Academy, Episcopal Academy, and Westtown School.[414] All of these, with the exception of the first, which was established in 1689, date from the latter half of the eighteenth century. Of the whole fifty-two schools, thirty-five were established since 1860, fourteen of them falling into the period 1900–1925. Probably not more than eight of the surviving academies have come down to us from the period 1800–1860.[415] Thus, in one way or another, the old academies passed from the scene to be replaced, as we shall see, by the public high school.

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[404] *Deed Book,* LXIX, 37. [Lehigh Co.]

[405] *Deed Book,* LIII, 309. [Columbia Co.]. Sold by sheriff for $200 to meet a debt of about $50.

[406] *Deed Book,* 136, p. 234. [School known by name Rose Point Academy.]

[407] *Deed Book,* S XII, 94. [Mercer Co.]

[408] *Laws of Pa.,* 1838, Act No. 96.

[409] Gray, Rev. Edward J.: *Historical Sketch of W. Dickinson Sem.,* 3–4. [1876.]

[410] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* I, 55, 62, 120; *Deed Book,* XVII, 415–7. [Butler Co.]

[411] *Private Secondary Education for Boys in the United States,* Appendix A.

[412] Adams: *Some Famous American Schools,* 15 *ff.*

[413] *Vide N. Y. Times,* June 9, 1929. Sec. 2, p. 1.

[414] Cole: *Op. cit.,* Appendix A.

IX. *Reasons for the Decline of the Academy*

In investigating the academy movement in the State, the writer has interviewed many students of academies that have long since disappeared from the educational field. Among the older generation, he has found surviving an intense interest in the local academies of the past. In answer to an inquiry into the reasons for the closing of academies, he has been given three with regard to which he has found a fair degree of unanimity: first, that parents could not afford to pay twice for the education of their children and, consequently, sent them to the public school; second, that the academies employed a poorer type of teacher than the public institution; and, third, that the growing popularity of the normal schools seriously lessened the demand for the less practical work of the academy. It is likely that the first and third of these alleged causes contributed to the decline of many institutions, and that, with the decline, the trustees were frequently forced, because of financial circumstances, to employ teachers of questionable ability and qualifications. As early as 1838, B. D. Prince, of the York County Academy, wrote the trustees as follows: "The Female Department in the Academy, under my care, has been gradually declining since the establishment of Common Schools. The reason generally given by parents for withdrawing their daughters, is that the school tax is high, and that they cannot afford to pay the tax and tuition at the same time, and that they ought to have part of the benefit of their money paid to Common Schools."[416] The trustees of Stroudsburg Academy, in 1884, said that the public school system led to their closing the Academy.[417] In 1916, the trustees of Oley Academy, Berks county, decided to turn over their property to the township school board, because the State had made provision for township high schools, and public sentiment favored the new institution.[418] On January 9, 1918, when the trustees met for the last time, there were entered on the *Minutes* the following tribute to the teachers of the Academy, and expression of opinion regarding the decline of Oley and other academies: They "were all capable men under whose leadership the institution exerted a notable influence and gave a distinct uplift to the cause of education not only in Oley Township but in the surrounding townships and throughout the County. The prominence to which State Normal Schools attained and the advantages which they afforded to the students caused the old time academies to decline . . . the Oley Academy being the last of these institutions in Berks County."[419] Between these two extremes of time, and when the public high school was attracting attention, another, in 1873, discussed the causes of the decline of the academies. The first cause he assigned was poverty, which compelled trustees to appoint as teachers young men who were trying to save enough money to pay their tuition in colleges and professional schools. The second was the inaccessibility of some academies established by parents, chiefly for the benefit of their own children. The third was State neglect, and the requirement that, in return for a patch of land or a few thousand dollars, they should teach a number of children gratis. "Some of them," he said, "died under the heavy burden of such a 'donation.' "[420]

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[415] *Ibid.* The writer hesitates to settle questions of dates of individual institutions, because such details have no vital relation to this study.

[416] Letter, dated Jan. 3, 1838. Possession of George Hay Kain, York.

[417] *Deed Book*, XXXIV, 181–2. [Monroe Co.]

To all of these ought to be added the rise of the free public high school, which in many cases was made possible, or hastened, by the transfer of academy property.[421] Evidence exists that in some cases the public school directors kept clamoring for academy property, until the trustees consented to abandon their trust. From 1854 until 1874, when a part of the property was transferred, the directors of Erie made repeated efforts to get control of the Erie Academy,[422] but the entire holdings of the trustees were not transferred until 1916.[423] The academy continued to be advertised in the Erie newspapers until 1880, when such announcements seem to have ceased.[424] The trustees of the Harrisburg Academy, in 1867, refused the petition of the directors of the public schools for the transfer of their property in the following words:

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[418] *Min. of Trustees.* Jan. 20, March 24, April 7, 1916.

[419] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1918.

[420] Shumaker: Public High Schools. [*P. S. J.*, XXI, 311–313.]

[421] *Infra*, 478 *f.*

[422] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 29, Nov. 10, 1854; March 2, 1855; March 31, 1857; May 29, Dec. 31, 1874; Sept. 2, 1875.

[423] *Deed Book*, 214, p. 747–9; *Ibid.*, 217, p. 573. [Erie Co.]

> On the 14th day of April 1809 the Legislature of this State passed an act entitled “An Act to establish an Academy in the Borough of Harrisburg in the County of Dauphin for the education of youth in the useful arts, sciences, and Literature.”
>
> The Harrisburg Academy is therefore the oldest incorporated institution of learning in the County of Dauphin. For nearly sixty years it has been identified with the History of the City and during this long period has answered the design of its foundation in furnishing instruction in what pertains to a liberal education; and for most of the time has been the only school which prepared the youth of our town for college. It was designed to be a permanent benefit to the community in promoting the interests of advanced learning; and as, in the judgment of this Board of Trustees, there exists no grounds for alienating the trust committed to their keeping; and as they consider it their duty to hold the academy and property belonging thereto as it has been held for more than half a century past, and so transmit it to their successors.
>
> Therefore, Resolved . . . that it is deemed inexpedient to have any negotiations with the Board of Control of the Public Schools with “a view to transferring the property of the Harrisburg Academy to that Board.”[425]

Harrisburg Academy was fortunate in being able to survive, for others fought against the Fates and lost. In 1897, the trustees of the Waterford Academy unanimously adopted the following resolution: “Whereas the academy has been steadily declining in interest and the number of students under the present faculty and whereas in our opinion, under present conditions, there is no reasonable prospect of any better state of affairs or any increase of attendance, and whereas we are of the unanimous opinion that the fault lies with the teachers, therefore resolved that we dismiss each and all of the present faculty.”[426] Two years later, the trustees transferred their property to the directors of the public schools with the provision that “a high school, commonly known as a twelve grade school”[427] be established. The school board refused the property under this condition, and the trustees voted

[424] *Erie Gaz.*, July 25, 1880, 3.

[425] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, March 5, 1867.

[426] *W. A. M.*, March 9, 1897.

[427] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1899.

unanimously to transfer their holdings under the terms of the law of 1862.[428] Pious wishes and good intentions, however, were not sufficient to save an institution that many powerful forces had been opposing almost from the very time when it was first established.

X. *Present Status of Non-Public Secondary Education*

The records of the State Department of Public Instruction, for 1930, show that there were, in that year, one hundred and ninety-two "four year private secondary schools" in the State.[429] Of these, fifty-eight were listed as girls' schools,[430] thirty-four as boys' schools. The remaining one hundred and one schools were coeducational. Of the entire number, one hundred and twenty-six, or approximately two-thirds, were Roman Catholic. Of the non-Catholic schools, twenty-three were exclusively for girls, and fifty-three coeducational or exclusively boys' schools.[431] Between 1924 and 1929,[432] there was no change in the number of non-Catholic "private" secondary schools. Cole enumerated one hundred and fifty-five Catholic schools, while only one hundred and twenty-six appeared on the list of the State Department in 1930. The seeming discrepancy is explained by the fact that the former enumeration included all secondary schools, the latter only those accredited by the State Department. A few conclusions follow from the facts presented regarding the academies: That, while it is futile to attempt to determine at what time they enjoyed the greatest prosperity both in the number actually in operation, and in their student enrollment, few of them ever enjoyed a long continuous existence; that, while individual schools of the academy type have not given promise of permanence, except in a few cases, the type itself has been permanent, and promises to hold its place as a serviceable institution in the State; and that the non-Catholic "private" schools do not show a tendency to increase in number, while Roman Catholic schools, with the designation "high school" have been rapidly increasing since 1900.

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[428] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1899; *Supra*, 223.

[429] *List of Accredited Secondary Schools*, Bulletin No. 46, 8 *ff*.

[430] The Carson Long Institute was erroneously listed as a girls' school.

[431] One of these last, Swarthmore Preparatory School, has been closed recently. This school was proprietary, but one of very few of its type existing in 1930—See Cole: *Op. cit.*, Appendix A.

[432] *Cf.* Cole: *Op. cit.*, Appendix A, and *List of Accredited Private Secondary Schools*, Bulletin No. 46, Dept. of Public Instruction, Pa., 1930, 8 *ff*.

CHAPTER IX

UNINCORPORATED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I. *The Private School after the Revolution*

The schools of the private colonial teachers have already been described. Throughout almost the entire nineteenth century, this type of school continued to play a fairly significant rôle in the general educational practices of the State. Not only because these schools represented an expansion of educational opportunities, but, as well, because no attempt has ever been made to examine the nature of their work and the extent of their influence, it is proposed in the present chapter to trace the development of this type of institution in the State.

Prior to 1784, the private master confined his activities chiefly to Philadelphia. Complete files of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* the *Pennsylvania Packet,* and *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser,* for the period following the Revolution,[1] carry in almost every issue many advertisements of these teachers, showing that they became even more numerous in the new era of independence. The most noticeable change of a general nature in their work, immediately following the Revolution, appears from the fact that French teachers, and teachers of French, constituted a greater percentage of the whole group than in the period prior to 1784.[2]

Outside of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh soon attracted these adventurers. Thomas Touset had a Latin and English school here in 1788.[3] Others followed, advertising French, dancing, and evening schools.[4] In other districts of the State, they had made their appearance before 1800. James Grier kept a classical school in Deep Run, Bucks county, in 1788;[5] John McPherrin, a similar school in Derry township, Westmoreland county, in 1797.[6] In 1800, William Hara was teaching an advanced mathematical school in "Hannah's Town," in the same county.[7] Nicholas Ferdinand Westphal, after seven years of teaching in Philadelphia, opened a French and German school in York, in 1789.[8] A number of private masters taught in Lancaster during the last five years of the century.[9] Among the Germans, the private teacher also made an early appearance. In 1789, William Jones announced, in German, that he kept an English school in Reading, in which he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, surveying, bookkeeping and gauging.[10] By 1800, then, the private school had made its appearance not only in larger population centres, but in smaller, and sometimes rural, communities.

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[1] In collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] *E.g., Pa. Pack.,* April 22, 1784, 3; Aug. 26, 1784, 4; Oct. 21, 1785, 3; *Pa. Gaz.,* Jan. 5, 1785, 1.

[3] *Pitt. Gaz.,* Jan. 12, 1788, 2.

[4] *Ibid.,* Nov. 2, 1793, 4; Jan. 4, 1794, 2; Jan. 16, 1796, 3.

[5] *Pa. Gaz.,* Nov. 19, 1788, 4.

[6] *Pitt. Gaz.,* June 3, 1797, 1.

[7] *Farmers' Register,* Feb. 8, 1800, 3.

II. *Developments in the Nineteenth Century*

After 1800, schools of this type gradually spread throughout the State, and became very numerous after 1850. As evidence of this widespread development, we present, from among the advertised schools, a few selected from a long list collected almost entirely from newspapers in various parts of the State.[11] This list has been chosen from a mass of similar material collected chiefly from newspapers, published prior to 1900. It contains a reference to some seventy-eight schools of this type, running over the entire century, and representing many and widely scattered sec-

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[8] *Pa. Herald and York Gen. Adv.*, Nov. 11, 1789, 3.

[9] *Lancaster Jour.*, June 17, 1795, 1; Oct. 16, 1795, 3; Oct. 30, 1795, 4; May 12, 1798, 4; *The Intelligencer and Weekly Adv.*, July 31, 1799, 3; Nov. 27, 1799, 3; March 19, 1800, 2; Aug. 25, 1800, 1.

[10] *Readinger Zeitung*, May 6, 1789, 3.

[11] James M'Lean, Greensburg, 1800. [*Farmer's Register*, May 10, 1800, 3]; Charles Fortman, Norristown, 1803. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, May 13, 1803, 4]; Richard Dougherty, Carlisle, 1800–1812. [*Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gaz.*, Dec. 4, 1812, 4]; Lewis Kreider, Harrisburg, 1806. [*Dauphin Guardian*, April 22, 1806, 1]; Joseph Jeffers, Donegal, 1809. [*The Intelligencer and Wkly. Adv.*, Jan. 3, 1809, 3]; John Comly, Pleasant Hill, 1810. [*Pa. Corres. and Farmer's Adv.*, July 23, 1810, 1]; William Morrow, near Washington, 1810. [*The Reporter*, Sept. 10, 1810, 4]; Joseph Parkes, Somerset, 1817. [*The Somerset Whig*, Dec. 14, 1817, 3]; Joshua Davies, Reading, 1818. [*The Berks and Schuylkill Jour.*, Oct. 24, 1818, 1]; James Maginness, Harrisburg, 1818. [*The Oracle of Dauphin*, May 2, 1818, 4]; Joshua Hoopes, Downingtown, 1820. [*Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, July 26, 1820, 4]; Thomas Evans, Chambersburg, 1820. [*Franklin Repository*, March 7, 1820, 3]; F. W. G. Camp, Erie, 1820. [*Erie Gaz.*, July 1, 1820, 3]; J. Drocourt, Washington, 1820. [*Washington Exam.*, Oct. 2, 1820, 3]; J. Webber, Greencastle, 1821. [*Franklin Repository*, Dec. 4, 1821, 3]; William Johnson, Buckingham, 1821. [*Pa. Corres. and Farmer's Adv.*, March 6, 1821, 3]; John Cunningham, East Nottingham, 1823. [*Am. Republican*, Oct. 16, 1823, 3]; D. F. Barstow, Towanda, 1825. [*The Bradford Settler*, Nov. 17, 1825, 3]; John M'Cullough, Williamstown, 1827. [*Lancaster Intelligencer*, March 27, 1827, 3]; A. B. Grosh, Marietta, 1827. [*Marietta Pioneer*, Oct. 24, 1827, 3]; William M'Gowan, Greensburg, 1827. [*Greensburg Gaz.*, June 1, 1827, 1]; Samuel Martin, Chanceford, 1827. [*The Hanoverian*, March 27, 1828, 3]; Frederick Bogan, Hanover, 1828. [*Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1828, 3]; Samuel S. Griscom, Claremont, 1828. [*Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, July 31, 1828, 4]; Henry Prizer, Trappe, 1829. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*,

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March 25, 1829, 3]; Richard Catley, Danville, 1829. [*Danville Intelligencer,* May 5, 1829, 3]; G. W. Nassau, Montgomery Square, 1829. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.,* Aug. 5, 1829, 3]; Philip Linsch, Lebanon, 1830. [*Der Libanoner Morgenstern,* Jan. 29, 1830, 3]; D. J. Rhoads, Lawtonville, 1830. [*The Miner's Jour.,* Nov. 27, 1830, 1]; Day and Skinner, Carlisle, 1830. [*The Am. Volunteer,* June 17, 1830, 3]; George Bell, Lewistown, 1830. [*Mifflin Eagle,* Dec. 9, 1830, 3]; Gayley and Hardy, Pottsville, 1831. [*The Miner's Jour.,* Feb. 5, 1831, 3]; J. M'Nair, Hatborough, 1831. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.,* Oct. 19, 1831, 3]; Andrew Leffingwell, Meadville, 1833. [*Crawford Messenger,* April 10, 1833, 3]; John St. Clair, New Berlin, 1833. [*The Union Times,* Nov. 8, 1833, 3]; Baynard Hall, Bedford, 1834. [*Bedford Gaz.,* June 13, 1834, 3]; Mr. Jones, Chester, 1834. [*Upland Union,* Aug. 5, 1834, 4]; Daniel Stone, Alleghenytown, 1837. [*Harris Pittsburgh Business Directory,* 1837, Adv. sect.]; John M. Bear, Marple, 1838. [*Upland Union,* May 29, 1838, 1]; E. F. Bleck, Bethlehem, 1845. [*Public Ledger,* Aug. 6, 1845, 3]; Joseph Foulke, Gwynedd, 1845. [*Ibid.,* Aug. 7, 1845, 3]; C. D. Sackit, Mead Corners, 1846. [*Crawford Democrat,* Aug. 14, 1846, 3]; James Nourse, Perryville, 1848. [*Lewistown Gaz.,* May 13, 1848, 3]; J. A. Hall, Huntingdon, 1849. [*The Globe,* July 3, 1849, 3]; Robert Audley Browne, New Castle, 1850. [*The Lawrence Jour.,* June 1, 1850, 3]; S. T. Van Sant and Henry Miller, Turbutville, 1850. [*Danville Intelligencer,* Nov. 22, 1850, 3]; R. K. Burns, Plainfield, 1851. [*Am. Democrat,* July 24, 1851, 3]; Mr. Alonzo, Monongahela City, 1852. [*The Monongahela Republican,* Aug. 20, 1852, 3]; H. J. Campbell, Shirleysburg, 1852. [*Huntingdon Globe,* Aug. 25, 1852, 3]; Louis Ambsler and T. W. B. McFadden, Schellsburg, 1852. [*Bedford Gaz.,* May 14, 1852, 3]; Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, Waynesboro, 1854. [*Village Record,* Aug. 24, 1854, 2]; Mrs. M. E. Slentz, near Franklin, 1855. [*Venango Spectator,* Nov. 14, 1855, 2]; Mr. and Mrs. Phelps, Waynart, 1855. [*Wayne County Herald,* Aug. 9, 1855, 3]; John M. Lukens, Eaglesmere, 1855. [*The Keystone,* Sept. 12, 1855, 3]; E. Dean Dow, Easton, 1855. [*Catalogue,* 1854–5]; W. S. Parsons, Wilkes-Barre, 1856. [*Record of the Times,* Oct. 8, 1856, 3]; H. W. Walker, Lewisburg, 1857. [*Lewisburg Chronicle,* Sept. 18, 1857, 4]; Rupp and Coyle, Mechanicsburg, 1857. [*Wkly. Gaz.,* Jan. 1, 1857, 3]; Richard Curran and J. B. Osborn, Mooresville, 1858. [*Huntingdon Globe,* April 21, 1858, 3]; James Dickson, Northumberland, 1864. [*Northumberland Democrat,* Dec. 30, 1864, 4]; S. W. Corwin, Milford, 1864. [*The Northern Eagle,* July 19, 1864, 4]; Simon S. Miller and William C. Kremer, Sunbury, 1866. [*Northumberland Democrat,* May 5, 1866, 3]; F. M. L. Gillelen, Newville, 1866. [*The Star of the Valley,* March 3, 1866, 3]; H. Alexander, Columbia, 1867. [*Ibid.,* Sept. 21, 1867, 1]; Price and Berkheimer, Woodberry, 1869. [*Bedford Inquirer,* July 30, 1869, 3]; J. K. Davis, Stroudsburg, 1869. [*Monroe Democrat,* Sept. 2, 1869, 3]; A. R. Williams, Oil City, 1874. [*Oil City Derrick,* Aug. 11, 1874, 1]; J. M. Hantz, Uniontown, 1876. [*The Genius of Liberty,* Aug. 17, 1876, 3]; S. H. Piersol, Bridgewater, 1877. [*Beaver Valley News,* March 8, 1877, 3]; A. P. Deemer, Lycippus, 1878. [*Tribune and Herald,* March 12, 1878, 1]; W. S. McPherran, Punxsutawney, 1882. [*Brookville Republican,* March 29, 1882, 3]; R. H.

tions of the State. Only boys' and coeducational schools are represented. The writer has in his possession similar announcements of more than twelve times the number of boys' and coeducational schools on this list, and because it is physically impossible for one investigator to make note of the endless array of schools whose announcements have been preserved, the total material which he has collected is but a sampling of what exists, although in it is represented nearly one thousand boys' and coeducational schools. This figure would be considerably increased by the addition of similar facts regarding girls' schools which he has collected.[12] It would appear reasonable to assume that, in the nineteenth century, between fifteen and twenty thousand schools of this type were established in Pennsylvania. Nor is it true that they were all mere bubbles on a surf, flourishing for a term or two, and then passing out of the scene forever. Many of them continued to prosper for years, and many of them were more virile and serviceable than some of the chartered and endowed academies. They probably exceeded by four or five to one, in any one year, prior to 1880, the regularly incorporated schools of the State. In reporting educational conditions to the State Department, the county superintendents frequently referred to these private schools. County Superintendent Woodruff, of Chester county, in 1866, reported as follows:

> *Educational Agencies.*—The principal ones are private schools. Of these there are about 50 in the county. They are of all grades, from the most superficial, taught by persons who have failed at public examinations, to the most thorough, taught by some of the most accomplished scholars in the county. These schools, comprising altogether between 2,000 and 3,000 pupils, the most of whom belong in the county, should be taken into account in estimating our educational appliances.[13]

In the same year, it was said of Lebanon county:

Trach, Easton, 1884. [*Danville Intelligencer*, Aug. 22, 1884, 3]; W. F. D. Smart, Beaver Falls, 1886. [*Daily News*, Sept. 16, 1886, 2]; A. J. Schissler, Norristown, 1887. [*Twelfth Annual Prospectus of Schissler College of Business*]; Anderson and Ralph, Butler, 1888. [*Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 6, 1888]; J. L. Grove, McConnellsburg, 1890. [*Fulton Democrat*, Sept. 10, 1890, 3; also, documents in custody of Mrs. C. Patterson, McConnellsburg]; Messrs. Miller and Butler, DuBois, 1892. [*Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 8, 1892] and Samuel Earp, Oil City, 1900. [*Oil City Directory*, 1900, II, 64.]

[12] *Infra*, 404 *ff*.

[13] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1866, 91.

> There is a private school, either an academy or seminary, in every village, with but few exceptions. These schools have done much in preparing young persons for the business of teaching, but since Normal schools have been established . . . private schools have lost much of the patronage formerly received *from teachers*. . . . Many of the most wealthy and influential citizens lend all their influence to the private school, and in all probability are either trustees or stockholders. They will unite with *anti-school* men in electing *anti-school* directors, so that the term may be kept *short* and the taxes *low*.[14]

In 1868, it was reported from Crawford county:

> The number of private or select schools supported in the county was considerably larger than during any previous year. These schools are doing much good, and may be regarded as the most valuable ''outside agency'' at work in the county. They are usually in charge of the older, more experienced and best qualified teachers . . . and though not affording all the advantages of a Normal school, are still very beneficial.[15]

Reports for earlier and later years contained similar observations. In 1862, Crawford county was said to have had twenty-six of these in operation[16] and, in 1870, Washington county was said to have had ''select schools'' at ''Burgettstown, West Middletown, Claysville, Bentleysville, Beallsville and Millsboro'' teaching ''besides the common branches . . . physical geography, natural philosophy, astronomy, higher algebra, analytical geometry and differential and integral calculus.''[17]

As a general rule, the county superintendents spoke approvingly of the work done by these schools, but occasionally a note of disapproval was sounded. State Superintendent Wickersham, in 1866, said of them:

> There is a class of schools in the State of lower grade than academies and seminaries proper, and I call them private common schools. Their pupils are mostly day scholars, and they give instruction almost exclusively in the elementary branches. Some of them are connected with churches, and others are supported by people who like to be exclusive. The county superintendents report their number of the past year at 862, with 30,123 pupils, and 1,045 teachers. It is probable, however, that some of the schools reported as private, are also reported as academies or seminaries. Little can be said in favor of this class of schools.[18]

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[14] *Ibid.*, 144–5.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1868, 89–90.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1862, 78.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1870, 201.
[18] *Ibid.*, 1866, 18.

In 1870, the county superintendent of Union county remarked:

> We have, by far, too many—so-called—"select or high schools." If the amount paid to support this class of schools, "kept"—not taught—*often* by teachers who failed to obtain a certificate to teach a public school, were paid to support longer terms of the public schools, much more benefit would be derived. Parents, in many cases, who grumble because "school taxes are so high," will cheerfully pay three times as much to select schools.[19]

The conflicting attitudes of schoolmen toward these institutions were probably influenced somewhat by different educational philosophies and aspirations. It is not exactly clear, however, to what type of institution Wickersham referred, but he probably would include, in his "private common schools," many of the institutions which announced, through the public press, the teaching of the classics and mathematics, as well as the rudiments. There does not, however, seem to be any good reason to believe that they differed radically in the quality of their work from many of the regularly incorporated academies, which, in the sixties and seventies, were fast passing out of existence because of the lack of popular support.[20] It would be extremely difficult now to test conclusively the reliability of the conflicting judgments that were passed regarding the nature and importance of the work of these schools. While it is probably true that schools frequently did not do all that they proclaimed themselves capable of, a few advertisements will help to throw some light on the work which they proposed to do:

I. *Franklin Academy*—Fayetteville, Pa.—The fall session of this Institution will open on the 10th of August, 1854.

Terms per session of Three Months

For English branches	$5.00
Latin, Greek, etc	8.00

Joshua Kennedy
W. H. Witherow
Princ's[21]

II. *Select School*—In the Honesdale Graded School Building, on Monday, April 17, 1865.

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[19] *Ibid.*, 1870, 189.

[20] *Supra*, 253 *ff*.

[21] *Repository and Whig*, Aug. 2, 1854, 5.

Terms—Higher English Branches	$4.00
Common do. do.	3.00
Primary " "	2.00

Miss S. A. Collins
M. M. Marsh[22]

III. *Belview Select School*—We propose opening a Select School at Belview, Jefferson county, Pa., on Monday, April 15th, 1867, to continue five months, with a short vacation in the month of July . . .

Terms for the Entire Session

Common Branches	$ 8.00
Natural Science and Higher Mathematics	10.00
Classics	12.00

Rev. A. J. McFarland, Principal
Thomas B. Galbraith, Asst[23]

IV. *Bedford Classical School*—The various branches of a good English education, with the addition if desired, of the higher mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German, and Spanish. It is desirable that all students should study Latin, although not obligatory . . .

Frederick Woods, Principal[24]

These teachers, almost universally, announced that they taught foreign languages, mathematics and English branches. Whether or not they actually taught these subjects in many or a few instances cannot be determined, but the fact that they paid well for advertising their plan, and charged a fairly high rate of tuition, would seem to indicate that there was a demand for such instruction, and that there were people everywhere who were willing to pay the price.

III. *Purpose*

The great majority of these private schools had a very definite goal in view. They prepared for college, for business and for teaching. In the cities, and sometimes the smaller towns, there were always a few who taught merely the ornamental subjects, such as music, dancing, fencing and painting. The purpose of the private masters, in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, has to be inferred chiefly from the subjects which they taught. In 1820, John Hamer, in Philadelphia, announced that

[22] *Wayne County Herald*, March 30, 1865, 2.

[23] *Brookville Republican*, March 18, 1867, 3.

[24] *Bedford Gaz.*, Aug. 5, 1869, 3.

he qualified students for business, any college or university in the United States, or for immediate entrance into professional schools.[25] In the same year, Wylie and Engles, of Philadelphia, stated that it was their object "to give such a course of instruction as shall fit their pupils for entering with credit any of our colleges, or for immediately commencing professional studies."[26] In 1839, Mr. Magenis, in Philadelphia, prepared boys for the "Counting-house, Navy, or University . . . The Bar, the Pulpit, or Senate."[27] Not only was this the purpose of many of these schools, but some of them actually sent many students to college. In 1825, Wylie and Engles' academy sent four times as many students to the University of Pennsylvania as the academy of the University itself,[28] and the academies of Mr. Espy, Mr. Bellville, and Mr. Ross, at the same time, sent students to the University.[29] Many notes in the *Minutes* show that the private masters continued to supply almost all the students entering the University from 1820 to 1830. So successful were Wylie and Engles in preparing students for college, that the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania made overtures to them to surrender the control and, to an extent, the support of their school to the University,[30] a proposal which they rejected.[31]

The purpose of preparing boys for business pursuits continued in evidence. John Hobson, in 1799, suggested that stenography ought to be a part of a boy's education, and he probably taught business subjects in his school in Philadelphia.[32] While the need of stenography was probably not keenly felt in the early years of the nineteenth century, Benjamin Tucker in Philadelphia taught "Stenography," or "Short-Hand," in 1805.[33] "Mercantile" classes were advertised,[34] and the private master pursued the practical pursuits that characterized his work in the colonial period. Frequently he combined many purposes in his school, as in the case of Jonathan Corry, at Emaus, in 1842, who prepared students for "the Sophomore and Junior

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[25] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Oct. 16, 1820, 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1820, 1.

[27] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1839, 2.

[28] *T. U. P. M.*, Nov. 15, 1825.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1825.

[31] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1826.

[32] *Prospectus of a Plan of Instruction for the Young of Both Sexes*, 14.

[33] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Nov. 11, 1805, 4.

[34] *E.g.*, N. M. M'Curdy's school, Pittsburgh — *Allegheny Democrat*, Dec. 13, 1825, 4.

Classes in College,'' as well as for ''commercial life.''[35] Among the Germans he took the same form as in English speaking communities, as the following announcement shows:

> ENGLISCHE SCHULE
>
> Der Unterschriebene benachrichtet seine Freunde und das geehrt-Publicum uberhaupt, dasz er in dem Wohnhause seines Schwigervaters, des verstorbenen Peter Schindels, Esq., gegen uber dem Schwarzen Pferde Gasthaus, in der Stadt Libanon
>
> Eine Englische Schule
>
> errichtet hat; allwo er bereit is Schuler auzunehmen u Unterricht in dem folgenden Zweigen der Englischen Sprache zu geben als Buchstabieren, Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen, Buchhalten, Landmessen, etc etc . . .
>
> Philip Linsch[36]

One of the most frequently expressed purposes of these schools, from 1850 on, was the preparation of teachers. The same, as we shall see, was true of the incorporated academies. Not only was this generally true of the private schools, but many of them were established primarily for this purpose. Lemuel G. Olmstead, of Erie Collegiate Institute, announced, in 1843, that he would form a special teacher training class, of two or three weeks' duration, to which every school district in the county was invited to send one prospective teacher.[37] In 1852, the private normal school had appeared. The principals of the ''Normal Academy,'' in Schellsburg, announced that, in addition to advanced classical and mathematical instruction, ''Young Gentlemen, who may wish to qualify themselves to teach in our 'common schools' will be measurably prepared . . . for the duties of that responsible profession. Lectures will be delivered weekly, on the 'Theory and Practice of Teaching' to those designed for the Teacher's Profession.''[38] From this time forward, preparation of teachers for the district schools became a very commonly stated purpose of these schools. Eaglesmere Academy, in 1855, prepared students for college and ''for teaching district schools.''[39] Cumberland Valley Classical and Normal Academy, Mechanicsburg, 1857,[40] Penn's Valley Institute, Centre Hall, 1877,[41] Pleasant Unity Academy and Normal School, 1878,[42] and

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[35] *The Keystone,* Nov. 10, 1841, 1.

[36] *Der Lebanoner Morgenstern,* Jan. 29, 1830, 3.

[37] *Erie Gaz.,* April 13, 1843, 3.

[38] *Bedford Gaz.,* May 14, 1852, 3.

[39] *The Keystone,* Sept. 12, 1855, 3.

[40] *Wkly. Gaz.,* Jan. 1, 1857, 3.

[41] *The Centre Reporter,* Feb. 22, 1877, 2.

[42] *Tribune and Herald,* March 12, 1878, 1.

Shields Normal Academy, Punxsutawney, 1882,[43] are examples of this common practice. In addition to normal studies, these schools also offered, as a rule, courses in various mathematical subjects and in the foreign languages.

IV. *Curriculum*

The private schoolmasters were frequently pioneers in the field of curriculum. Benjamin Tucker must have been among the earliest to teach stenography.[44] In 1805, he announced:

> STENOGRAPHY
>
> The subscriber respectfully informs the public, that a school will be opened on the 11th inst. in one of the apartments of his Select Academy at the S. W. Corner of Arch and Fifth Streets, exclusively for teaching the interesting acquirement of *Short Hand*. . . . The system which he will teach is compiled from the latest authorities; the characters being the most simple and least in number that have ever been used to express the English Language, and the rules are selected from the best writers on the subject, with such additional ones as have been suggested by real practice.[45]

In 1810, a teacher of "Zeilographia, or the art of Short Writing" undertook to instruct students in his system in five or six weeks at a cost of "10 dollars in all."[46] In 1821, the youths of Erie were given an opportunity to study stenography.[47] In 1830, David H. Hachman, who said he was educated by Mr. Beck at Lititz, proposed to teach stenography in his school in Lancaster.[48] In this year M. T. C. Gould was advertising, in distant sections of the State, his "Stenographic Academy" at "No. Sixth Eighth Street, Philadelphia."[49] Stenography had come to stay, and it soon[50] had a place in the curriculum of Central High School.[51]

Military training was introduced at an early date. G. and F. Blackburn, in 1800, kept a school in Philadelphia in which they taught in addition to the classics, English, and a variety of mathematical subjects, "Military Mathematics . . . similar to that of Woolwich, to which will be added a short system of Tactics."[52] In 1810, William Morrow proposed to open a "Military School," near Washington, Pennsylvania, in which he would instruct "the young malitia officers of the adjaceet neighbourhood" in "a number of useful military tactics."[53] In 1819, Pierre Trainque proposed to open a "Military Academy" in York, for the teaching of "Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry Exercises."[54] In 1834, Baynard R. Hall made the following announcement regarding his Bedford Classical and Mathematical Academy: "Scott's Exercises and Manoeuvres of Infantry, Light Infantry, and Riflemen—This department is conducted by Lieutenant J. G. Martin . . .

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[43] *Brookville Republican,* March 19, 1882, 3.

[44] It is not certain that John Hobson taught it in 1799—*Supra,* 270.

[45] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.,* Nov. 11, 1805, 4.

[46] *Ibid.,* Nov. 30, 1810, 3.

[47] *Erie Gaz.,* Nov. 17, 1821, 3.

[48] *Lancaster Exam.,* May 6, 1830, 3.

[49] *E. g., Huntingdon Gaz.,* July 14, 1830, 3; *The Union Times* [New Berlin], Dec. 31, 1830, 4.

[50] 1849.

[51] Edmonds: *Hist. of Central H. S.,* 133 *ff.*

"A uniform will consist of a Frock Coat and Pantaloons of Blue."[55]

Distinctly and exclusively commercial schools and courses were first opened by the private masters. A. Monarch, from Scotland, in 1805, opened his "Mercantile Academy" in Philadelphia, in which he taught "Writing, Arithmetic, and Book-keeping, upon the most approved principles, adapted to Business." And he added:

> While it shall be the leading object in this institution to adapt the exercise in the course of instruction to a similarity with the transactions of business; to enable the pupils to acquire freedom, taste and command of the hand; accuracy, facility, dispatch in common computation; to make them familiar and expert at the calculation of Bills and Parcels, Invoices, Accounts Sales, Accounts of Current, & the variety of operations which daily occur in trade; and, by making them versant in the modes of Accomptantship practised by the first Merchants, & with the general style of merchantile composition, to free them from that awkwardness & embarrassment, which generally attend young men on quitting the ordinary routine of School, for the Counting-house, the subscriber hopes that, with the advantage of a liberal classical education, long practice in teaching at a respectable Seminary in Scotland, & subsequent experience in extensive business, an institution where the course is limited to those branches only which are of most general utility in a great commercial city, and sufficient for the time and attention of one individual, to do justice

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[52] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Oct. 1, 1800, 2.

[53] *The Reporter*, Sept. 10, 1810, 4.

[54] *York Gaz.*, Nov. 11, 1819, 4.

[55] *Bedford Gaz.*, June 13, 1834, 3.

to himself and pupils, will merit a share of the public support.
Specimens of Writing may be seen, at the Philadelphia Library and Mr. Hogan's Book Store.[56]

This is the first announcement, that has come to the writer's attention, of a school established exclusively for a commercial purpose, and one can readily see in it the embryo of later "commercial colleges." What Mr. Monarch called "merchantile composition," had probably much in common with modern "Business English." T. M'Lanahan in Philadelphia, 1828, conducted a similar special commercial school which he called the "Commercial Institute."[57] In the same year, S. A. Reeve, who had been conducting an elaborate linguistic, mathematical, scientific and mechanical arts school from 1820,[58] if not earlier, offered an additional mercantile course.[59] In 1856, the Pennsylvania Commercial College, at York, offered instruction in "double-entry book-keeping, as applied to wholesale, retail, commission, manufacturing, steam-boating, shipping, individual, partnership and compound company business; selection of counterfeit and altered bank notes, and penmanship in all the ancient and modern hands" with lectures on commercial law and political economy.[60] From the eighteen-sixties, the private commercial schools advertised frequently. Pryor and Robb's Scientific and Commercial Academy, Pittsburgh, 1867,[61] Williamsport Commercial College, 1868,[62] Gardner's Business College, Scranton, 1868,[63] Power's Commercial College, New Castle, 1871,[64] and Beaver Falls Actual Business College and Shorthand School, 1886,[65] may be submitted as representative of the practice. Pryor and Robb's school was of the academy type, with a commercial department, in which the time allowed to the student to complete the course was unlimited. In Williamsport Commercial College, the curriculum comprised "Book-keeping, Penmanship, Arithmetic, Commercial Law, Business Forms, Correspondence, Telegraphing, Phonography." Power's Commercial College announced instruction merely in penmanship and book-keeping. The curriculum of the school in Beaver Falls was thus announced: "Practical Book-keeping, as applied to all departments of business; the text-book plan of teaching the subjects dispensed with; Commercial law, Commercial Arithmetic, English Grammar, and Shorthand and Typewriting, Mechanical Drawing and German Penmanship—a fine bold handwriting guaranteed in a few easy lessons. . . .

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[56] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Jan. 14, 1805, 4.

[57] *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1828, 3.

[58] *Ibid.*, July 31, 1820, 1.

[59] *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1828, 4.

[60] *Wkly. Gaz.*, Dec. 18, 1856, 3.

[61] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Sept. 7, 1867, 2.

[62] *Fulton Democrat*, Sept. 3, 1868, 1.

[63] *Record of the Times*, Aug. 12, 1868, 1.

[64] *Lawrence Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1871, 1.

[65] *Beaver Valley Daily News*, Sept. 16, 1886, 2.

"Candidates prepared for the Civil Service."[66]

The curriculum of the private normal schools was frequently not announced at all, or in a very general way. Very few of them were exclusively engaged in teacher training work and, while they were designated "normal" schools, they taught, as a rule, a wide range of subjects. It was announced of the Wayne County Normal School and Teachers Institute, in 1858, that "the object . . . is to afford to Teachers the benefit of professional training in all branches taught in our Public Schools, and, if desired, instruction in the higher branches of education; and at the same time, give such instruction to others as may be wished for."[67] In 1864, the Hollisterville Commercial and Normal School was functioning, but we are only told that it was in prosperous condition, the subjects of instruction not being mentioned.[68] It was still active in 1870, but again we are left in the dark regarding its curriculum.[69] In this year, the Wayne County Normal School taught "common" and "higher" English and music.[70] Of other schools of this type we have more definite information. In Schellsburg Normal Academy, students might study any of a long list of classical, mathematical and scientific studies, and those preparing to teach had the opportunity of listening to lectures on the theory and practice of teaching.[71] Of a summer school in Bedford, in 1868, it was announced that "Those who are desirous of becoming teachers can receive instruction in the Theory of Teaching with any other branches they desire to pursue."[72] The principal of Claysville Select School announced, in 1870, that "The second annual institute term for the special training of Teachers, preparatory to the

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[66] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Sept. 7, 1867, 2.

[67] *Wayne County Herald*, July 22, 1858, 3.

[68] *Ibid.*, March 3, 1864, 3.

[69] *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1870, 2.

[70] *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1870, 2.

[71] *Bedford Gaz.*, May 14, 1854, 3.

[72] *Bedford Inquirer*, July 24, 1868, 3.

Fall examination by the County Superintendent, will commence Monday, July 25, and close Tuesday, August 30th with an examination by the County Superintendent.''[73] Here, probably, only the elementary studies were stressed with the ''theory of teaching'' added. In 1875, in Trach's Academy, in Easton, a three years' normal course was offered, in which English, mathematics, sciences, history of the United States and the theory of teaching were taught.[74] Some of the better private institutions found the normal work profitable.

A more definite record remains of the work of the Upland Normal Institute, of Chester. The school consisted of three departments, the preparatory, the teachers', and the classical. In the teachers' department the curriculum was as follows:

> *First Year—First Session:* Reading; Spelling; Defining; Grammar (Greene's); Arithmetic, Mental and Written; Geography—Map Drawing; Composition and Elocution throughout the course.
>
> *Second Session*—Algebra (Loomis); Analysis; and Figures; Physiology (Loomis); Smellies Philosophy of Natural History; Book-keeping.
>
> *Second Year—First Session:* Geometry (Loomis); Natural Philosophy (Johnston's); Physical Geography (Warren's); Ancient Geography (Mitchell's); General History.
>
> *Second Session:* Algebra (Stoddard and Henkles); Chemistry (Johnston's, Turner's); Botany (Wood's); Rhetoric; Themes.
>
> *Third Year—First Session:* Trigonometry and Surveying (Loomis's); Mental Philosophy (Wayland's); Geology (Loomis's); Moral Philosophy (Wayland's); Astronomy (Olmsted's).
>
> *Second Session:* Calculus (Loomis's); Butler's Analogy; Evidences of Christianity; Logic.[75]

The Freeland Seminary, in Montgomery county, of which the Rev. Henry A. Hunsicker was ''proprietor and principal'' had, in 1861, an enrollment of ninety-seven students in its normal department.[76] The curriculum for the normal students is not given, but the school offered rich ''courses of study'' in ''common English . . . Natural Science . . . Mathematics . . . Languages . . . Music.''[77] The purpose of the normal department was said to be ''to afford young men an opportunity of fitting themselves for teachers in our Public or High Schools.''[78] The only subject which is definitely mentioned as taught in this course was the ''Science of Teaching.''[79] The inference that secondary school subjects formed a part of the curriculum follows, however, from the fact that it was designed to train high school, as well as elementary school teachers. Freeland Seminary, in 1861, had a total of ten teachers, each a specialist in his particular field,[80] and the following outline of the program of studies of this school probably represents the private school at its best. The prospective high school teacher found here a rich offering of subjects:

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[73] *Washington Review and Exam.*, July 13, 1870, 1.

[74] *Catalogue*, 1875–6, 20–5.

[75] *First Annual Catalogue*, 1858–9, 10 *ff.*

[76] *Catalogue*, 1861, 11.

Common English

Orthography.
Reading, Sanders and Sargent's Readers.
Etymology, Lynds.
Penmanship.
Arithmetic, Greenleaf's and Stoddart's.
English Grammar, Brown's and Bullions.
English Grammar, Analytical, Bullion's.
Book-keeping, Crittenden's.
Geography, Smiths.
Map Drawing and Black Board Exercises.
History of the U. States.
Willard's Universal History.
Elocution, Comstock's and Howe's.

Natural Science

Chemistry, Stockhart's and Turner's.
Natural Philosophy, Parker's.
Physiology, Cutter's.
Conchology, Watts.
Natural History, Ackerman's.
Botany—Wood's.
Geology—Hitchcock's.
Mineralogy—Comstocks.

Mathematics

Algebra—Loomis and Davies.
Geometry— ‘‘ ‘‘
Trigonometry—Hackley.
Mensuration—Bonneycastles.
Surveying—Gummere's.
Conic Sections—Bridges.
Calculus—Davies.
Civil Engineering—Mahans.
Navigation—Bowditch's.
Analytical Geometry—Davies.
Descriptive Geometry—Davies.
Shades and Shadows—Davies.
Astronomy—Olmsteads.

* * *

Languages

Latin
Greek
French
German
Spanish
Italian[81]

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[77] *Ibid.*, 4 *ff.*
[78] *Ibid.*, 18 *f.*
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*, 4.
[81] *Ibid.*, 18 *ff.*

All that we know of the curriculum of later private institutions, engaged in the training of teachers, is that they offered normal studies in conjunction with academic, commercial, English, or scientific courses. Among later schools that announced their work, in this general and indefinite way, may be mentioned the Hamilton Institute, Uniontown, 1876;[82] West Sunbury Normal School, 1879;[83] DuBois Select School, 1892;[84] and Cool Spring Normal School, Allegheny, 1894.[85]

While the curricula of some of these schools, therefore, in keeping with their purpose, were specific in nature, most of the programs showed a widely diversified range of studies. The specialist in French made his appearance in many sections of the State in the first half of the century,[86] and occasionally one specializing in many languages appeared, as Doctor Surault of Philadelphia, who, in 1850, taught ''French, English, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Latin, Greek and Hebrew.''[87] Specialists in the sciences and mathematics also continued.[88] The curriculum of the typical private school, in the nineteenth century, differed radically from this type. Joshua Hoopes, who kept a boarding school at Merion, in 1816,[89] continued to teach in his new school, in Downingtown, ''English, French, Latin and Greek languages . . . also Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Geography with the use of the globes, Mensuration, surveying in theory and practice, Navigation, Dialling, Spherics, Astronomy, Optics, Perspective, Fluxions etc.''[90] Asa Stone taught in his school, in Easton, in 1832, English, arithmetic, geography, history, geometry, surveying, chemistry, natural, mental, and moral philosophy, Latin and Greek.[91] In 1834, Baynard R. Hall taught, in his Bedford Classical and Mathematical Academy, ''Orthography, Reading, Writing, Penmanship, Geography, Arithmetic, Stenography, Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History and Chronology, Botany, Mineralogy, Algebra, Geometry, Application of Algebra to Geometry, Plane and Spherical

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[82] *The Genius of Liberty*, Aug. 17, 1876, 3.

[83] *The Butler Eagle*, July 23, 1879, 2.

[84] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 8, 1892.

[85] *Brookville Republican*, March 7, 1894, 8.

[86] *E. g., The Exam. and Herald* [Lancaster], July 26, 1838, 3.

[87] *Public Ledger*, Aug. 29, 1850.

[88] *E. g., Farmer's Register*, Feb. 8, 1800, 3.

[89] *Am. Republican*, Nov. 12, 1816, 2.

[90] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1819, 1.

[91] *The Whig*, Jan. 2, 1832, 3. Reprinted in Mr. Weaver's ''Notes.'' [Easton Public Library.]

Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, Differential and Integral Calculus, Mechanics, Statics, Hydro-statics, Hydraulics. Optics. Electricity, Navigation, Chemistry, Astronomy, Latin. Greek, Hebrew, and as soon as required German, Italian, Spanish.''[92] J. S. Nelson announced the curriculum of his Waynesboro High School, in 1854, as follows:

> The branches taught will embrace a thorough English Course, consisting of Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, History, Ancient and Modern, Composition and Declamation. In the Mathematics instruction will be given in Algebra, (Davies) Mensuration, Surveying, Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. The authors used in Latin may be Andrew's Reader, Cornelius Nepos, Caesar's Commentaries, Sallust, Cicero's Orations, Virgil, Livy, Cicero de Officiis, Horace—Odes, Satires and Epistles. In Greek pupils may prepare themselves for college in the Greek Reader, the four Gospels in the testament, or those desiring it may read Xenophon's Anabasis, Memorabilia, Herodotus, Thucydides, The Iliad, Demosthenes de Corona.
>
> In addition to the Classics, instruction will be given in Natural, Mental, and Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Botany, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology and Astronomy. . . .
>
> Though the above list of Text Books has been enumerated, strict regard will be had to the good of the school in the classification.[93]

The program of studies in the Mantua English and Classical Academy in Philadelphia, for 1867, was thus described:

> The course of instruction is comprehensive, including the usual English Branches, Latin, Greek, French, German, Mathematics, History, Natural Science and Belles Lettres. Special attention is given to Orthography, Reading, English Composition and Penmanship. . . .
>
> In addition to this comprehensive course of studies the pupils of the Academy are scientifically trained in the noble art of Elocution. . . .
>
> *Commercial Department*
>
> For the accommodation of students wishing to devote themselves exclusively to a thorough practical preparation for business, an Actual Business Department has been organized in which the Student will be thoroughly trained not only in the practical management of a set of Books, but also in the details of business. The course of instruction in this Department includes Book-

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[92] *Bedford Gaz.*, June 13, 1834, 3.

[93] *Village Record*, Aug. 24, 1854, 2.

keeping, Commercial Calculations, Ornamental and Rapid Business Penmanship, English Composition, Lectures on Commercial Law and Political Economy. . . .

Pupils not desiring to take the whole Academic Course can pursue such studies as they may wish.[94]

The curriculum of a great number of other schools, often called "select schools" remains somewhat obscure, as the following advertisements, the only remaining source of information, will attest:

I. *East New Castle Select School* . . . —Classes will be formed in the different branches both scientific and classical if desired . . .

Higher Class—Algebra, Philosophy, Botany, Geometry, Chemistry, etc. Latin or Greek.

W. N. Aken, Principal
assisted by efficient Teachers[95]

II. *Central Hall Select School.*—A Select School will be opened at Centre Hall on Monday, June 7, to continue for the term of twelve weeks.

Terms

Common School Branches	$4	per qr
Higher Branches	$5 to 6	" "[96]

III. *The Select School* [Huntingdon] . . . —Facilities are afforded for the study of Greek, Latin, German, French, the higher Mathematics and the English branches.[97]

If these "select" schools, and private academies, throughout the State, actually taught the subjects which they proposed to teach, it must be conceded that they enhanced considerably educational opportunities, at a time when the public schools were still in a very imperfect stage of their development, and when the incorporated academies were either defunct, or too widely scattered and, consequently, too expensive, to be within the reach of many students. Many of the "select" schools were taught by public school teachers in public school buildings, during the time these latter schools were closed. Thus the school directors of Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland county, in 1856, permitted J. B. Cherry to "have the use of the upper school house for holding his select school in during the summer."[98] The Bradford directors granted similar permission to public school teachers, in 1880.[99] Why schools were called "select" is not clear, but the name seems to have been generally associated with the curriculum which they offered. The designation was used as early as 1802 by John Riddle, in Lancaster.[100] From this time on the name was in frequent use,[101] and soon the pages of newspapers were dotted over with their announcements, as for instance, Great Bend Select School, 1842;[102] Towanda Select School, 1845;[103] Green Mount Select School, 1846;[104] Mansfield Select School, 1858;[105] Westfield Select School, 1863;[106] Sheshequin Select School, 1873;[107] White Oak Springs Select School, 1881;[108] and Clarksville Select School, 1885.[109] Not always did they announce their subjects of study, but whenever they did, as was generally the case, they taught several mathematical and scientific subjects,[110] and sometimes foreign languages.[111] In contrast with many of the public schools, these were select in the subjects which they offered, and in their student body, composed of those who had a desire to advance beyond the point to which the common school carried its students, and whose parents could afford to pay for their education. A school was sometimes called "select," because it admitted only students of one sex. Thus, we hear from Pittsburgh, in 1837: "In addition to the Public Schools in the five Wards, . . . there are a number of respectable private schools, some for males and females, but the greater part select, and confined to each sex."[112] The Quakers called their schools "select" when they were taught exclusively by Quaker teachers, and admitted children of Quaker families only.[113] As applied to schools generally the name had no such significance.[114]

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[94] *Catalogue*, 1867, 3–5.

[95] *Lawrence Jour.*, April 29, 1865, 3.

[96] *The Centre Reporter*, May 20, 1875, 3.

[97] *Semi-Weekly News*, Nov. 12, 1883, 1.

[98] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 11, 1856.

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[99] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 2, 1880.

[100] *The Intelligencer and Wkly. Advertizer*, April 7, 1802, 3.

[101] *E. g., Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Aug. 11, 1815, 3; Nov. 24, 1835, 3; *The Crawford Democrat*, Aug. 18, 1846, 3.

[102] *Montrose Volunteer*, Sept. 8, 1842, 4.

[103] *Bradford Reporter*, July 30, 1845, 3.

[104] *Northern Democrat*, Aug. 13, 1846, 3.

[105] *Wellsboro Agitator*, June 3, 1858, 4.

[106] *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1863, 3.

[107] Circular, 1873. [In Bradford Co. Hist. Museum.]

[108] *The Butler Eagle*, March 10, 1881, 2.

[109] *The Mercer Dispatch*, Aug. 14, 1885, 2.

[110] *E. g., Montrose Democrat*, Sept. 8, 1842, 4; *Wellsboro Agitator*, Aug. 19, 1863, 3.

[111] *E. g., Wellsboro Agitator*, June 3, 1858, 3; *Beaver Valley News*, March 8, 1877, 3.

[112] *Harris Pitt. and West. Bus. Directory*, 1837, 119.

[113] *Min. Phila. Qtly. Mtg. Com. on Ed.*, 1830–93, 74.

[114] The writer has found no conclusive evidence to show that the designation had ever any basis in the social setting of the school.

V. *The Private Master and New Educational Theories*

In the colonial period, as we have seen, the private master was extremely sensitive to the educational needs arising out of economic and social changes. He was a specialist in the graces that fitted ladies and gentlemen for places in the social sun, and in the subjects that prepared youth to be efficient workers in a rapidly developing commercial civilization. In the nineteenth century, he was a pioneer in establishing commercial, military, and normal schools and courses. There was a demand for such work and it paid him to engage in it.

Among the advocates of new theories of education he was not immediately conspicuous as a leader. He was often aware of new theories, and sometimes himself a theorist, as in the case of John Hobson of Philadelphia.[115] He was, however, probably aware, also, of the fact that new educational theories are not frequently the objects of immediate and spontaneous popular approval, and felt, accordingly, constrained to meet at all times the popular demand. Yet, when the demand changed as a result of the popular acceptance of new theories, he responded to it much more readily than the teachers in public institutions. The following views, expressed in 1870, represent probably an accurate estimate of the contribution of the private master as a progressive practical educator:

> From the increase of private schools, it is becoming evident that the public are beginning to feel that the present system is nominally a failure. The whole system needs a revision. . . . Professor Bache, on his taking charge of the High School, vainly endeavoured to establish a more intelligent mode of education as approved in the best schools of Europe, but teachers looked upon his views as Utopian, spoke of them with ridicule, and kept on in the old line of memorizing and parrot recitations, without exercising either the judgment or the logical powers of the pupil. The result is shown in the increase of private schools.[116]

While one might reasonably question the assumption that the failure of the Central High School, if indeed it should be called a failure, was due to one cause only, it must be admitted that it was probably less responsive to new theories and demands than was the private school.[117] While little tangible evidence has been discovered which would shed light on the relative merits of the public and private teacher, the following facts regarding the latter will show that at least he entertained occasionally an advanced educational philosophy, and sometimes embodied it in his school practices.

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[115] *Infra,* 300 *f.*

[116] Phila. Pub. Schools. [*P. S. J.,* XVIII, 232.] Reprinted from *Phila. Morning Post.*

[117] *Infra,* 496 *ff.*

In 1815, "Mr. Loomis," in Pittsburgh, announced that "the system of education," in his school, "will be that which is pursued in the celebrated Manhattan School, in the city of New York, conducted by Mr. A. Picket, its successful founder."[118] He went on to say that his instruction would not be a memorization of words, for mere words ruin the mind of the student, and he concluded by remarking: "The education of youth is difficult and requires unwearied attention, and experience, for no man is born a teacher, it is an occupation which requires many years' practice to become a proficient in the business."[119] The thoughts of stressing ideas rather than words, and of the importance of experience in the teacher, bear the stamp of Pestalozzianism.[120] In 1830, another private master, of Pittsburgh, proposed to inject some of Pestalozzi's spirit into the work of his school: "No pupil," he said, "is put to learn any branch above his comprehension and for which he has not acquired a sufficient preparatory knowledge.

"System is adhered to in the teaching of each branch, and the Instructor explains its principles in a manner adapted to the capacity of the pupil. He then points out the practical application of what has been learned; from this he does not desist till the pupil possesses a clear comprehension of the subject.

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[118] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Sept. 2, 1815, 4.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Philadelphia is said to have been the first home of a Pestalozzian school in the United States. [Monroe, W. S.: *Hist. of the Pestalozzian movement in the United States,* 97]. That school was opened on June 9, 1809, by Joseph Neef. [Neef's School—*Niles Register,* I, 69]. William Maclure paid the expenses of Neef's journey to America, and probably supported him for a few years here, until he actually opened his school. [Monroe: *Op. cit.*, 70–1]. It would seem that the school, from its establishment was self-supporting, and that Neef must have been well compensated for his work at the Falls of Schuylkill, and later at Village Green, near Chester. [See *Ibid.*, 97 *ff.*; Neef's School—*Niles Register*, I, 69–70]. It would appear, also, that after Neef opened his school, there was no longer any necessity for Maclure's support, and that the school was purely proprietary. That conclusion seems to be justified by the description of the school as recorded in *Niles Register,* and by the fact that Neef was free to remove his school to Louisville, Kentucky, without consulting the wishes of Maclure. [Monroe: *Op. cit.*, 107].

"Progressing in this manner with a well formed Judgment, thoroughly understanding what he has learned, and receiving necessary explanations of what he is learning, the scholar is agreeably led to the full possession of a solid education . . . and this in less than two thirds of the time usually devoted to these studies . . . The government is paternal, based upon mildness and firmness. Observance of the Rules and Discipline strictly enforced, but severity shall not be resorted to on any account.

Mich'l M'Sherry"[121]

In 1831, J. F. Hey announced his plan of instruction to the "citizens of Carlisle," and reminded them that "Teaching *now*, consists, not merely in inculcating dogmas, but in removing mysteries."[122] He proposed to cultivate the judgment and reform the hearts of students. In doing this, he said he could not adopt "to the exclusion of all others the Lancasterian, Fellenberg or Pestalozzian system."[123] He probably knew little about these systems, but, in some manner or other, he seems to have picked up a few ideas of Pestalozzi, for education, as he interpreted it, was something more than a mere memorizing of words. His advertisement was headed with the word "*Improvement*" in large and bold type. In 1843, Pestalozzianism, in its emphasis on the importance of sense impressions and object teaching, had found its way into Mr. Olmstead's school, in Erie. After describing his plan of combining practice with theory as a general method, he remarked: "Natural history will be taught with specimens, and each student will be required to make collections for himself of Geological specimens, Minerals, Shells, Fish, Plants, Birds and Insects etc."[124]

In 1853, in the Phelp's Institute, in Carbondale, botany was taught by "analyzing plants," and in mineralogy pupils were said to have "free access to a large and well selected Cabinet."[125]

The private masters, with possibly one exception, did not do much to promote manual labor schools. In 1831, a Mr. Ismar, who studied under Fellenberg, was conducting such a school near Bristol. It was known as the Fellenberg School. Anthony

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[121] *Allegheny Democrat,* March 16, 1830, 1.

[122] *Am. Volunteer,* Aug. 4, 1831, 4.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] *Erie Gaz.,* April 13, 1843, 3.

[125] *Carbondale Trans. and Lackawanna Jour.,* Sept. 30, 1853, 3.

Morris, who apparently contributed generously toward the establishment and support of this school,[126] said of Ismar:

> His character is unique; enthusiastic on the subject of the system; thoroughly instructed first at Hofwyl; and finally by a seven years course of study at Gottingen. He is a first rate Mathematician, and a practical Engineer . . . He applies all his theories immediately to practice, such as transferring the principles of Geometry, as taught on the black board, instantly to the survey of gardens, grounds, etc. As to the physical branches of education, he labours himself with his scholars, walks with them, talks with them, penetrates with a kind of intuition, (the result of his education) immediately the peculiar propensities and talents of each, and applies his instruction accordingly.[127]

To what extent this institution was a private undertaking is not clear,[128] but in a lecture delivered in Georgetown, in 1831, Ismar outlined his "Plan for a preparatory school, after the Fellenberg System," and remarked, in presenting it:

> I have therefore stated, that I was willing to establish a preparatory school in this district, in order to introduce Mr. Fellenberg's system, until I can determine in which part of this country, I shall found an entire Hofwyl institution. . . . It is my desire to begin by acting, and not by applying for the patronage of others. I have stated that I have not requested, and never will ask, pecuniary aid. I have learned, that such aid has uniformly proved injurious to the welfare of the institution, as every contributor claims a right to interfere in the internal policy; and, while they pretend to support it, they substitute for its established system, their individual views and opinions, which are oftentimes capricious.[129]

He went on to explain his plan for instruction in agriculture. In the beginning he could admit no poor students because he would have to accept gifts to do so, and thus lose his independence. He remarked:

> I must try another mode. I find it in a preparatory school for teachers, and for that class of society who are able, and are willing, to pay an annual remuneration, and to pay the same half yearly in advance. . . . This remuneration being fixed, ten pupils would be required to open a preparatory school, the parents of whom should select from among themselves one, and

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[126] Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, VII, 416.

[127] *Ibid.*, 334.

[128] *Vide Ibid.*, 334, 416; Day: *Hist. Collections of Pa.*, 166.

[129] Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, VII, 404–5.

> myself another member, to form a committee, whose duty it should be to decide, whether the son of this or that mechanic, or farmer, may be admitted to the school, at a lower rate than the established price; and who ought to pay quarterly in advance, one half in money, and, if he so desire it, the other half in produce, labor, etc. at the current rates of the day. . . .
>
> The pupils must not be less than ten years of age, able to read and write tolerably—the young teachers should be seventeen years of age, able to read and write correctly.[130]

The curriculum, as he outlined it, was almost entirely modern and scientific. Ismar was evidently one of the popularizers of the Fellenberg idea, and soon the legislature found petitions arriving from several counties asking for public aid for manual labor schools.[131] He was not, however, a pioneer, for a manual labor school had been attempted at Germantown before he came to Pennsylvania.[132]

In 1836, another private master is mentioned, who also was said to have studied under Fellenberg. In this year William Hough, principal of the Norristown Boarding School, announced that he had employed Mr. Merillat, who "was formerly a member of Fellenberg's Institution at Hofwyl," as teacher of the classics, German, French, botany, drawing, natural philosophy, and chemistry.[133] Nothing further is heard of Merillat. Nor is there any further evidence of the fostering of the Fellenberg idea by private masters.

The first attempt, which the writer has heard of, to establish a special agricultural school was that of James Gowen at Mount Airy, in 1847.[134] In 1849, John Wilkinson was the principal of this school, and Jona R. Powell the "Tutor." In this year it had an enrollment of fourteen students. Practical agricultural work and academic studies were here combined. In the academic department, students studied elementary English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, zoölogy and entomology.[135] This private attempt was followed, in 1855, by the incorporation of the Farmers' High School by the legislature.[136]

Private masters, also, were among the early sponsors of Joseph Lancaster's monitorial plan. In 1816, Abner Thomas petitioned the trustees of York County Academy for a room for "his school, on the Lancasterian plan,"[137] and James Edward and Edward Baker conducted schools on this plan in Philadelphia in the years 1816–1818.[138]

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[130] *Ibid.*, 405.

[131] *Infra*, 457.

[132] *Infra*, 453 *f.*

[133] *Norristown Register*, July 27, 1836, 4.

[134] Wickersham: *Hist. of Ed. in Pa.*, 432.

[135] *Catalogue of Mt. Airy Agric. Inst.*, 1849, 3–4.

[136] *Laws of Pa.*, 1855, Act No. 50.

Among the first schools to establish gymnasiums were the private schools. The first attempt to combine gymnastics with academic work is said to have been made by Charles Beck, from Germany, in Round Hill School, Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1826.[139] In 1834, Mr. Bolmar, of West Chester, announced that he would soon install in his school apparatus for gymnastic exercises.[140] In 1841, the Susquehanna Institute had "ample play grounds," and a "gymnasium"[141] and, in 1855, Phelp's Institute in Waynart, Wayne county, advertised "a gymnaisum on scientific principles."[142] The private masters, as a general rule, did not provide for the physical training of their students, although the proprietors of private boarding schools usually promised to pay "strict attention . . . to the health . . . of pupils,"[143] a promise which did not of necessity imply any obligation to provide a program of physical education.

Thus were some of the private masters among the progressive teachers of the State in the embodiment of new theories and ideas in actual practice. As a class, however, they followed the beaten path, catering to needs already felt in the various localities, and remained oblivious of advanced educational theories except in so far as these had found popular approval.

VI. *Private Schools Not Generally Boarding Schools*

The great mass of the private schools were day schools, which provided no boarding facilities for students. While this is true, it must be noted, nevertheless, that a considerable number of the masters either depended chiefly on boarding students, or took a limited number into their homes as boarders. A writer, in 1865, remarked that of a great number of such schools in existence few or none were boarding schools.[144] It is, indeed, true that, from 1860 on, the vast majority of these schools were established as day schools, and catered only to local students, but there were always some among them that had boarding accommodations of their own, and many that found boarding for their students in the neighboring families. In the early decades of the century, we find many of these established but, as the century advanced, they became fewer in proportion to the non-boarding schools. The following few selected at random will serve as examples: Merion Boarding School, 1816;[145] West Bradford Boarding School, 1818;[146] Mount Pleasant Select School, 1827;[147] Jamestown Classical School, 1834;[148] English and Classical School, Kilbuck, 1837;[149] Plainfield Classical Academy, 1848;[150] Cumberland Valley Institute, Mechanicsburg, 1857;[151] M'Clellans Institute, West Chester, 1872;[152] and New Brighton Boarding School for Boys, 1885.[153] In the vicinity of cities and large towns, boarding schools, removed somewhat from congested areas, appealed to the people evidently as possessing greater moral and intellectual advantages than day schools located in thickly populated centres. The principal of Florence Academy, in 1833, remarked: "An Institution, of this kind, located in a healthful, moral and pleasant village, must be a desideratum to those who wish to have their sons educated free from the temptations to vice, to which they are constantly exposed in Cities and larger Towns."[154] The principal of Jamestown Classical School announced: "The country about Jamestown, a small village containing but 4 or 5 houses, is fine and healthy. The inhabitants industrious and moral. No youth will suffer in morals while there from the example of others."[155] Examples of this type of appeal are numerous. It was used by the directors of the incorporated academies,[156] as well as by the private masters, and evidently found a favorable response from parents.

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[137] *Y. C. A. M.*, I, 90.

[138] Ellis: *Lancasterian Schools in Philadelphia,* 23 *ff*. For further reference to the manual labor and monitorial movements see *Infra*, 453 *ff*., 458 *f*.

[139] Leonard and McKenzie: *History of Physical Education,* 233.

[140] *Am. Republican and Chester Co. Democrat,* April 29, 1824, 1.

[141] *Lancaster Exam. and Democratic Herald,* May 5, 1841, 4.

[142] *Wayne Co. Herald,* Aug. 9, 1855, 3.

[143] *E. g., Am. Republican,* Nov. 3, 1818, 1.

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[144] Systematicus: Day Academies. [*P. S. J.*, XIV, Nov., 1865, 105.]

[145] *Am. Republican*, Nov. 12, 1816, 2.

[146] *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1818, 1.

[147] *Greensburg Gaz.*, May 25, 1827, 4.

[148] *Crawford Messenger*, Oct. 10, 1834, 1.

[149] *Harris Pittsburgh Business Directory*, 1837, advertising section.

[150] *Am. Volunteer*, July 27, 1848, 3.

[151] *Wkly. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1857, 3.

[152] *Catalogue*, 1872.

[153] *Beaver Valley News*, Sept. 24, 1885, 3.

[154] *The Pitt. Christian Herald*, Aug. 31, 1833, 3.

[155] *Crawford Messenger*, Oct. 10, 1834, 1.

[156] *Supra*, 73, 230.

VII. *The Private Teacher*

The public school officials in the sixties and seventies spoke, sometimes favorably and sometimes unfavorably, of the caliber of the private masters. Some of them were said to have been persons who failed to pass the county superintendent's examination for positions in the public school.[157] It is undoubtedly true that there were at all times among them, as among any body of teachers, the good, the bad and the mediocre. But it does not seem correct to say that, as a class, they were inferior in their qualifications, or in their achievements, to the teachers of the public and incorporated schools around them. On the contrary, it would seem that the success of the private master, in many cases, was due to the fact that he was a superior and unusually successful teacher. It has been already noted that, in the eighteen-twenties, the private masters supplied the University of Pennsylvania with most of its students.[158] Fourteen of forty academies which sent students to Washington and Jefferson College, in the year 1867–68, were institutions for which no charter has been found, and seem to have been purely private schools, as, for instance, Willard Institute of Pittsburgh, Hopedale Normal School, Bethel Academy, and Newall's Academy of Pittsburgh.[159] Many of the private masters were college graduates, some coming from European colleges, and some had resigned from college professorships to open their own schools. Robert Fulton, a "Professor of Languages in Washington College" opened his Florence Academy, in 1833.[160] In 1844, "Geo. Van de Linde, M. D. and L. D. of the University of Paris, Leyden, London and Venice, late Professor of Modern Languages, at St. Paul's College, London," opened an academy at Hanover.[161] In 1849, William Copeland, a graduate of "Trinity College, Dublin," opened an academy in New Castle.[162] A considerable scattering of college degrees is to be found on the list of private masters, the colleges granting the degrees not, as a rule, being mentioned. Thus, from a long list of private masters who were college graduates, we select, as examples, the following who held

[157] *Supra*, 266, 268.

[158] *Supra*, 270.

[159] *Register of Washington and Jefferson College*, 1867–8 [*MS.* in College Archives]

[160] *The Pitt. Christian Herald*, Aug. 31, 1833, 3.

[161] *Hanover Spectator*, Nov. 27, 1844, 3.

[162] *Lawrence Jour.*, Nov. 10, 1849, 3.

master's degrees: Jonathan Corry, Emaus, 1841;[163] Alonzo Phelps, of Carbondale, 1853;[164] J. N. Caldwell, Latrobe, 1861;[165] and Rev. J. K. Davis, Stroudsburg, 1869.[166]

It is also noteworthy that many of these masters were ministers of the gospel, though by no means a high percentage of them. Of those on the list already recorded, eleven were ministers.[167] Thus, too, were owned or taught the Jamestown Classical School in 1834;[168] the Milnwood Academy, Shade Gap, 1850;[169] the Tennent School, Hartsville, 1853;[170] the Cumberland Valley Institute, Mechanicsburg, 1857;[171] the Wilkesbarre Institute, 1864;[172] Logan Academy, Bells Mills, 1868;[173] Quakertown Academy, 1870;[174] Centre Square Seminary, 1880;[175] and New Brighton Boarding School for Boys, 1885.[176]

Some very notable teachers appear on the list of private masters. In the eastern section of the State, in the first decade of the century, James Ross, the author of a popular Latin grammar, was probably the most notable. He was a teacher in Lancaster, in 1801[177] and, in 1805, he opened a classical school in Philadelphia,[178] from which he sent students to the University of Pennsylvania.[179] In 1817, the trustees of the University "resolved that . . . every student, who shall begin to acquire a knowledge of the Greek . . . shall commence with the Greek Grammar in the Latin Language, and in no other; and that the Grammar published by Mr. James Ross, as an improvement on the Westminster Grammar, shall be used in such case."[180] At the reopening of the Western University of Pennsylvania, in 1856, Doctor Upfold, Bishop of Indiana, referred to the "serious loss the Institution sustained . . . in the decease, sadly premature as it seemed to his friends and associates, of one of the ablest and most reliable Professors, and one of the most successful teachers of his day, *Daniel Stone;* long and favorably known to this community as the head of a private classical school in the vicinity of this city, prior to his introduction into the faculty of the University, as its Professor of Languages.''[181] Stone advertised his academy in the years 1833–1837.[182]

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[163] *The Keystone*, Nov. 10, 1841, 1.

[164] *Carbondale Trans. and Lackawanna Jour.*, Sept. 30, 1853, 3.

[165] *Greensburg Herald*, April 17, 1861, 3.

[166] *Monroe Democrat*, Sept. 2, 1869, 3.

[167] Footnote, *Supra*, 264 *ff*.

[168] *Crawford Messenger*, Oct. 10, 1834, 1.

[169] *Bedford Gaz.*, May 2, 1850, 4.

[170] *Catalogue*, 1853.

[171] *Wkly. Gaz.*, Jan. 1, 1857, 3.

[172] *Record of the Times*, Sept. 7, 1864, 3.

[173] *Fulton Democrat*, Aug. 27, 1868, 3.

[174] *Catalogue*, 1870.

[175] *Catalogue*, 1880–1.

[176] *Beaver Valley News*, Sept. 24, 1885, 3.

[177] *Lancaster Jour.*, Jan. 3, 1801, 4.

[178] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, Nov. 1, 1805, 4.

[179] *Supra*, 270.

[180] *T. U. P. M.*, VI, 200–1.

Yet, while there were undoubtedly many able teachers on the private list there were also many imposters and mountebanks. In 1834, a Mr. Goodwane startled the simple denizens of Lancaster by announcing his remarkable system of making excellent penmen in five hours. His system had received the approval of a long array of British noblemen, whose testimonials he published. On the list were such names as ''Lord Brougham, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Walter Scott, and Lord John Russell.'' His ''Celebrated System of Writing'' had been ''almost universally adopted'' in ''New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Albany,'' and ''in London it was sanctioned by the approbation of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, the Society of School Masters, and other learned institutions of the highly polished and educated metropolitan cities of the British Isles and the continent of Europe.'' He signed himself ''Member of the Royal Writing Academy, London, and inventor of the Bon Aide, for the relief of tremulous writers.''[183] No wonder another member of the same clan, this time from Pottsville, should declaim against the possibility of miracles of this type. ''He makes no pretensions,'' he said, ''to imparting a 'bold, round, legible business hand adapted to the practical purposes of life, in and from six to ten lessons of one hour each'—as men of common sense know that this is humbuggery;—but will guarantee to give every person satisfaction who will receive sixteen lessons of two hours each.''[184] Masters of this type were very exceptional and, as a rule, the private teacher made no startling claims to great pedagogical discoveries. Occasionally he waxed poetic, as did the principal of Newtonville Institute, in 1841:

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[181] *Proceedings and Addresses at the Reopening of the Western University of Pa.* Doctor Upfold's Address, 16–7.

[182] *Pittsburgh Gaz.,* July 31, 1833, 3; *Harris Pitt. Business Directory,* 1837, adv. sec.

[183] *The Exam. and Herald,* Aug. 14, 1834, 3.

[184] *Miner's Jour. and Pottsville Gen. Adv.,* May 8, 1841, 3.

Malicious tongues report, some say,
That students I do turn away,
When I'm receiving still:
One dozen more, at least, can find
Accommodations to their minds—
Please call at Newtonville.
My terms are low—attention high
Constant attention I apply,
T'improve the mind and please,
Just give a call, and you'll not go;
My terms propos'd you'll like, I know
And stay with perfect ease.[185]

VIII. *Reasons for the Private School*

The private school met a social, educational, and sometimes a moral or religious need, which could not be satisfied in public and semi-public institutions at a time when the former, in most districts of the State, were noticeably imperfect in many ways, and the latter were too few, and sometimes too democratic, to satisfy the aspirations of a commercial aristocracy. James Espy, of Philadelphia, in 1828, referred the public to "the numerous and highly respectable *Alumni* of this Institution—the Binneys, the Chaunceys, the Reeds, the Cadwalladers, the Bayards and the Brintons, the Ralstons, the Smiths, the Norris's, the Ingersolls, the Dewees's, and the Merediths, and to a long list of others highly respectable."[186] A writer, in 1865, said that these schools were supported by the rich of the State.[187] The private school evidently appealed at all times to many of those on the higher social and economic levels.

The emphasis which many of the private masters placed on moral and religious instruction attracted, probably at all times, the support of many parents. Some reference has already been made to this aspect of the private school,[188] and it is impossible to give here any picture approaching completeness. Armagh Academy, for example, was "conducted on religious principles," and instruction was provided in biblical history and antiquities, the scriptures, and "divine truth from the shorter catechism,"[189] and, in M'Clellan's Institute at West Chester, in 1872, attention was paid "to the development of the *Christian Character* and the growth of true religion in the heart and life."[190] The moral and religious elements were thus stressed in many private schools, and almost universally in the private boarding schools. It cannot be reasonably doubted that this aspect of the private school appealed to many people, at a time when the public mind was not yet entirely in sympathy with the idea of secular education which was embodied in the public schools.

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[185] *Montrose Volunteer,* Dec. 23, 1841, 4.

[186] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.,* Aug. 30, 1828, 4.

[187] Systematicus: Day Academies. [*P. S. J.,* XIV, Nov., 1865, 105.]

[188] *Supra,* 288.

[189] *Lewistown Gaz.,* May 13, 1848, 3.

The chief reason, however, for the rapid increase in the number of private schools, after 1850, seems to have been the general imperfection and inadequacy of the schools comprising the public system. County Superintendent Thompson, of Crawford county, in 1862, remarked regarding the private schools:

> These schools are established to meet the wants of three classes of pupils:
>
> 1. Those who, having completed the common school studies, wished to pursue the higher branches and languages.
> 2. Those having leisure and desiring to attend school more than six months in the year—the average time our public schools are kept open—but whose parents were unable or unwilling to send them away from home to school and pay their boarding, yet willing to give them their time and board them at home.
> 3. Those who desired to prepare themselves for teaching, at the least possible outlay.
>
> As our public schools are now managed, these three classes cannot well be accommodated. . . . Eventually these three classes will be large and influential enough to demand and secure the establishment of a high school in every district. . . . Some fears have been expressed that these schools are injurious to the interests of the public schools. I think this is a mistake, for the following, among other reasons:
>
> 1. With two or three exceptions they are not carried on during the time the public schools are open.
> 2. The teachers in these schools nearly all teach in the public schools during the winter or summer, or both; thus we secure the services of a better class of teachers for the public schools than we could hope to keep in the county, if but three or six months employment could be obtained.
> 3. They increase the average amount of education and school feeling in the community, and by bringing into every neighborhood a good school in the fall induce many to attend who would not go away from home to do so.

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[190] *Catalogue*, 1872.

4. They furnish indigent teachers a means of improving themselves at a cheap rate.[191]

That the private school thus existed because of many wide gaps in the public school system is supported by much evidence of similar nature. In 1865, another writer said their progress and increase was due to the mismanagement of the public schools.[192] In 1866, Superintendent Wolf, of Indiana county remarked:

> It is scarcely possible to have the common schools open in the rural districts both summer and winter, and as many (but not all) wish to have a longer term than four or six months, the private school affords ample opportunity for those who think the term of the common school too short to send their children for the part of the year in which there is no common school. . . .
>
> The teachers of the private and select schools are not trammelled by improper interference as is often the case in the common school. The school stands or falls accordingly as the teacher himself is properly qualified, or unfit to teach, whereas in the common school, even good teachers have failed on account of improper interference of some of those who "pay taxes." When the common school is more successful than the private or select, the latter will conform to the modes of the former, and when the private school is the more successful in imparting instruction, the common will shape itself by the merits of the private schools.[193]

It seems, then, to have been a common impression of schoolmen that the private school was a necessity when the public system was taking form; that it filled many gaps in the educational structure of the State in the second half of the century; and that it acted as a stimulus and challenge to the public system itself. To what extent the private school menace—for to some schoolmen it assumed this aspect[194]—goaded statesmen and public school officials to extend the public school year, and establish high schools, cannot be determined with scientific accuracy, but it is interesting to hear a public schoolman of the sixties say: "When the private school is more successful in imparting instruction, the common will shape itself by the merits of the private school." And these private schools, as they appear to a present-day investigator, took the place of high schools in providing opportunities for secondary education during the greater part of the nineteenth century when the imperfections of the public system were almost universally recognized. Attention shall be directed elsewhere[195] to the nature and extent of the high school movement in the nineteenth century. From the facts there presented it will appear that, in the public school system, the needs of many students were not adequately supplied. Nor were the incorporated academies easily accessible to many students, because of their location, and the cost of providing for students away from home. The private school, in the nineteenth century, was thus, a much needed institution. With the growth of the high school movement it, like the academies, gradually declined.

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[191] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1862, 78.

[192] Systematicus: Day Academies. [*P. S. J.*, XIV, Nov., 1865, 105.]

[193] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1866, 127–8.

[194] *Supra*, 267 *f*.

From 1880 on, the advertisements of private schools appeared less and less frequently, and the newspapers of the eighteen-nineties carry few of their announcements. Of the schools reporting to the State Department in 1899,[196] only forty-three seem to belong to the category of secondary private schools.[197] There were evidently[198] some others, known to the Department, in existence at this time, but they were apparently few. In 1925 the purely proprietary secondary school had almost disappeared, there being at that time not more than eleven such schools for boys in the State.[199] In 1930, only five of these were on the list of accredited secondary schools,[200] and one of these, Swarthmore Preparatory School, has since closed. Thus, with developments in the present century, the proprietary secondary school has been replaced by other institutions, chiefly by the public high school.

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[195] *Infra*, 500 *ff*.

[196] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1899, p. CII *f*.

[197] *I.e.*, unincorporated, proprietary and undenominational.

[198] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1899, CXLVI–II.

[199] Cole: *Private Secondary Schools for Boys in the United States.* Appendix A. Private commercial schools are not included in this list.

[200] *List of Accredited Secondary Schools*, Bulletin No. 46, Dept. of Pub. Instruction, 27–9.

CHAPTER X

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE ACADEMY

I. *Realism*

It has been noted above that the Philadelphia Academy arose at a time when economic, social, religious and political conditions in the colony had made necessary a new type of educational institution—an institution free from sectarian control; more democratic and popular in its mode of support, and in its provision for students regardless of their nationality; and more in keeping with the new economic and social order, because it catered as well to the practical as to the professional needs of the colony and its citizens.[1]

The first arguments urged in favor of this new type of institution were those which grew out of the practical demands of the colony, and which looked to the adoption of a curriculum responsive to the evident needs of life. Pastorius recognized the futility of a purely cultural training for a man who had to contend for a living against the forces of nature in a primeval wilderness, where even a philosopher, like his primitive forebears, must give first thought to the primary and fundamental needs of life—food, clothing and shelter.[2] Frontier conditions, and an environment in many respects primitive, conspired to alter traditional philosophies and attitudes. Hector St. John saw in the intermingling of races and of peoples of various religious persuasions, in Pennsylvania, a foreshadowing of a new race of men, the Americans, and of a new social, political and cultural order.[3] Here, old educational attitudes and practices soon gave way to new ones. Penn recommended strongly an industrial and practical education for his own children.[4] In 1685, Thomas Budd advocated the instruction of "boys and girls in all the most useful arts and sciences that their youthful capacities may be capable to understand, as the learning to write true English and

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[1] *Supra,* 174 *ff.*

[2] *Supra,* 24.

[3] Crevecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer.* Quoted by Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in the U. S.,* I, 186–7.

[4] *Supra,* 24 *f.*

Latin, and other useful speeches and languages, and fair writing, arithmetic and book-keeping; the boys to be taught and instructed in some mystery or trade."[5] The writer of *Some Thoughts of Education,* in 1735, advocated strongly the substitution of practical studies for the traditional classical curriculum, on the grounds that all youths cannot profit by that education which "fits a man for the Pulpit and Bar," and that the prevailing practices have no "regard to the Child's Capacity or Distinction with Respect to the future Figure he designs to make in the World."[6] John Wilson, in 1769, directed a similar attack against the practices of the Friends' Public Latin School.[7]

Among the arguments of Franklin for the establishment of an academy in Philadelphia were those embodied in the scientific or realistic philosophy of the seventeenth century. In his *Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America,* 1743, he suggested the formation of the American Philosophical Society, whose interests would centre mainly in the following subjects of investigation:

> All new-discovered plants, herbs, trees, roots, their virtues, uses, etc.; methods of propagating them, and making such as are useful, but particular to some plantations, more general; improvement of vegetable juices, as ciders, wines, etc.; new methods of curing or preventing diseases; all new-discovered fossils in different countries, as mines, minerals, and quarries; new and useful improvements in any branch of mathematics; new discoveries in chemistry, such as improvements in distillation, brewing, and assaying of ores; new mechanical inventions for saving labor, as mills and carriages, and for raising and conveying of water, draining of meadows, etc.; all new arts, trades, and manufactures that may be proposed or thought of; surveys, maps, and charts of particular parts of the sea-coast or inland countries; course and junction of rivers and great roads, situation of lakes and mountains, nature of the soil and productions; new methods of improving the breed of useful animals; introducing other sorts from foreign countries; new improvements in planting, gardening, and clearing land; and all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter and multiply the conveniences or pleasures of life.[8]

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[5] Budd: *Good Order Established,* 43 *ff.*

[6] *Supra,* 120 *ff.*

[7] *Supra,* 42 *ff.*

[8] Bigelow: *The Works of Benjamin Franklin,* II, 67 *f.*

This same realistic philosophy found embodiment in his *Proposals* for an academy, in 1749.[9] In a foreword, he remarked: "It has long been regretted as a misfortune to the youth of this Province, that we have no *Academy,* in which they might receive the accomplishments of a regular education."[10] He was evidently not deeply impressed with the Friends' Public Latin School, or the general provisions made by the Quakers for the education of youth in the province, nor was he satisfied with the advantages provided by the private masters of the city. The denominational, as well as the classical, character of the former probably explains his attitude toward it, and the lack of proper qualifications of many private masters, coupled with the general instability of their schools, may have led him to discountenance the value of their work. In his own religious life, Franklin was very decidedly individualistic but, in his efforts to be fair to all sects, and in his tolerance toward all shades and varieties of religious beliefs, he was a practical Christian. His was the religion of doing good.[11] While his *Proposals* are silent on the question of sectarianism in the education of the academy, it seems to be evident that he had in mind the founding of a nonsectarian institution. Non-sectarianism was probably never urged as an argument in favor of the academy, but its emphasis on religious and moral training, while it respected, at the same time, the rights of a student's or his parent's conscience, was often advanced in its favor, especially after the public school came into the field.[12] Franklin, among other arguments, upheld the academy rather on the grounds that it was a useful and practical institution;[13] that through it the colony would be supplied with schoolmasters; and that it would keep students at home and thus be a moral and financial advantage to students and parents.[14] The justification of the academy as a teachers' training school continued to be urged in its favor during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century,[15] while its claim for patronage on the ground that it kept students at home, was later urged in favor of the public high school as against the boarding academy.[16] Home, as Franklin conceived it, was, like his religious views, very liberal in its boundaries. It will be noted elsewhere that, in the following century, some even recommended the academy, because it took students from home,[17] but this argument does not seem to have appealed strongly to many parents, and the number decreased, when people were forced to pay taxes to support the public school, following the legal establishment of the State system, in 1834. The most effective argument urged in the eighteenth century was that of utilitarianism. There was no time, as Franklin knew, to teach a youth "everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental," and so, instead of spending years in the study of Latin, students ought to be instructed in the "things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental."[18] His deep concern for the care of the English School has been already noted.[19] Nor was his regard for the mathematics any less marked, for, in 1735, he made a strong plea for these studies not only because they were essential to the success of the merchant, the surveyor, the architect, the navigator, and the mechanic, but also because they helped to develop the habit of right reasoning and judgment, which the individual would find occasion to exercise in fields other than the mathematical. Yet he would not go so far as Plato in holding that a man who is ignorant of the "117th proposition of the 13th book of Euclid's Elements" is incapable of rational activity, although he was in sympathy with the general implications of the formal disciplinary theory.[20]

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[9] *Supra,* 177 *ff.*

[10] Franklin: *Proposals,* 1749. From original text in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

[11] Woody: *Educational Views of B. Franklin,* 31–5.

[12] *Infra,* 302, 305 *ff.*

[13] *Proposals,* 11.

[14] *Min. of Common Council,* 1704–76, 527–8.

[15] *Infra,* 302, 310 *f.*

After the Revolution, Benjamin Rush wrote a number of essays on educational topics,[21] in one of which, "Observations upon the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages,"[22] he expressed the opinion that these ought to be studied only by men who are to be professional and paid translators. Real scholarship and liberal learning, he felt, had been ruined in the past by the traditional emphasis on the classics, and the common people had been led to despise education because they knew more than the scholars. "A mere scholar," he remarked, "can call a horse, or a cow, by two or three different names, but he frequently knows nothing of the qualities, or uses of those valuable animals."[23] Rush's long array of arguments against the study of the classics cannot be repeated here. It will be sufficient to note that, like Franklin, he was an advocate of an education almost exclusively useful and practical in its nature. He recommended, in place of the classics, English, natural history, geography, French, German, arithmetic, grammar, oratory, criticism, mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, logic, metaphysics, chronology, history, government, the principles of agriculture and manufactures, and evidences and doctrines of Christianity.[24] His, also, were arguments for institutions like the academy of Franklin in its curricular aspects. Other voices, too, echoed the same philosophy.

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[16] *Infra,* 513.

[17] *Infra,* 303.

[18] *Supra,* 178.

[19] *Supra,* 180 *f.*, 191. See Woody: *Educational Views of B. Franklin,* 191–228.

[20] *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 30, 1735. Quoted in full by Woody: *Op. cit.*, 229–34.

[21] *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical.*

[22] *Op. cit.*, 21 *ff.*

In 1799, John Hobson, whom the Fates have mysteriously consigned to obscurity, wrote an essay on education, in which he presented his educational philosophy, as well as the practices which he seems to have adopted in his own private school: "As a parent," he said, "deeply anxious to qualify my *own* children for the chequered fences of life, I ask myself, upon what principles ought their course of education be founded . . . Am I willing to substitute the showy for the solid?—branches almost obsolete, or whose utility is confined and accidental, for such as I know the momentary occurrences of life call for?—such as can never become useless—such as will enable them to qualify themselves for any department that inclination, necessity . . . may justify their pursuing. Though it belongs not to me, at this distance to know, or determine their future situations, I will have them furnished with such material as will support whatever superstructure prudence shall require hereafter to be raised. In determining this question of utility, I perceive that I ought to have them educated in those branches which are most frequently called into action; such as will facilitate their acquaintance with others, and be they mechanics, tradesmen, merchants, professional characters, or living in easy independence, their tutor shall present them with such keys as will open any of the doors of science.''[25] Then he proceeded to outline his program of a liberal education, which included instruction in English grammar, elocution, writing, arithmetic and integers, vulgar and decimal fractions, shorthand, history, chronology, geography and the use of the globes, mensuration, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, logic, rhetoric and composition, ethics, the science of government, Latin, Greek and French.[26] Thus the educational theorists argued against the old exclusively classical curriculum.

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[23] *Ibid.*, 43.

[24] *Ibid.*, 45–50.

II. *Other Arguments for the Academy*

From the viewpoint of support and control of educational agencies, it has been noted elsewhere that the two chief reasons which determined legislative action favorable to the academy were the financial difficulties of the State in the years following the Revolution,[27] and the well-founded fear that the people were not yet ready to submit to any system of general taxation in support of schools.[28] Plans for a public school system had been proposed in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, but they had to await their fruition in an age of greater popular aggressiveness and awakened democratic consciousness. The arguments for and against the academy for fifty years after the Revolution were those based on cost, or arising out of the hostility of the public mind to a tax-supported public school system.

Throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the academy system had come to be accepted, in spite of arguments against it, and the attitude of the State toward academies prior to 1843, as has been shown,[29] was one of encouragement and, to an extent, of actual pecuniary assistance. The withdrawal of support, in that year, was due apparently to the fact that the State was deeply involved in debt as a result of a program of public improvements.[30] Even a public school appropriation from the State treasury was reported to be seriously threatened at that time. No one, however, at that time seems to have questioned the right of academies to exist. Only their right to a grant from the State in a financial crisis seems to have been denied. It was undoubtedly believed by many then, as it was by some for many decades later, that the duty of the State was fully discharged when it provided the fundamentals of citizenship which were interpreted to mean the wiping out of illiteracy,[31] while the provision of opportunities for secondary and higher education was considered the right of non-public agencies. Left without public support to compete with the tax-supported and State-subsidized public school, the academy did not quickly abandon the field. The fact is that the struggle between the academy and the public school, as it expanded upward, was bitterly contested and, for a considerable time, the academy remained a dangerous competitor of the State-supported institution. Prior to 1890, when the success of the public system, in its elementary and secondary aspects, became assured, the place of the academy in the educational scheme was frequently and warmly debated.

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[25] *Prospectus of a Plan of Instruction for the Young of Both Sexes*, 12 *ff*.

[26] *Ibid.*, 14 *ff*.

[27] *Supra*, 219 *f*.

[28] *Supra*, 220.

[29] *Supra*, 236 *ff*.

[30] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1843, 30.

Among the arguments urged at various times in defense of the academy were the following:

I. They train teachers for the public common schools.[32]

II. They provide religious and moral training which the public school cannot do. In boarding schools, the conduct and morals of students can be more effectively supervised than in public day schools.[33]

III. They have an uplifting effect on the common schools.[34]

IV. They are the legitimate preparatory schools of the State, uniting the common school with the college. The classics which they teach are not rightfully a part of common school education.[35]

V. High schools have not taken the place of academies in preparing students for college.[36]

VI. For many years they are destined to be the only schools providing secondary education in rural districts.[37]

VII. They teach politeness.[38]

VIII. They are needed to supplement the work of the ungraded or poorly graded common school.[39]

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[31] *Infra*, 304, 308 *f*.

[32] The State Ed. Convention, 1861. [*P. S. J.*, X, Jan., 1862, 216.]

[33] *Ibid.*, 207.

[34] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1843, 10.

[35] Burrowes: To the Friends of Education. [*P. S. J.*, I, Jan., 1852, 1]; Dodge [chairman]: Relation of High Schools, Academies and Female Seminaries to the Lower Schools and to the Colleges. [*Ibid.*, XI, Sept., 1862, 92 *ff*.]

[36] *Ibid.*, 93.

[37] Educator: Our Free School Law. [*Ibid.*, I, May, 1852, 75.]

[38] Lamborn: Teaching Good Manners in Schools. [*Ibid.*, Aug., 1852, 136–7.]

[39] Rept. of a committee on the Relation of the Common High School to the Acad. and Female Seminary. [*Ibid.*, XI, Sept., 1862, 91–2.]

IX. They are the last outpost in the education of girls. The female seminary is the female college in which are educated the mothers who will later prepare boys for the colleges of the State.[40]

X. In them have been educated the great and good men of the past. They have thus done a noble and worthy work.[41]

XI. Some parents will always prefer academies to public schools, and city parents will frequently desire for their children the pure air of the country academy.[42]

XII. They stand for the rights of parents against a system of education policed by the State.[43]

XIII. It is a good thing for a student to be sent early from home, and to assume responsibility for his conduct. Thus are men made.[44]

XIV. They have kept alive a taste for culture and academic learning.[45]

XV. The State cannot stand the cost of providing high schools for all pupils, for high schools, like academies, to be successful in rural districts must be boarding schools and the principal must be given a financial interest in them.[46]

XVI. The work of the public schools is too highly standardized and inflexible. Rules and practices with which every student must conform are an evil.[47]

XVII. The academy provides better education than the public school.[48]

XVIII. No citizen ought to be taxed to provide secondary or higher education for another man's children.[49]

XIX. Academy teachers on the whole are better than those in charge of public schools.[50]

An examination of these arguments will reveal the motives which give rise to them. A long established prejudice in favor of a liberal, classical education; a conviction that the primary purpose of education ought to be the development of religious and moral character, a goal impossible of realization in public institutions; an imperfect realization of the full import of a democratic educational philosophy; and the awareness of many glaring imperfections in the public schools themselves, were the considerations which called schoolmen, churchmen, and laymen to the defense of the academy. The argument most frequently advanced on behalf of the academy, from 1850 on, was that it was the legitimate and only practical college preparatory school in the system, and that the high school, as an institution preparing many students of varied interests for their part in the drama of life activities, could never satisfactorily prepare students for higher institutions. J. N. Gregory, in 1860, remarked:

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[40] The State Ed. Convention, 1861. [*Ibid.*, X, Jan., 1862, 216.]

[41] *Ibid.*, 216 *ff.*; Shumaker: Public H. Schools. [*Ibid.*, XXI, April, 1873, 314.]

[42] The Academies of the State. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 99–101.]

[43] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1866, 139.

[44] Shumaker: Academies. [*P. S. J.*, XX, Feb., 1872, 240.]

[45] Shumaker: Public High Schools. [*Ibid.*, XXI, April, 1873, 313.]

[46] *Ibid.*, 312.

[47] King: *The Old Boys and Girls*, 31–41. [Address at Erie Academy, 1875.]

[48] Graded Schools. [Editorial. *P. S. J.*, XX, March, 1874, 281.]

[49] The High School Question. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XXIII, April, 1875, 337.]

[50] Hays: Intermediate Schools. [*Ibid.*, XXIII, Nov., 1874, 152–5.]

> Common education embraces all that is needed by any one, in the general relations which he, in common with all, sustains to nature and society. . . . In short it brings him up to the point from which he may advantageously commence the *special education* that is to fit him for his special calling and duties, as agriculturist, artisan, merchant, lawyer, physician, engineer, teacher, or minister. . . . common education is for common uses, to be performed by all classes of persons, and requires common studies and training. . . .
>
> No one will pretend that a knowledge of the ancient classics forms a part of common education. No one will say, that a man must know Latin and Greek, in order to act well his part in the world of nature and the world of mankind. Therefore, my conclusion is, that the ancient classics ought *not* to be taught in our common schools.[51]

In 1862, a committee of which N. Dodge, principal of Cedar Hill Female Seminary, Lancaster county, was chairman, made a report, before the State educational convention, on the relationship of the various schools in the State. In this report it was stated, as the opinion of the committee, that the high school has no connection with the college, being but the terminus of the common school system. Its duty is to prepare students for business, and its purpose ought not to be preparation for college. The purpose of the academy is to prepare for college, normal school, polytechnic, and sometimes medical schools, and no other institution has a right to interfere with this, its ''legitimate sphere.''[52] In 1865, J. H. Shumaker, principal of Tuscarora Academy, in a paper read before the State Teachers' Association, said that the common school was but the foundation of the educational edifice, and that the teaching of higher mathematics, natural sciences, languages, mental and moral sciences, belles lettres, and philology was outside the province of the common school, because the field was too wide and the teachers unqualified. The academy existed, he said, to take up the work where the common school left off.[53] In the discussion which followed, a Mr. Beecher expressed the opinion that the State had a right to make its citizens "self-supporting, moral, industrious and useful," but that the work of the common school should be a preparation for higher institutions was, indeed, doubtful. That duty attached rather to the academy.[54]

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[51] Gregory: Should the Classics be Taught in the Common Schools. [*Ibid.*, IX, Sept., 1860, 91–2.]

[52] Report on Relation of High Schools, Academies and Female Seminaries to the Lower Schools and to the Colleges. [*Ibid.*, X, Sept., 1862, 92 *ff.*]

In 1890, the argument in favor of the academy as the nursery of culture was drawn not from the realm of theory, but from that of practice. It was said then:

> The high school is ceasing in many places to fulfil one of the functions generally assigned to academic institutions of the secondary grade. . . . The study of Greek is generally abandoned in them; Latin is taken by a decreasing number of pupils; the classical equipment is therefore getting out of repair. In place of the classics and the humanities, book-keeping, stenography, type-writing and the various branches formerly taught in commercial colleges are steadily coming in. Some of the high schools are introducing carpentry and blacksmithing. . . . To the great majority the chief end of an education is the preparation of the pupil for some lucrative pursuit. . . . The "bread and butter" branches will occupy a larger and larger place in them. . . .
>
> In order that the paths to the higher learning may be kept open, it seems desirable, therefore, that the academy should reappear . . . feeders to the colleges, we must have well-equipped academies.[55]

The academies were frequently defended on religious and moral grounds, and some felt that for these reasons alone they were a necessity. Denominational groups were strongly influenced by this motive. In 1845, the Quakers expressed grave concern "for the guarded and religious education of our children," because they felt that some members of the Society of Friends would hesitate, in addition to paying taxes for the support of public schools, to send their children to their own religious pay schools.[56] The Constitution of Dunlap's Creek Presbyterial Academy, adopted in 1849, reads:

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[53] Shumaker: The Relation of the Common Schools to Higher Institutions of Learning, in Our System of Ed. [*Ibid.*, XIV, Sept., 1865, 58–61.]

[54] *Ibid.*, 50.

[55] Gladden: A Plea for the Academy. [*Ibid.*, XXXIX, Oct., 1890, 153. Reprint from *The Congregationalist.*]

> The Presbytery of Redstone, taking into Consideration the importance of uniting sound religious instruction with secular learning, in the education of youth, and having in view the recent recommendation of the General Assembly on that subject, have resolved to establish an academy or high school to be governed and conducted in strict accordance with the following Constitution. . . .
>
> It shall be the primary design of the Institution to impart instruction in the doctrines and duties of religion in connection with all the branches of learning usually taught in academies and high schools.[57]

Similar expressions appear in other documents relating to Presbyterian institutions.[58] Cortland Van Rensselaer, in 1853, in an address at Eldersridge Academy, said it was regrettable that religion was banned in common schools, but he conceded that "Education without religion is probably, on the whole, better than no education at all." The evil, he thought, might be offset by teachers trained in religious schools.[59] The Evangelical Lutherans were actuated by similar purposes. In the charter, in 1875, of the Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's School Association of Tamaqua it was stated: "The purpose for which the Association is formed is to have and maintain a German Christian School in which besides the branches usually taught in Schools instruction shall specially be given in the Christian religion according to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."[60] This denominational attitude in favor of sectarian academies continued. In 1890, a plea was again made for Presbyterian academies, so that "The children of Presbyterians might be prepared for college in schools where religion is treated with respect, and might go on through all the stages of academic life under influences that should be favorable to the maintenance of a Christian character."[61] Nor were these views held by churchmen alone.

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[56] *Min. Philadelphia Yearly Mtg.*, 1845.

[57] *Min. of Trustees of Dunlap's Creek Presbyterial Academy*, July 5, 1849, 1 *f*.

[58] *E.g., Plan of the Presbyterian Institute adopted by the Presbytery of Philadelphia*, July, 1850, 3–4.

[59] Van Rensselaer: *An Address*, 3–12.

[60] *Misc. Record Book*, XIV, 382–3. [Schuylkill Co.]

[61] Gladden: A Plea for the Academy. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIX, 152–4. Reprinted from *The Congregationalist.*]

They were shared to an extent by some among the laity. A speaker, in 1861, expressed his conviction that, because the public schools could not teach religion, the academy was necessary in supplementing the religious training of the home, and, when it is necessary for a student to leave his home environment, he ought to go to some academy where religious training is provided for.[62] In 1866, Thomas Burrowes remarked that denominational colleges must be preserved, because the State cannot dispense with ministers of religion, an argument which might reasonably be supposed to include the denominational academies as well.[63] In 1868, he added the suggestion that academies which offered no religious instruction were "moral pest-houses."[64] In 1875, Wickersham, commenting on the article in the new Constitution, forbidding the appropriation of public money to sectarian institutions, approved eloquently of the principle of the complete separation of church and state, but wished it could be preserved in the public schools without eliminating religious instruction. Yet the rights of the people must be considered sacred: "Sooner," he said, "than take from a single citizen his equal rights; sooner than trample upon the conscience of one honest man; sooner than violate the heaven-born principle of religious liberty . . . I would, if necessary, discontinue the reading of the Bible in the public schools, and relegate all religious instruction to the home, the Sabbath school and the church, and limit the common school to the performance of its intellectual and moral duties. . . .

"If any man or body of men prefer to establish or patronize a private school with a mode of discipline or a course of study that pleases them better than the management of the public schools in these respects, they will meet with no opposition so long as they pay their school taxes like other people and make no effort to cripple the schools that have been established for the common benefit."[65] The earlier attitude of approval on the part of public schoolmen had, by this time, become one of mere toleration.

The third argument very frequently urged in favor of the academy was that the State had no right to tax citizens for the support of any form of education not essential to the making of citizens, and the rights and duties of the State were fully and completely discharged through its system of common elementary schools. The state superintendent, in 1838, drew a clear-cut distinction between that education which ought to be free to all, and that which should ''not be wholly free,'' and he stated definitely that this latter comprised that provided in ''the Academy, College and University.''[66] In 1865, Mr. Beecher, as has been noted, remarked that the State must furnish sufficient education to make intelligent citizens, but that the duty of the academy and university was to carry on at the point where the State leaves off.[67] A similar implication was embodied in Thomas Burrowes' statement, of 1866, regarding college education which he said was not necessary in the training of citizens. He remarked that as soon as that form of education is reached, which provides special and distinguishing training, ''that instant it ceases to be the concern of the state and becomes a matter of choice and private interest to the individual.''[68] In 1873, Charles Eliot was reported to have said, before the National Teachers' Association at Elmira, that ''no man ought to be taxed to send another man's son to a high school or college,''[69] and this philosophy, it was said, ''the school men of Pennsylvania repudiate in toto.''[70] Yet, two years later, a writer in the *Harrisburg Telegraph* was reported as having expressed the belief that provision for education beyond ''the power to read and write the English language correctly, and a practical knowledge of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic,'' was a violation of the original purpose of the public school law, and that the taxpayers of the State never consented to pay the cost of public higher education.[71] To give boys an education beyond the rudiments would make them ''supercilious, haughty, discontented,'' rather than good citizens.[72] In 1881, this argument was again advanced, this time through the pages of the *Doylestown Democrat*. The writer said:

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[62] The State Ed. Convention. [*Ibid.*, X, Jan., 1862, 207.]

[63] The Colleges of Pa. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XV, Sept., 1866, 44–46.]

[64] Selection of an Academy. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XVI, May, 1868, 309.]

[65] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1875, XXVIII.

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[66] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1838, 15.

[67] Proceedings of State Convention. [*P. S. J.*, Sept., 1865, XIV, 50.]

[68] The Colleges of Pa. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XV, Sept., 1866, 44–6.]

[69] Work at Elmira. [*Ibid.*, XXII, Oct., 1873, 115–7.]

[70] *Ibid.*, 115.

[71] The High School Question. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XXIII, April, 1875, 337.]

[72] *Ibid.*

> This will be a good time to move on the Normal schools by abolishing them. They have always been an expensive part of our Common School system, and such institutions were not intended as any part of it. They have broken up all, or nearly all, academies in the State, because private enterprise cannot successfully compete with the Commonwealth in keeping school. In these Normal schools pupils receive a classical education, or its equivalent, at the expense of the taxpayers. This should not be done. If a boy or girl wants anything better than a "Common School" education, the parent should pay for it, and others should not be taxed for it.[73]

In addition to these, many arguments, arising out of the imperfections of the public schools, were advanced on behalf of the academy. In 1854, when the public schools were as yet poorly organized, and in many places probably ungraded, a "Report on the Proposed Plan of a High School," made by J. W. Wetmore and John Galbraith, was printed in the *Erie Gazette.* Its purpose was evidently to point the way to a well-organized and properly graded system of schools throughout the State, somewhat after the plan embodied in the Prussian system to which the writers referred. Briefly, the plan called for the division of each county into academy districts, and the establishment of an academy in each district, to be controlled by trustees, elected by the district directors of public schools, who should hold office for three years. The academies would be supported by rates, which the district school directors might vote to pay or not to pay. The directors, moreover, should have a final voice in the selection of the course of study to be pursued by their pupils in the academy. Thus, it was said, would the State be furnished with a graded school system in the elementary and secondary fields, and pupils in the lower schools be stimulated to greater earnestness and effort.[74] The editor of the *Pennsylvania School Journal* opposed the plan in all its aspects, stressing the fact that it would make the common schools subservient to the academies, and create not a "graded system" but a "degraded system."[75] In the following year, 1855, the legislature provided by law for the grading of public schools. Yet the imperfections of the public schools continued to furnish arguments on behalf of academies and sometimes for even their support by the State. In 1862, a report on the "Relation of the Common High School to the Academy and Female Seminary" was prepared by a committee of the State Educational Convention. On the committee of three preparing the report there were two academy principals and a director of the Harrisburg public schools. They expressed the opinion that the academies were necessary for the advanced education of common school students; that they were especially needed in districts where the public schools were not properly graded; that the public system had not furnished any substitute for the academy; that high schools and academies were working in entirely different fields; and that while, in cities and larger centres, the high school might take the place of the academy, the latter must continue, in sparsely populated districts, to provide advanced instruction for students, because here it is not practicable for the public schools to undertake such work.[76]

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[73] War on Normal Schools. [Editorial. *Ibid.,* XXIX, June, 1881, 507–8.]

[74] Reprinted from *Erie Gaz.,* in *Ibid.,* II, April, 1854, 326–30.

[75] The Erie Co. Rept. [Editorial, *Loc. cit.,* II, 300–1.]

In 1866, Wickersham recommended a "small annual appropriation from the State Treasury" in aid of academies and seminaries,[77] evidently because of the belief that "The time will probably never come when common schools can be so well graded in rural districts, as to furnish instruction in the higher branches of learning, necessary to fit young men to enter college, to take a leading part in complicated kinds of business, or to take a leading part in the affairs of society. Young ladies can now obtain a higher education in no other class of institutions."[78] In an editorial, of this year, in the *School Journal,* appropriations to academies and seminaries were opposed, on the ground that these institutions had never been permanent, and frequently in the past continued to operate just to receive an annual grant.[79] In 1873, J. H. Shumaker pleaded for State aid for the academies, labelling the legislative attitude toward them as one of injustice and ingratitude. They had kept alive, he said, a taste for academic culture in the State for over a century. He directed attention to the work of these in furnishing the State with teachers, saying that of 18,000 teachers in the State, in 1871, all except about 1,500 were educated in academies and boarding schools. The State, he felt, ought to compensate them for this service.[80]

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[76] *Ibid.*, XI, Sept., 1862, 91–2.

[77] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1866, p. XXII.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

[79] The Academies of the State. [*P. S. J.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 99–101.]

But the policy of the State had long ago been adopted. That policy was one of converting the academies of the State into public institutions, a policy which the academies, vainly competing with the State-supported school system, were compelled in many cases to adopt.[81]

III. *Arguments Against the Academy*

As opposed to the many arguments advanced in favor of academies, many others were urged forcefully against them. Among the latter, those most frequently voiced were the following:

I. They interfere with the development of common schools by receiving money that ought to be used to build up the State system,[82] and by preventing the grading of public schools.[83]

II. They create social distinctons by serving only the rich.[84] The poor ought to have access to a college education as well as the rich.[85]

III. The common schools do prepare students for college.[86]

IV. They are not qualified to train teachers,[87] and by allowing them to do so they control, through teachers, the common schools.[88]

V. There is no reason for the female seminary, because colleges ought to be open to sisters and brothers alike.[89]

VI. They are not good college preparatory schools, because they neglect the fundamentals.[90]

VII. The State has a right and duty to educate its citizens to the full extent of their capacity to receive learning.[91]

VIII. Pennsylvania is many years behind the other states in her educational provisions, because she has depended too much upon private educational agencies.[92]

IX. The academies are a failure.[93]

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[80] Public High Schools. [*Ibid.*, XXI, April, 1873, 309–14.]

[81] *Supra*, 223.

[82] Systematicus: Day Academies. [*P. S. J.*, XIV, Nov., 1865, 105.]

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] Browne: Graded Schools in Town and Country. [*Ibid.*, V, Sept., 1856, 81–3.] We shall see later —*Infra*, 448 *ff.*, that the leaders of the labor movement urged this argument strongly against academies.

[85] The State Ed. Convention, 1861. [*P. S. J.*, X, Jan., 1862, 217.]

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Fourth Rept. of State Supt.*, 1838, 23.

[88] Erie Co. Teachers Assoc. [*P. S. J.*, V, Jan., 1857, 224.]

[89] The State Ed. Convention, 1861. [*Ibid.*, X, Jan., 1862, 219.]

[90] *Ibid.*, 220.

[91] Proceedings of State Convention, 1865. [*Ibid.*, XIV, Sept., 1865, 52.]

[92] State Teachers Assoc., 1870. [*Ibid.*, XIX, Sept., 1870, 68.]

[93] *Pa. Intelligencer*, Feb. 10, 1834, 1.

X. If the high school does not satisfy the requirements of the colleges, the latter ought to change their curriculum and requirements.[94]

XI. Education breeds rascality. This attitude was characteristic of certain elements among the German population.[95] ''Dis Ettication and dings make rascals,'' said Governor Wolf's father, when asked for a subscription to the fund of an academy in Northampton county, in 1785.[96] And when he was reminded that his son might one day become governor as a result of the opportunities thus afforded, he is said to have replied: ''Vell den . . . ven my George is Gofernor it vill be queer times.''[97]

These, with the exception of the last, might be resolved into one main argument: that any educational institution or practice, that tends to prevent the equalization of educational opportunities, runs counter to the principles of a democratic political philosophy. The import of this philosophy was not fully understood by statesmen in 1834, for there was a strong feeling then that the duty of the State towards the education of its citizens ceased with the providing of elementary schools.[98] In 1838, the State superintendent expressed the opinion that the education offered in academies should not be ''wholly free.''[99] In the eighteen-fifties sentiment was beginning to turn in favor of the public high school, the ''people's college,'' as an institution that knew no caste distinctions but provided equally for the needs of rich and poor men's sons.[100] In the same year, another voice echoed the same philosophy:

> Why confine the masses, that attend the common schools throughout the length and breadth of our extended State, to the elementary studies that are usually taught in these schools and thus chain them in comparative ignorance, ''when the whole boundless continent is theirs!'' Why compel parents to send their children from home to obtain a more finished education, when by a perfect system of gradation, the same or better might be obtained at their own door? Why not open the door of the high school—the ''Peoples' College''—to the child of the poor man

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[94] State Teachers Assoc., 1870. [*P. S. J.*, XIX, Sept., 1870, 75.]

[95] *Supra*, 18.

[96] *Walnut Grove School Library, of Walnut Grove Sch. Lib. Assoc.*, 18. [Swank Collection, Johnstown Public Lib.]

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Rept. of the Joint Committee of the Two Houses of the Legislature, on a System of General Education*, 1834, 3.

[99] *Supra*, 308.

[100] Strong: Address at First Commencement of Reading H. School, 1856. [*P. S. J.*, V, Oct., 1856, 132–5.]

> as well as of the rich man . . . to the down-trodden and outcast. who have waded through all the studies taught in their school, by moonlight as it were, and yet thirst for further knowledge, for higher attainments, as well as the son of the merchant or millionaire, who has been reared in the lap of luxury? . . . Why not extend the equal blessings of a thorough and advanced education, of superior mental discipline and accomplishments to all—everywhere—into regions not yet favored with its benign influence, and fill our land with intelligent virtuous men and women, such as are found in no land under the sun.[101]

Speaking of the decline of academies in places where high schools were established, the same writer continued:

> If they have served to break down those partition walls between the poor and the wealthy, to destroy those false distinctions between those who in after life have to meet, face to face, on the broad ground of free and equal competition;—if they have removed those barriers which deprive the man of limited means from the treasures of a first class education—we say *amen* to all this. Let them be destroyed; let them go down to obscurity; let their epitaphs be unwritten and let no trumpet tongue ever sound their resurrection.[102]

Similar arguments continued to be advanced in the sixties and seventies. Some expressed the opinion that the high school, and not the academy, was the logical and legitimate link between the common school and the college,[103] and when the chain did not seem to be firmly and smoothly linked, public schoolmen, in their conventions, from 1870 on, called upon the colleges to reform themselves. They felt that the college must be fitted to the common school, rather than the common school to the college, and that "too much importance" had been paid to the "dead languages."[104] The changing attitude on the question was thus expressed:

> Instead of the public High Schools giving special training with reference to the present college course, we had better recommend the colleges to alter their curriculum so that pupils thoroughly trained in their own language, in mathematics and in natural science, may enter them and complete a scientific course, if they so elect, without Greek and Latin. It has been asserted, as though undisputed, that the Greek and Latin give the best

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[101] Browne: Graded Schools in Town and Country. [*Ibid.*, V, Sept., 1856, 82.]

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] The State Ed. Convention, 1861. [*Ibid.*, X, Jan., 1862, 217 *ff.*]

[104] State Teachers Assoc., 1870. [*Ibid.*, XIX, Sept., 1870, 75.]

discipline. Now it does not become us to assume a disputed fact. The languages should not be part of the common but of a technical course.[105]

No resolutions, however, were offered on the question of the right of academies to exist, and the State Teachers' Association took no action in the matter beyond a manifestation of keen interest in the subject. The arguments presented on either side of the question were never sufficiently conclusive to call for definite action by the teachers of the State. Those who espoused the cause of academies were usually men who had been long connected with these schools, while those who urged the rights of high schools were usually men connected with the public school system. These purely forensic discussions had probably little effect on the tide of events that had been, for many years, turning in favor of the public high school, but they throw light on some of the spiritual forces that were embodied in our educational institutions of a past generation.

[105] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XI

CURRICULUM, ORGANIZATION AND METHOD

I. *Factors Affecting the Curriculum*

Purpose.—It has been noted elsewhere[1] that the Philadelphia Academy appeared in response to the changing needs of the colony; that it was designed chiefly to prepare students in a practical way for efficient participation in the various activities of life around them; but that, like many other historical anomalies, it gradually became subservient to the College. The perversion of the early purpose of the Philadelphia Academy has been referred to elsewhere,[2] and Franklin's indignation because of that perversion has been noted also.[3] The college preparatory purpose predominated throughout the entire history of the institution. In 1830, the trustees approved a plan of reorganization of the Academy, which had for some time been designated by the name of the "Grammar School." Under the new plan it was to have again "A Classical—an English—and a Mathematical Department." The teacher of the classics was to be "Principal of the Academy" and, with regard to the duties of the whole Academy, it was stated that "The Teachers of the respective departments will be expected and required to pursue such course of instruction as will thoroughly prepare the pupils for admission into College."[4] The seemingly popular impression that the Philadelphia Academy conformed, in its development, with Franklin's utilitarian ideals is entirely unsupported by historical evidence.

Among the forces affecting the curriculum of the academies, the requirements for admission to the colleges were among the mightiest. It has already been noted that the college preparatory function became the basis of one of the chief arguments urged in defense of the academy[5] and, in catalogues and announcements of the various institutions that have been studied, it was almost generally listed among their purposes. Lower Dublin Academy, in 1815, recorded preparation for college as its only purpose.[6] In this same year, the trustees of Allegheny College resolved ''That the public academies now in existence, or hereafter to be established in the counties of Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango, Mercer, and Butler . . . may be so far connected with Allegheny College, as to receive and prepare probationers for matriculation in this seminary, and in this case, that the principal instructor, being a man of competent classical education, and of good character, be considered as one of the faculty, and be added to the list of tutors of the college.''[7] Loller Academy, in 1819, prepared students for Princeton.[8] Germantown Academy, in 1826, prepared students for the ''advanced classes'' of ''the University,''[9] and York County Academy made a somewhat similar announcement, in 1829.[10] While college preparation was the most generally stated purpose, other aims were also frequently proclaimed. Germantown Academy, in 1826, offered a ''course of classical and mathematical studies, and of the other departments of literature, . . . such as to prepare young men, who are not designed for the University, for pursuing with credit any of the learned professions; or for entering with reputation the more active employments of life.''[11] The purpose of Gettysburg Gymnasium, at its opening in 1827, was said to be ''to qualify young gentlemen for admission into any College in the Union, and to give to others, who may wish it, the higher branches of an English and Scientific Education.''[12] In the same year the ''primary object'' of Allegheny Academy was ''a systematic and solid course of instruction in the various branches of an English education.''[13] Somewhat similar seems to have been the purpose of the Lancaster County Academy, in 1832, which was thus expressed: ''The various branches of literature embraced in a course of English and Mathematical instruction, will in this institution be carefully and efficiently taught, so as to prepare the pupil to meet the strictest examinations; and to fill with reputation and dignity, the variegated allotments of human society.''[14] Hollidaysburg Academy, in 1837, offered ''boys, and young men an opportunity of becoming good English scholars, or fully preparing themselves to enter College, (if desired),''[15] and Chambersburg Academy, in 1838, in addition to preparing boys for college, announced also their preparation for ''professional studies, or the ordinary avocations of life.''[16] It was announced that, in Lewistown Academy, in 1843, ''everything requisite to qualify pupils for entering College or Business'' would be taught.[17] An exactly similar purpose was expressed for Tuscarora Academy in the same year.[18] In 1857, that purpose continued to be emphasized. Of West Chester Academy it was said, at that time, ''the course of instruction is very extensive; its aim, accurate and thorough scholarship; its design, to prepare boys and young men for College, or fit them for usefulness in the various departments of active life.''[19] In later years, this earlier purpose had not changed. Blairsville Academy, in 1872, prepared students ''for business, for teaching, or for higher college classes.''[20] In 1875, the headmaster of Penn Charter School, in his report to the overseers, stated that the purpose of the school was ''to prepare boys to enter with credit our best colleges; never, however, losing sight of the fact that many of them will leave us for mercantile life.''[21] Nazareth Hall, in its emphasis upon the utilitarian ideal, was probably a unique institution. In 1890, the following official declaration of the purpose of the School appeared: ''The scholastic arrangements are regulated in accordance with the primary object of the institution, which is preparation for the ordinary pursuits of life. Preparation for college or for technical schools may be undertaken, and will receive the same close and careful attention as is bestowed upon the regular work. But, in general, the regulations of the school as regards methods of instruction, course of study, text-books and the like are dictated by the requirements of the first named object.''[22]

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[1] *Supra,* 174 *ff.*

[2] *Supra,* 178, 180 *f.*

[3] *Supra,* 181.

[4] *T. U. P. M.,* VII, 359–60.

[5] *Supra,* 302 *ff.*

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[6] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, July 10, 1815, 4.

[7] *The Allegheny Magazine*, I, 8.

[8] *Pa. Corres. and Farmers' Adv.*, Jan. 26, 1819, 1.

[9] *Circular*, Sept. 1, 1826. [Ger. Acad. Archives.]

[10] *York Gaz.*, Aug. 25, 1829, 2.

[11] *Circular*, Sept. 1, 1826. [Ger. Acad. Archives.]

[12] *Adams Centinel*, June 6, 1827, 3.

[13] *Pitt. Mer.*, Sept. 4, 1827, 3.

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[14] *Lancaster Exam.*, July 5, 1832, 1.

[15] *Canal and Portage Register*, Aug. 9, 1837, 4.

[16] *Franklin Repository*, Sept. 18, 1838, 3.

[17] *Lewistown Republican*, April 19, 1843, 2.

[18] *American Volunteer* [Carlisle], April 6, 1843, 3.

[19] *Directory of the Boro. of West Chester*, 1857–8, 117.

[20] *Indiana Progress*, Aug. 22, 1872, 4.

[21] *P. C. S. M.*, 6–25–1875.

[22] *Catalogue*, for year ending June 18, 1890, 10.

After the establishment of the public school system, the preparation of teachers for the public schools became a prominent purpose of the academies. Franklin urged this purpose, in 1749, when he needed financial support for the Philadelphia Academy.[23] A great need for teachers was felt keenly in the eighteen-forties and later. The advertisements of school directors in the newspapers of the State throw light on the dearth of public school teachers. Thus, in the Lancaster *Examiner and Herald,* August 23, 1848, ten school districts announced their vacancies for teachers, all of them wanting seven or more teachers, with East Donegal township calling for fifteen males and three females. The academies met this demand, and when the academy was declining, the gratitude of the State was claimed for it on this basis.[24] Lancaster Academy undertook the training of teachers, in 1834.[25] In 1845, Franklin Academy announced that "Particular attention is paid to those who wish to be employed as Teachers of Common Schools, and the instruction is such as to embrace all the topics connected with Common School instruction."[26] In 1852, the so-called University of Northern Pennsylvania offered lectures on the "Theory and Practice of Teaching."[27] In the following year, Athens Academy advertised a "Teachers Department," in which it was said, "both by instruction and familiar conversation, the result of years experience in teaching and government will be imparted, thus securing as far as may be the advantages of a Teachers Institute."[28] In 1854, Tuscarora Academy announced as one of its chief aims the preparation of teachers for the public schools of that part of the State. Nor did this teacher training cease early to be a purpose of academies. Blairsville Academy, in 1872, listed it among its purposes.[29] Keystone Academy announced it, in 1878,[30] and Maplewood Institute, in 1881,[31] as did also Mount Pleasant Institute, in 1886.[32] Mr. Shumaker, in 1873, remarked that, of the teachers of the public schools, in 1871, nearly ninety per cent. were educated in academies and boarding schools.[33] Even after the normal schools had been well established, the academies continued their normal work. Sugar Grove Seminary, Warren county, as late as 1910, offered, among others, a three-year normal course.[34]

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[23] *Supra,* 187.

[24] *Supra,* 302, 310 *f.*

[25] *Exam. and Herald,* Aug. 7, 1834, 3.

[26] *Catalogue,* 1845–6, 11.

[27] *Catalogue,* 1852, 12.

[28] *Catalogue,* 1853–4, 11–2.

[29] *Indiana Progress,* Aug. 22, 1872, 4.

[30] *Catalogue,* 1878–9, 14.

[31] *Prospectus,* 1881, 10.

[32] *Forty-Seventh Rept. of Pa. Baptist Ed. Soc.,* 39.

[33] *Supra,* 310 *f.*

It has been already noted that a religious purpose often found embodiment in some of the academies of the State.[35] While further reference to these special purposes is not necessary here, the following statement regarding Nazareth Hall shows the pronounced realism of the early Moravian educators, as well as their interest in the training of teachers: "Bro. Johannes . . . declares himself more fully as to the intentions of U. E. C. regarding the Paedagogium at Nazareth, viz. that the real intention is, that boys who display an ability for the sciences [*Wissenschaften*] should be permitted to enjoy instruction in the first principles of the sciences [*Anfangsgruenden der Wissenschaften*] several years longer than is customary in our Town Schools, [*Orts-schulen*] possibly till their 16th or 17th year, before they learn a trade; so that they may have opportunity to learn as much as may be necessary to qualify as school teachers or similar occupations, without ordinarily setting them apart entirely for study: which, however, might occasionally occur: for, for some time already our congregations have suffered considerably from the lack of such men."[36] The academy, then, as it developed in Pennsylvania, was both cultural and utilitarian in its purpose, and the curriculum conformed with both designs.

The disciplinary conception of education.—The educational literature of the academy period affords much evidence of the widespread acceptance of the disciplinary theory of education, of which John Locke was the most eloquent and convincing exponent.[37] In 1819, the following, from the writings of Archibald Arthur, of the University of Glasgow, was considered significant enough to be given a place in a local newspaper: "The habits of classing and arranging, of discovering analogies and resemblances, with quickness and ease, must be of great use in life;

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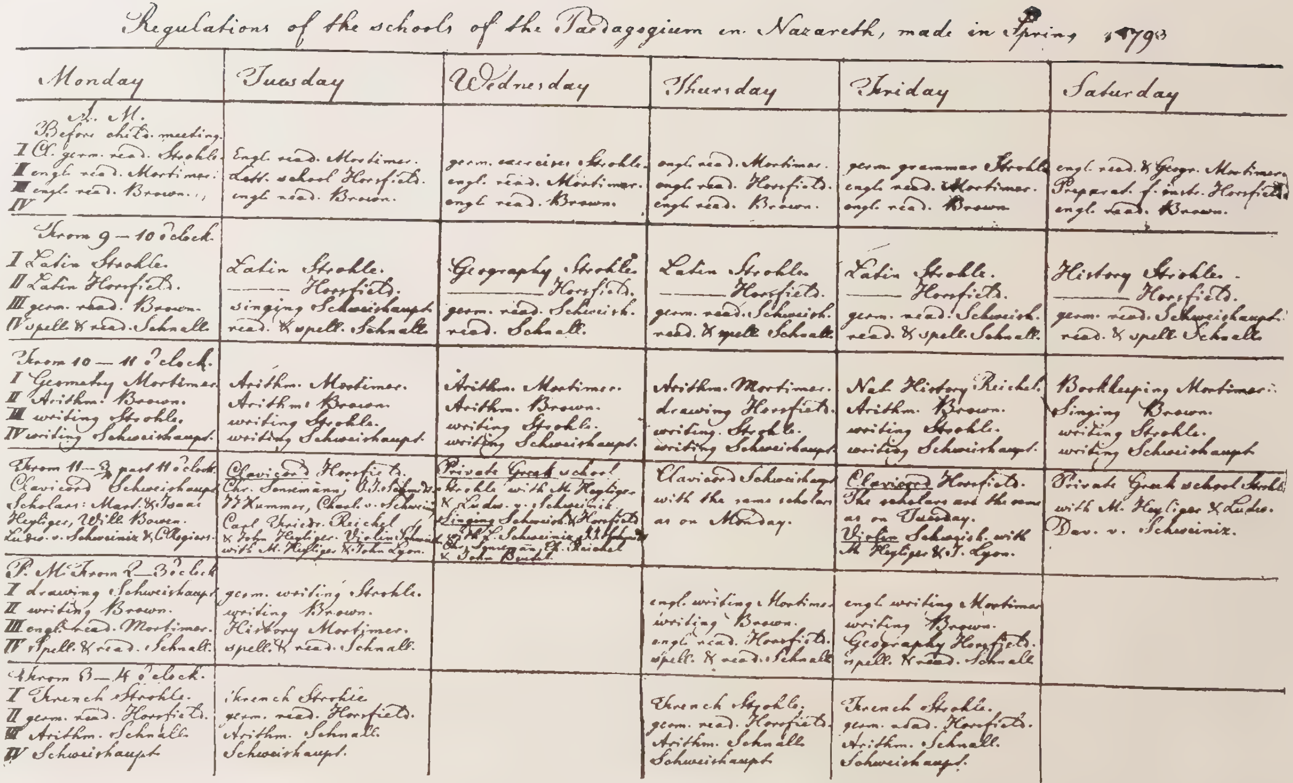
[34] *Catalogue*, 1910, 13–15. [In possession of Mrs. Margaret Hamilton, Sugar Grove.]

[35] *Supra*, 302, 305 *ff*.

[36] *Min. Provincial Helfer Conferenz*, 1782–1785, 226–7. [Translated from the original *MS.* by Rev. S. H. Gapp, Bethlehem.]

[37] *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and *Conduct of the Understanding.*



Regulations of the schools of the Paedagogium in Nazareth, made in Spring 1793

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
A. M. Before chil. meeting. I Cl. germ. read. Strohle. II engl. read. Mortimer. III engl. read. Brown. IV	Engl. read. Mortimer. Latt. school Horsfield. engl. read. Brown.	germ. exercises Strohle. engl. read. Mortimer. engl. read. Brown.	engl. read. Mortimer. engl. read. Horsfield. engl. read. Brown.	germ. grammar Strohle engl. read. Mortimer. engl. read. Brown	engl. read. & Geogr. Mortimer. Preparat. f. instr. Horsfield. engl. read. Brown.
From 9 – 10 o'clock. I Latin Strohle. II Latin Horsfield. III germ. read. Brown. IV spell & read. Schnall.	Latin Strohle. —— Horsfield. singing Schweishaupt read. & spell. Schnall.	Geography Strohle. —— Horsfield. germ. read. Schweish. read. Schnall.	Latin Strohle. —— Horsfield. germ. read. Schweish. read. & spell. Schnall.	Latin Strohle. —— Horsfield. germ. read. Schweish. read. & spell. Schnall.	History Strohle. —— Horsfield. germ. read. Schweishaupt. read. & spell. Schnall.
From 10 – 11 o'clock. I Geometry Mortimer. II Arithm. Brown. III writing Strohle. IV writing Schweishaupt.	Arithm. Mortimer. Arithm. Brown writing Strohle. writing Schweishaupt.	Arithm. Mortimer. Arithm. Brown. writing Strohle. writing Schweishaupt.	Arithm. Mortimer. drawing Horsfield. writing Strohle. writing Schweishaupt.	Nat. History Reichel. Arithm. Brown. writing Strohle. writing Schweishaupt.	Bookkeeping Mortimer. Singing Brown. writing Strohle. writing Schweishaupt
From 11 – ¾ past 11 o'clock. Clavicord Schweishaupt Scholars: Mart. & Isaac Heyliger, Will. Bowen. Ludw. v. Schweinitz & C. Regier.	Clavicord Horsfield. Chr. Sonnemann, G. J. Schmidt, [illegible] Kummer, Charl. v. Schweinitz, Carl Friedr. Reichel & John Heyliger. Violin Schweish. with M. Heyliger & John Lyon.	Private Greek school Strohle with M. Heyliger & Ludw. v. Schweinitz. Singing Schweish. & Horsfield [illegible] Schweinitz, [illegible] Sonnemann, Ch. Reichel & John Beckel.	Clavicord Schweishaupt with the same scholars as on Monday.	Clavicord Horsfield. The scholars are the same as on Tuesday. Violin Schweish. with M. Heyliger & J. Lyon.	Private Greek school Strohle with M. Heyliger & Ludw. Dav. v. Schweinitz.
P. M. From 2 – 3 o'clock I drawing Schweishaupt II writing Brown. III engl. read. Mortimer. IV spell. & read. Schnall.	germ. writing Strohle. writing Brown. History Mortimer. spell. & read. Schnall.		engl. writing Mortimer. writing Brown. engl. read. Horsfield. spell. & read. Schnall.	engl. writing Mortimer writing Brown. Geography Horsfield. spell. & read. Schnall.	
From 3 – 4 o'clock. I French Strohle. II germ. read. Horsfield. III Arithm. Schnall. IV Schweishaupt	French Strohle germ. read. Horsfield. Arithm. Schnall. Schweishaupt.		French Strohle. germ. read. Horsfield. Arithm. Schnall. Schweishaupt	French Strohle. germ. read. Horsfield. Arithm. Schnall. Schweishaupt.	

(Courtesy of The Moravian Historical Society)

Plan of Studies Pursued in Nazareth Hall in 1793. From Original in The Archives of The Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

and I know of no means by which they can be got with so little trouble, or in so great perfection, as by studying the ancient languages.''[38]

In 1824, the following statement of principles was approved by the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania: ''Liberal education must rest for its basis on an accurate and extensive knowledge of the learned Languages, when the acquisition of them has cultivated the taste, strengthened the memory and stored the mind with terms and the capacity to analyze them. Adapted to every branch of knowledge an introduction of the *precise sciences,* of mathematics and the art of reasoning is peculiarly seasonable.''[39] In 1829, the argument against the principle of election of studies was thus stated:

> It is not designed . . . to qualify the student in a special manner for any particular profession or pursuit . . . but to aid in the development of all his faculties in their just proportions; and by discipline and instruction, to furnish him with those general qualifications, which are useful and ornamental in every profession. . . . How many instances have occurred, of youth, who, after receiving the benefits of a liberal education, have engaged in one pursuit, and subsequently, with the approbation of their parents and friends, have betaken themselves to another, with distinguished success? . . . Is the choice [of studies] then to be made by parents? To them it undoubtedly belongs, as a right, to determine for their children, whether they will send them to College or not—but there their authority terminates. It cannot be pretended that every parent, or that any parent has, or ought to have, or can have a right to decide upon the discipline and instruction to be adopted in a College, though he has the power of withdrawing his child, if he thinks fit to do so.[40]

Provost Ludlow, of the University of Pennsylvania, in his inaugural address, in 1834, remarked: ''In conducting a course of instruction, too much attention cannot be paid to this mental cultivation and discipline. The youthful student must be excited to habits of mental activity. He must be taught how to think; how to analyse.''[41]

This disciplinary theory of education was very slowly abandoned. In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, it had back of it the tradition of centuries of classical training. The classics were the meat on which the minds of great social, political and religious leaders of the past had fed. The classics and intellectual power had been so intimately related that men came to view them in the relationship of cause and effect. Supplementing the force of tradition, was the ancient theory of the mind or soul, which posited the existence of separate and clearly defined faculties as constituent elements of man's intellectual equipment. Of these faculties, memory and reason became the objects of special attention in the instructional process. Locke in his *Conduct of the Understanding* remarked: "The faculties of our souls are improved and made useful to us just after the same manner as our bodies are [by exercise]. . . . Would you have a man reason well, you must use him to it betimes, exercise his mind in observing the connection of ideas and following them in train."[42] In regard to the subjects best adapted to this end he remarked: "Nothing does this better than mathematics, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the time and opportunity, not so much to make them mathematicians, as to make them reasonable creatures."[43] This same principle, applied not only to the development of reason but of the memory as well, was accepted by the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1824.

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[38] *The Oracle of Dauphin,* May 15, 1819, 1.

[39] *T. U. P. M.,* VII, 82.

[40] Sergeants Discourse. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.,* IV, 109–10.]

[41] Inaugural Address. [*Ibid.,* XV, 197.]

From the religious point of view, the disciplinary theory of education was supported by the belief that human nature had suffered corruption and a fall through the disobedience of the first parents of the race: " 'Break your child's will, in order that it may not perish,' wrote John Wesley. 'Break its will as soon as it can speak plainly—or even before it can speak at all. It should be forced to do as it is told, even if you have to whip it ten times running. Break its will in order that its soul may live.' "[44] There is no reason to suppose that, in Pennsylvania, this conception was not generally entertained. Thus tradition, psychological conceptions, and religious attitudes conspired to thwart any attempt to promote the free development of students, and the principle of free election by students of studies did not find advocates until the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

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[42] *Op. cit.*, 19–20.

[43] *Ibid.*, 20.

[44] Quoted by James: *Talks to Teachers*, 182.

In 1870, the schoolmen of the State were in a mood to suggest that the colleges change their traditional requirements.[45]

College entrance requirements.—It has been noted that the college entrance requirements of the College of Philadelphia, in 1762, were almost exclusively classical.[46] In 1803, the trustees of Dickinson College announced: "Those who offer themselves for admission into the College, being strictly examined, if found deficient in classical learning, must spend such time as may be necessary in the Grammar School."[47] In 1810, the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania decreed that "No student shall be admitted into the Freshman class unless, on examination by the Faculty he shall be found able to translate Caesar's Commentaries and Virgil (or other books, the translation of which requires an equal degree of skill) into English:—to render the exercises of Mair's introduction into gramatical Latin, and to translate the Gospels from the Greek and give a gramatical analysis of the words; and shall also be sufficiently grounded in Common Arithmetic and Vulgar and Decimal Fractions."[48] In 1830, the requirements had not changed much in spirit, although the standards had been raised. To enter the Freshman class then, students "must be qualified for examination on the following subjects and authors:

> *Latin*—Cæsar, Virgil, Sallust, Odes of Horace.
> *Greek*—New Testament, the Four Gospels, Acts, and the Epistles of Peter, Xenophon, first three books. Græca Minor, or Jacob's Greek Reader.
> Quantity and scanning in each language.
> Arithmetic including fractions, and extractions of roots.
> The elements of English Grammar and of modern Geography."[49]

In 1848, Jefferson College required for admission "a competent English education, including Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, and the elements of History. In Latin and Greek, besides the elementary authors, they must have read Caesar, Sallust, Virgil, and the usual portions of the Greek Testament, Greek Reader, or the Græca Minora, or an amount of

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[45] *Supra,* 312 *f.*

[46] *Supra,* 201 *f.*

[47] *Oracle of Dauphin,* Jan. 10, 1803, 4.

[48] *T. U. P. M.*, V, 385–6.

[49] *Pa. Intelligencer,* Sept. 7, 1830, 4.

Latin and Greek equivalent thereto.''[50] In 1852, the curriculum in the preparatory department of Allegheny College was predominantly classical, Bullion's English Grammar, Adam's New Arithmetic, Mitchell's Geography, and Loomis' Algebra being the only non-classical books read.[51] In 1869, Dickinson College examined candidates for the freshman class in grammar, geography, outlines of ancient and modern history, ancient geography, arithmetic, algebra to quadratic equations, two books of geometry, Latin grammar, Nepos, Latin Reader, four books of Caesar, four books of Virgil's Aeneid, Greek grammar, first three books of Xenophon's Anabasis, Jacob's Reader, or four books of Homer's Iliad.[52] By this year, the colleges had added a considerable amount of modern material to their earlier classical requirements, but they still shaped, to a great degree, the entire program of the academies. At this time, we hear of the troubles of one institution. A committee reporting to the trustees of the Episcopal Academy stated that they ''had . . . a consultation with the Head Master, and examined with him the Roster; and have given a good deal of thought to this subject of the introduction of elocution as part of the regular system of education at the Academy. There are but five school days in the week, and the time of these five days is already fully taken up in preparing our boys for their examination in text books required by the University of Pennsylvania. If a new subject of instruction be introduced, one more year at least would be required to get over the ground we are obliged to cover, and this we cannot expect parents to agree to, however desirable and beneficial it might prove. . . . There is little enough time given to Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, to allow us to lessen the quantity.''[53]

Not until the eighteen-sixties was there any serious attempt made by the colleges to offer an opportunity for election of studies to students. In 1866, much publicity was given to the establishment at Lafayette College of an English and scientific course, and to the privilege accorded students of electing studies in the senior year.[54] In 1857, the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania voted to create chairs of French, Italian and

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[50] *Catalogue,* 1848, 17.

[51] *Catalogue,* 1852–3, 16.

[52] *Catalogue,* 1869–70, 16.

[53] *E. A. M.,* Sept. 13, 1869.

[54] The Scientific Course in Lafayette College. [*P. S. J.,* XIV, May, 1866, 265–7. Reprint from *Easton Daily Express.*]

German in the College, yet the elective principle was not adopted at this time.[55] Ten years later, a committee recommended to them the adoption of the elective system, as practised "by Harvard, Yale and other Colleges of the United States," because "the adoption of a similar system in the University would probably meet with the approval of the public and be attended with an enlarged patronage of the institution."[56] It was proposed that election begin with the junior year, when the students were to be permitted to choose between (1) mathematics or history, (2) mechanics or chemistry or both, (3) Greek or German or Spanish, (4) Latin or French or Italian. In the senior year, the election would consist in a choice of (1) mathematics or history, (2) mechanics or chemistry or both, (3) Greek or German or Spanish, (4) Latin or French or Italian. The main objection raised was one arising out of the additional cost; but, as opposed to this, it was hoped that there would result "such an adaptation to the present views of the public on the subject of practical education as will meet and we trust command full confidence in the ability of the University to satisfy all who desire a liberal education."[57] The trustees approved the elective principle, and the changes were embodied in the course for the year 1869–70.[58] There is no proof that the changing requirements of the colleges affected the general practices of the academies to any great extent. The number and variety of subjects offered by the academies remained about the same throughout the greater part of the period. The multiple purpose of the academy accounts for this rather uniform nature of the curricular offerings. The great emphasis upon the classics, however, was probably determined, in the main, by the requirements of the colleges.

II. *The Academy Curriculum*

In order to get a reliable picture of the curriculum of the academy, the offerings of one hundred and sixty-three institutions, between 1750 and 1890, have been examined and tabulated. Of these, ten have been selected for the period prior to 1800. All of the institutions under consideration here were regularly incorporated academies. Moreover, the curriculum of boys' schools only, or of male departments of coeducational schools, is included. The results are believed to be adequately representative of the offerings of academies of this class. The facts have been collected from catalogues, minutes of trustees, and newspapers.

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[55] *T. U. P. M.*, X, 232.

[56] *Ibid.*, 587.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*, 619.

One of the most impressive revelations of the tabulation is the number of subjects, or subdivisions of subjects, offered by many of the academies. Not infrequently did the institutions provide for instruction in from forty to seventy different subjects or their subdivisions, the latter comprising such items as the separate authors in Latin and Greek which were offered. The amount of elementary material in the program might be said to be the second most impressive finding. This formed the basis of an objection to the academy, which was frequently voiced by educators after the establishment of the public school system. It was here that the academy encroached upon the public elementary school field, and was subjected to criticism as a result.[59] Yet, while public schoolmen were condemning it for teaching elementary subjects, Professor Loomis, of Allegheny College, told the educators of the State that, because of the defects of academies, his College was forced to establish a primary department to teach spelling, reading, grammar and geography.[60] "Young men," he remarked, "contemplating a college course, go to Academies and Seminaries for the needed preparation. Those institutions, being ambitious to secure a high reputation for attainments in certain departments, introduce students to higher mathematics, or the studies of the classical department, while they neglect the necessary preliminary studies to which they should confine themselves; viz: sound knowledge of the elements of Arithmetic, Grammar, etc.,—in short what are called the English branches."[61]

Both criticisms were probably justified, for very evidently the academy tried to do too much, and probably did little well. In the accompanying table, the subjects are listed under forty-nine rather general headings. The subjects which were most constant throughout the entire period were reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, mathematics, Latin, Greek, natural philosophy and astronomy. While chemistry was mentioned by a few institutions, prior to 1830, it became one of the general offerings from this year on. French was taught in sixty-six of the total institutions on the list, its frequency of occurrence not being confined to any particular part of the entire period. German increased in popularity after 1830, and half of the institutions, after 1870, offered instruction in it. English composition became increasingly common. In 1811, a student wrote compositions on such subjects as the following: "On Contentment," "Comforts of Religion," "The Seasons," "On Charity," "On Gentleness," "Descriptive Candour," "On Discretion," "Heraclitus," "Fathers," "Cicero against Verres," "Character of James the I," "On the true honour," and "The Man of Integrity."[62] Attention ought to be directed to the infrequency with which the academies offered formal instruction in religious subjects. Moral philosophy was a fairly constant study, and the emphasis on practical morality and observance of the Sabbath probably met the wishes of parents in this respect. The following extract from the rules laid down for Coudersport Academy, in 1843, may be considered typical:

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[59] The State Ed. Convention. [*P. S. J.*, X, Jan., 1862, 208 *f.*]

[60] *Ibid.*, 220.

[61] *Ibid.*

> Playing at games of chance, in the Academy, or elsewhere, is totally forbidden.
>
> No student shall absent himself from the school, or go abroad to spend the Sabbath, with his friends or others, without special permission. . . .
>
> No student shall frequent taverns, groceries, or other public places, for purposes of pleasure; nor use spirituous liquors or tobacco, in any form, in the Academy; nor employ immodest or profane language of any description.
>
> A strict observance of the Christian Sabbath will be required from all students.[63]

Of George's Creek Academy it was said, in 1857:

> Whilst thus the situation is favorable to the cultivation of habits of industry, and to the contemplation of natural sublimity, the community, with scarcely an exception, acknowledge the God of the Bible—Infidelity, Universalism, and kindred mental errors, not existing here; and being free from demoralizing gatherings and other evil influences, the location is a most desirable one for an Academy.[64]

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[62] Composition Exercise Book of Charles Norris. [H. S. P. Collection.]

[63] *Catalogue*, 1843, 5 *f*.

[64] *Catalogue*, 1857, 10–1.

TABLE II.—*Per cent. of institutions offering certain studies*[65]

	1750–1829 (47 schools)	1750–1889 (163 schools)	1830–1889 (116 schools)
ENGLISH STUDIES			
Reading	55	54	62
Writing	64	61	61
Spelling	26	31	34
Grammar	77	80	81
Composition	17	42	52
Rhetoric	17	43	53
Logic	13	25	29
English language	28	13	8
English literature	0	18	26
Elocution	13	37	47
ETHICS AND RELIGION			
Moral philosophy	9	34	44
Evidences of Christianity	0	15	21
Natural theology	0	10	15
MATHEMATICS			
Arithmetic	68	73	74
Mathematics	66	34	21
Algebra	21	54	67
Geometry	21	51	63
Trigonometry	9	28	35
Mensuration	9	18	21
Surveying	19	39	47
Navigation	13	13	14
SOCIAL STUDIES			
History	23	31	34
Ancient history	2	13	17
Modern history	4	12	15
United States history	0	21	30
United States Constitution	0	10	14
Political science	2	16	22
Geography	74	77	77
ANCIENT CLASSICS			
Latin	89	93	95
Greek	81	87	89
MODERN LANGUAGES			
French	28	45	51
German	4	29	40
Spanish	6	9	9
PHYSICAL SCIENCES			
Natural philosophy	28	60	54
Astronomy	21	39	47
Chemistry	9	42	56

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[65] Based upon *MS.* tabulation in possession of the author.

TABLE II.—(*Continued*)

	1750–1829 (47 schools)	1750–1889 (163 schools)	1830–1889 (116 schools)
NATURAL SCIENCES			
Botany	0	23	33
Natural history	0	9	12
Geology	0	20	28
Mineralogy	0	11	16
Physiology	0	21	29
COMMERCIAL STUDIES			
Bookkeeping	17	36	43
Commercial arithmetic	2	3	3
PRACTICAL AND FINE ARTS			
Music	4	17	22
Drawing	4	17	22
Mechanics	4	5	6
PEDAGOGICAL STUDIES			
Mental philosophy	0	28	39
Theory of teaching	0	3	3
Practice of teaching	0	2	2
Methods of teaching	0	3	3

While very many of the academies advertised a course for teachers, they were entirely silent, as a rule, regarding the subjects included in the course. They probably drilled prospective teachers in the common school subjects, without offering any distinctly professional courses. In the preceding table, only those that referred definitely to their provision for teachers are included. The meagerness of the professional offerings for teachers is the chief significant revelation of this phase of the tabulation. Attention is further directed to the great emphasis placed upon the ancient classics, and the uniformity of that emphasis throughout the entire period. Tradition, college entrance requirements, and probably the formal disciplinary conception of education, explain this practice.

III. *Development of Special Curricula*

While the Philadelphia Academy, and a few of the later ones,[66] had special schools or departments, it was not until late in the academy period that special curricula, adapted to special educa-

[66] *Infra*, 333 *f*.

tional purposes, were organized. Until well into the nineteenth century, students seem to have selected individual subjects which, for them, possessed a special value. The only exception to this rule might be said to have been the college preparatory course, for here the requirements were always quite definite, and may be considered as having determined one curriculum. The lack of organized curricula, and the practice of permitting students to select subjects, rather than curricula, appear from an examination of many newspaper announcements, catalogues, and minutes of trustees. The following statement of Mercer Academy, in 1839, is typical:

TERMS OF TUITION PER QUARTER

Languages, higher Mathematics, Chemistry, Botany and Mineralogy	$5.00
Natural Philosophy, Logic, Moral and Intellectual Science	4.00
Woodbridge's large Geography, Grammar, Smith's 2^d part	3.00
Olney's Geography, Smith's Grammar, 1st Part	2.50
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic	2.00

Extra—French $3.00, Music $10.00.[67]

In the eighteen-forties, the academies began to adopt, as a general practice, the classification of studies into departments. Thus, Erie Academy, in 1843, had an "English Department," a "Department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences," and a "Language Department."[68] Franklin Academy in Susquehanna county had, in 1845, a "Common English Department," a "Department of Mathematics," a "Department of Natural Sciences," a "Department of Intellectual Science," a "Department of Languages," and a "Teachers' Department."[69] Yet, there is no evidence, for institutions thus organized, that the work of each department was a distinct curriculum, although the number of students enrolled in each department was frequently stated, as in the case of the so-called Harford University in Susquehanna county, for 1849–1851. In this last school, the offerings of the scientific department included such subjects as logic, rhetoric and elocution.[70] In 1853, however, Greene County Academy, at Carmichaels, had a well-organized "academic department," with a three years' course, in which were required the Latin and

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[67] *The Western Press,* May 24, 1839, 3.

[68] *Catalogue,* 1843–4, 11–2.

[69] *Catalogue,* 1845–6, 9 *ff.*

[70] *Catalogue,* 1849–51, 5–7.

Greek classics, higher English studies, and advanced mathematical and scientific subjects.[71] In 1856, M'Alisterville Academy offered a commercial, a classical, and modern-language-scientific course. Latin and Greek were required in the classical course, but French and German were electives in the scientific course, which was loosely organized. The subjects in the commercial course were bookkeeping, penmanship, pen drawing, flourishing, card making, higher arithmetic, geometry, general history, political economy and the Constitution of the United States.[72]

It has been noted elsewhere that commercial schools, both private and chartered,[73] had been growing up from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Statistics of fifteen of these, scattered over the State, were compiled by the Commissioner of Education in 1887–88.[74] There evidently existed, for a considerable time, a strong resentment among educators against commercial schools. In 1868, however, Thomas Burrowes stated that they were not, what he thought they were going to be, ''pretentious humbugs,'' offering ''perfect handwriting in twelve lessons'' but, rather, institutions doing in the field of business what the normal school was doing in the field of teaching. He sent his own son to Crittenden's commercial school in Philadelphia, where all his theoretical knowledge had been ''practicalized.''[75] The commercial course soon came to have as much definiteness and purpose as the college preparatory or classical course. Wyoming Seminary opened a definite commercial department, in 1863,[76] and Pennsylvania Military Academy, in 1864, offered two four-year courses, the ''collegiate,'' and the ''commercial and scientific.''[77] From this time on, special curricula were the rule of the academies. Erie Academy, in 1870, offered two three-year courses, which were preceded by preparatory studies, including elementary and higher English, geography, arithmetic, history of the United States, and Latin or German grammar. The curricula themselves were named the ''Classical and Collegiate Course,'' and the ''Academic and Scientific Course,''[78] the students in the latter being allowed to substitute French or German for Latin. York Collegiate Institute, in 1873, offered three courses, the classical, the scientific and the commercial, the two former being four-year, and the last a two-year course.[79] Maplewood Institute, in 1881, offered three four-year courses: the "English Graduating Course," the "Scientific Course," and the "College Preparatory Course." The first was designed to enable students "to prosecute the study of Medicine or Law, to engage in Commerce, one of the Mechanic Arts, or the profession of teaching in public schools or academies," and the second to "enable them to pursue intelligently the divisions of science that relate to Agriculture, Pharmacy, Medicine, and many of the arts pertaining to the most practical duties of life."[80] Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, in 1885, offered five graduating courses, the "Common English," designed chiefly for prospective teachers, the "Academic," the "Latin-Scientific," the "Mathematical and Business," and the "College Preparatory."[81]

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[71] *Catalogue*, Sept., 1853, 7 *ff*. [In possession of William G. Lincoln, Carmichaels, Pa.]

[72] *The Student Quarterly*, June, 1860. [In possession of Miss Mary Hunt, M'Alisterville.]

[73] *Supra*, 248, 269 *f*., 272 *f*.

[74] *U. S. Comm. Rept.*, 1887–88, 938–9.

[75] Commercial Colleges. [*P. S. J.*, XVI, Jan., 1868, 188–9.]

[76] *The Luzerne Union*, Aug. 19, 1863, 3.

[77] *Catalogue*, 1864, 20–2.

[78] *Catalogue*, 1870–1, 9 *ff*.

Thus, the academies, in the latter half of the century, offered a variety of curricula. The normal schools probably exerted an influence on the early organization of definite courses in the academies. Millersville Normal School, in 1858, offered three definite curricula, the "normal," the "scientific," and the "classical," designed to prepare students for teaching in public elementary and high schools.[82] Mansfield State Normal School, in 1864, offered an "elementary," a "scientific," and a "classical" course, on the successful completion of which students received the degree of "Bachelor of the Elements," "Bachelor of Sciences" or "Bachelor of the Classics."[83] The growing commercial needs of communities probably provided an additional stimulus to the more definite organization of curricula in the academies, and special needs for girls in coeducational academies may, too, have helped to point the way to a more efficient order of studies. Frederick Institute, in Montgomery county, which, in 1857, had no definitely organized curriculum for boys in its male department, offered a well-organized three-year course for girls in its female department.[84] While a tendency was evident, before 1890, to abandon the purely elementary studies, most of

[79] *Catalogue*, 1873, 7 *ff*.

[80] *Catalogue*, 1881, 4 *ff*.

[81] *Announcement*, 1885.

[82] *Catalogue*, 1858–9, 19 *ff*.

[83] *Catalogue*, 1864–5, 12 *ff*.

[84] *Catalogue*, 1857–8, 11 *ff*.

the academies continued to teach them. Maplewood Institute, Chester county, 1881,[85] Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, 1885,[86] and Sugar Grove Seminary, 1886,[87] are examples of the continuing practice. On the other hand, York Collegiate Institute, at its opening, in 1873, abandoned the practice of teaching the rudiments.[88] Thus developed the curriculum of the academy in Pennsylvania.

IV. *Organization*

Following the plan of the Philadelphia Academy, the Episcopal academies, established at York[89] and Philadelphia,[90] in 1785, had in their organization, as then announced, three schools—the classical, mathematical and English. It was ordered for the Episcopal Academy, in Philadelphia, "That each of the above Schools, have its Peculiar Scholars and That there be a Writing Master who shall attend the different schools at such Hours as Shall be hereafter appointed. That the higher Classes of the Latin and Greek School Repair at Stated times to the Mathematical School in Order that by the time they shall have finished their Education in the Languages they may be also Acquainted with Mathematics. That the Classes in the Latin School be sent in Rotation to the Master of the English School each of them once in every week in order to Read and Speak under his Direction."[91] Such an arrangement, in a modified form, continued to be a practice in many academies. York County Academy, in 1788, had an English school, and a classical-mathematical school, each having its own master, who collected fees from the students enrolled in his school. Students were to be transferred from one school to another for special studies.[92] Gettysburg Academy had three departments, each with its own master, in 1815.[93] Abbeville Institute, Lancaster county, in 1835, had three departments—the classical, the mathematical, and the elementary, each having its own "professor."[94] Tuscarora Academy, in 1843, had two departments—the classical and mathematical, and the English.[95] The academy department of the University at Lewisburg, in 1850, had a primary, an English, and a classical "division," the last comprising two classes in which the classics, mathematics, and more advanced work in English were offered.[96] From the eighteen-fifties on, as has been noted,[97] the academy, as a rule, had two departments, an elementary and the secondary department proper, in the latter of which a variety of curricula were offered. Many of them, as we shall see,[98] had a special department for girls. George's Creek Academy, Fayette county, may be presented as typical of this final arrangement. In 1857, it had a "Male Academic Department," and a "Male Primary Department," with similar departments for girls.[99]

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[85] *Catalogue,* 1881, 4.

[86] *Announcement,* 1885.

[87] *Catalogue,* 1886, 10. Possession of Mrs. Margaret Hamilton, Sugar Grove.

[88] *Catalogue,* 1873–4.

[89] *Pa. Gaz.,* Sept. 28, 1785, 1.

[90] *E. A. M.,* I, 7.

[91] *Ibid.,* I, 8.

[92] *Y. C. A. M.,* I, 16–7.

[93] *Adams Centinel,* May 10, 1815, 3.

[94] *Examiner and Herald,* Sept. 10, 1835, 3.

Teaching all subjects from the merest rudiments of an elementary education to advanced classical, scientific, and mathematical studies, the academy admitted, almost universally, into its elementary department, students without any regard to age or previous studies, and very frequently overlapped the legitimate work of the college, by preparing students for the sophomore and, sometimes probably, for the higher classes in this latter institution. Yet, the average age of students in thirty-five academies reporting to the State Department, in 1866, was sixteen years.[100] Attention has been already directed to the lack of age requirements in the Philadelphia Academy. The regulations laid down for Westtown Boarding School, in 1796, fixed the age of eight years as the minimum for admission.[101] In 1834, the trustees of Bristol College fixed the age of ten as the minimum, and fifteen as the maximum for admission into the "Select School" attached to the College.[102] In 1854, Tuscarora Academy required that an applicant for admission have "at least a tolerable familiarity with the elementary English branches, and to have completed his twelfth year."[103] Into Nazareth Hall, in 1855, students were not admitted under the age of nine years.[104] Students entering Wyoming Seminary, in 1880, were required to be

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[95] *Lewistown Republican*, March 29, 1843, 3.

[96] *Catalogue* [of the University at Lewisburg], 1850–1, 19.

[97] *Supra*, 229 *ff*.

[98] *Infra*, 400 *f*.

[99] *Catalogue*, 1857, 7.

[100] *State Supt. Rept.*, 332.

[101] *Phila. Yrly. Mtg. Min.*, 1796, 335 *ff*.

[102] *The Laws of Bristol College*, 1834, 5.

[103] *Catalogue*, 1854, 13.

[104] *Record of the Times*, July 25, 1855, 1.

"thoroughly acquainted with the Common English branches."[105] Instances like these, however, were decidedly exceptional, and the academies, almost universally, received into their preparatory or primary departments students of all ages, and, evidently, without any regard to previous schooling. Meadville Academy, with "English" and "Classical" departments, announced, in 1829, that "Pupils will be received in any stage of their education, and instructed in all the branches of a good English, Classical and Mathematical education."[106] Reading Academy, in the same year, offered a "Primary School Course."[107] Erie Academy, however, removed all its younger students to a separate preparatory school building, in 1831,[108] but this was an unusual procedure. Greene County Academy, in 1853, had a preparatory department,[109] and the practice continued as, for instance, in Maplewood Academy, 1881,[110] and the Western Pennsylvania Classical and Scientific Institute, at Mount Pleasant, in 1894.[111] No further evidence than the prevalence of elementary studies in the academies, as revealed in Table II,[112] is necessary to establish the universality of this practice of admitting students immature in mind and attainments.

On the upper level of academy instruction, there was an overlapping of the work of the college by some of the academies. Tuscarora Academy carried its students to "any stage of advancement desired."[113] West Chester Academy, in 1866, undertook to prepare students "for any year in college."[114] Blairsville Academy, in 1872, prepared students for the "higher college classes."[115] The overlapping becomes more evident on a comparison of the curriculum of the academy and college at any given time. In 1848, the curriculum of Allegheny College was as follows:

Freshman Class—Virgil, Graeca Majora, algebra, geometry and chemistry.

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[105] *Catalogue*, 1880, 22.

[106] *Crawford Messenger*, March 26, 1829, 3.

[107] *The Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, July 11, 1829, 3.

[108] *Erie Observer*, March 19, 1831, 3.

[109] *Catalogue*, 1853, 4 *ff*.

[110] *Prospectus*, 1881, 4.

[111] *Catalogue*, 1894–5, 19. [In possession of Mr. Murphy, Berger Bldg., Pittsburgh.]

[112] *Supra*, 328 *f*.

[113] *Catalogue*, 1854, 13.

[114] *Catalogue*, 1866–7, 8.

[115] *The Indiana Progress*, Aug. 22, 1872, 4.

Sophomore Class—Cicero, Sallust, Graeca Majora, geometry, natural theology, evidences of Christianity, mathematics and moral philosophy.

Junior Class—Livy, Horace, Homer, rhetoric, logic, elements of criticism, analytical geometry, mineralogy and natural philosophy.

Senior Class—Tacitus, natural philosophy, geology, astronomy, intellectual philosophy, political economy and international law.[116]

Erie Academy, which probably sent some of its students to Allegheny College, announced, for 1849, instruction in, among other subjects, logic, rhetoric, criticism, Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, Horace, Livy, Homer, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry and mental philosophy.[117] Both of these institutions announced exercises in composition and declamation at the same time. Nor was Erie Academy exceptional in this respect. Most of the other academies, whose subjects have been tabulated, proposed to teach a wide range of Latin and Greek authors, which must always have meant an overlapping of the field covered by the colleges. Jefferson College, in 1837, in its freshman and junior classes, taught such subjects as arithmetic, elementary algebra, English grammar and composition, geography and geometry.[118] In 1860, the representatives of several colleges petitioned the legislature for financial aid, and admitted that the colleges had been forced by poverty to abandon college standards and become mere academies.[119] In 1863, a writer regretted that the colleges had been forced to teach the mere rudiments, and suggested that academies and high schools ought to prepare students for only the freshman class, and not for the sophomore and higher classes of the colleges.[120]

From the standpoint of age, the college students were frequently mere children. In 1822, a student under thirteen years of age was recommended by the faculty for admission into the University of Pennsylvania "on the usual terms, that the class be not retarded by him."[121] The faculty acknowledged some doubts about his "natural endowments."[122] At the same time, they recommended for admission, without any proviso, two

[116] *Catalogue*, 1848, 13 *ff*.

[117] *Catalogue*, 1849, 12 *ff*.

[118] *Catalogue*, 1837, 1 *ff*.

[119] The Colleges of Pennsylvania. [*P. S. J.*, VIII, Feb., 1860, 226–9.]

[120] Bates: Observation on Colleges and College Instruction. [*Ibid.*, XI, Jan., 1863, 204–8.]

[121] *T. U. P. M.*, VII, 5.

[122] *Ibid.*

others, who were under fourteen years of age. There is preserved a list of students admitted into the same institution, in 1829, with the age of each student recorded. Two students, aged sixteen years, entered the junior class; two of sixteen, and one of fifteen, the sophomore class; and five of fourteen, and four between thirteen and fourteen entered the freshman class.[123] Those under fourteen were admitted by special permission.[124] The same condition probably prevailed in the other colleges of the State. Thus, the academy developed as a trespasser on the fields of both elementary and higher institutions. The necessity for meeting social demands, poverty, and the desire to rise to heights of scholarly eminence probably account for the variegated activities of the academies.

Before the evolution of special curricula,[125] the classification of students in the academies shows evidence of the lack of any well conceived plan. Poverty, again, probably contributed largely to this condition, for many of the academies were but one- or two-teacher schools. In 1803, the trustees of Harrisburg Academy announced that they had appointed "Mr. Thomas Whittaker, as teacher . . . who will teach, in addition to the rudiments of learning usually taught in schools, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry and algebra, with their application to mensuration, gauging, dialing, surveying and navigation; also book-keeping, geography and the use of the globes."[126] In 1788, York County Academy had two teachers who taught a long list of English, mathematical and classical subjects.[127] Later and more prosperous academies had many more teachers, as Meadville Academy, which had thirteen teachers, in 1857,[128] an unusually large force for any academy at this or any other time prior to 1890. Without definite curricula, without an adequate teaching force, and compelled by poverty, or social and economic demands, to sell instruction in a multitude of subjects, it would seem that the academy must have had, at times, as many classes as the subjects taught. Early records of the academies show that the students were classified by individual subjects, which they were studying, rather than by any definite curriculum which they were following. The Latin School of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1797, had seven classes and fifty students.[129] The Mathematical School of the same institution, at this time, had forty-one students classified as follows:

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[123] *Ibid.*, 301.

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] *Supra*, 329 *ff.*

[126] *The Oracle of Dauphin*, Jan. 17, 1803, 3.

[127] *Y. C. A. M.*, I., 16–7.

[128] *Catalogue*, 1857, 4.

Lunar Observation	2	Mensuration	1
Navigation	2	Trigonometry	1
Surveying	2	Book-keeping	4
Euclid's Elements	4	Arithmetic	23[130]

The same procedure was followed in Waterford Academy, in 1836.[131] The following classification of students, on the basis of the subjects they were studying, existed in York County Academy, in 1839:

Whole number of Scholars Eighty three

Mathematics—Eleven
Physical Science—Twenty five
Algebra—Three
Latin and Greek Languages—Thirteen
Book-keeping—Ten
Grammar—Fifty eight
Geography—Fifty eight
History—Seventy
Arithmetic—Sixty eight[132]

The same condition prevailed, in 1839.[133] One who had been a student in the academy, about this time, or probably a few years later, has left the following description of the organization in his day: "I was introduced into the York County Academy. How, I cannot remember, but this I know, it was not for advanced scholars. Schools were not graded then as they are now, the abecederian was put down upon the same seat with the linguist or mathematician."[134] New London Academy reported a similar plan of classification, in 1844.[135] When John Beck, about 1854, in his academy at Lititz, departed from the subject plan of organization, and arranged his students in classes according to age, and promoted them by age, making special provision for the more rapid advancement of brighter pupils, his plan attracted attention in educational circles, and called for special and favorable comment.[136] The procedure was, indeed, unusual at this time. The principals and teachers of the academies, for the greater part of the century, seem to have had no control over the classification of students. That was fixed by the whims of parents or of pupils themselves. The age of efficiency and specialization had not yet arrived, with its train of mechanical virtues.

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[129] *T. U. P. M.*, III, 158–9.

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *W. A. M.*, Jan. 16, 1836.

[132] Rept. of J. Boyer, principal, to trustees, Jan. 18, 1839. [*MS.* in possession of George Hay Kain, York.]

[133] Report to trustees. [*MS.* in possession of George Hay Kain, York.]

[134] Speech of Mr. Morris at the sesqui-centennial celebration of York Co. Acad. [In *Y. C. A. M.*, Nov. 28, 1874.]

[135] *Catalogue*, 1844.

[136] Lamborn: Notes of Schools in Lancaster County. [*P. S. J.*, III, Dec., 1854, 165–6.]

A plan of organization embodying some of the features of the junior college existed in many of the academies. It has been noted elsewhere that the expressed purpose of some of them was preparation for the sophomore and higher classes in the colleges.[137] In addition to those already cited, the Lutheran Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove may be submitted as a special example of this practice. In 1889, there were five classes in this institution: the "Junior Preparatory," the "Middle Preparatory," the "Sub-Freshman," the "Freshman," and the "Sophomore." In the first three classes the students studied among other subjects Caesar, Virgil, Cicero, history of the United States, elementary algebra, Robinson's University Algebra, geometry and Greek. The curriculum in the freshman and sophomore classes was as follows:

FRESHMAN CLASS

English—Hart's Rhetoric, and Shaw's English Literature.
Science—Houston's Physical Geography, Avery's Physics, Steele's Fourteen Weeks in Astronomy, and Davies Textbook of Geology.
Mathematics—Geometry, and Wentworth's Trigonometry.
Latin—Arnold's Latin Prose Composition, Cicero's *De Senectute,* Livy, and the Odes of Horace.
Greek—Arnold's Greek Prose Composition, the New Testament, and Herodotus.
German—Woodbury's Shorter Course and Schiller's Maid of Orleans. Composition and Declamation throughout the year.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

English—Hart's Rhetoric.
Science—Hickock's Empirical Psychology, Steele's Fourteen Weeks in Chemistry, Atwater's Elements of Logic, Hooker's Physiology, and Gray's School and Field Book of Botany.
Mathematics—Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Loomis' Analytical Geometry, and Conic Sections.

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[137] *Supra,* 335 *f.*

Latin—Latin Prose Composition, Cicero's *De Officiis,* and Tacitus.
Greek—Greek Prose Composition, New Testament, Xenophon's Memorabilia, and Homer's Iliad.
German—Arndt's *Wahrers Christentum,* and Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. Original Essays, Debates and Orations throughout the year.[138]

The purpose of the school was said to be a preparation for the study of theology, or for admission to the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes in the colleges.[139] The designation of the classes in the Institute would seem to indicate that the organization was designed to carry the student to a point beyond that reached by students in the first years of a college course.

V. Student Activities

It has already been noted that the students in The William Penn Charter School led the way in student journalism and other student activities in the State.[140] In the field of journalism, the first printed student journal which has been found was that of Athens Academy.[141] It contained articles on a variety of subjects and brief notes on events in the Academy. Published for the first time on August 10, 1841, it seems to have a claim to priority among printed student journals in the United States. The girls of Coudersport Academy, in 1843, "published" weekly the *Ladies Repository,* but attempts to find copies of this were unavailing, and some doubt remains as to whether it was in printed form or not.[142] In 1856, *The Annual Gift* was published by the students of Susquehanna Collegiate Institute. It was a four-page journal, and contained many articles to which initials, presumably of students, were subscribed. Among the titles of the articles appeared the following: "This World is not our Home," "Vashti," "The Advantages of Reading," "The Past and the Present," "Midnight Musings," "The Power of Associates," "The Value of a True Friend," "The Choice of a Profession," "The Influence of the Press" and "The Angel Lizzie."[143] *The Students' Quarterly,* of M'Alisterville Academy, appeared in 1860, under the editorship of George F.

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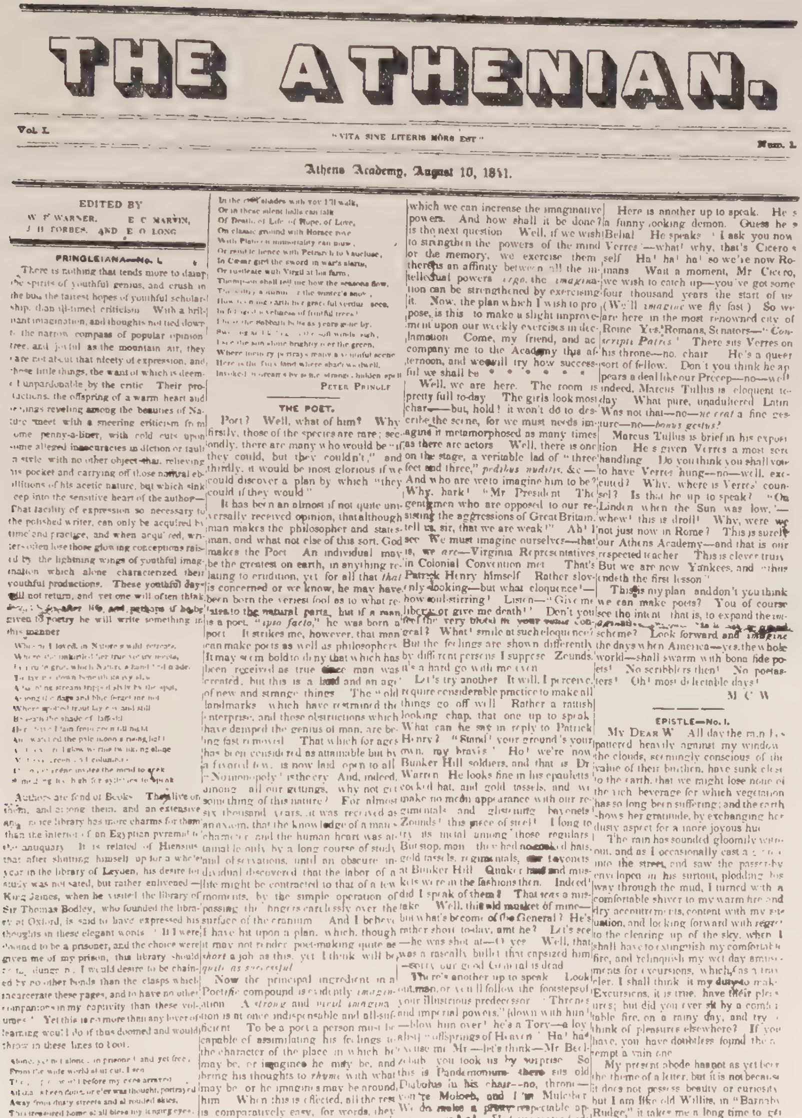
[138] *Catalogue,* 1889, 15–8.
[139] *Ibid.*
[140] *Supra,* 54 *ff.*
[141] In Spaulding Museum, Athens.
[142] *Catalogue,* 1843, 7 *ff.*
[143] In Bradford County Historical Museum.



THE ATHENIAN.

Vol. I. "VITA SINE LITERIS MORS EST" Num. 1.

Athens Academy, August 10, 1841.

EDITED BY
W. F. WARNER, E. C. MARVIN,
J. H. FORBES, AND E. O. LONG

PRINGLEIANA—No. I.

There is nothing that tends more to damp the spirits of youthful genius, and crush in the bud the fairest hopes of youthful scholarship, than ill-timed criticism. With a brilliant imagination, and thoughts not tied down to the narrow compass of popular opinion, free, and joyful as the mountain air, they care not about that nicety of expression, and those little things, the want of which is deemed unpardonable by the critic. Their productions, the offspring of a warm heart and feelings reveling among the beauties of Nature, meet with a sneering criticism from some penny-a-liner, with cold cuts upon some alleged inaccuracies in diction or fault in style, with no other object than relieving his pocket and carrying off those natural ebullitions of his acetic nature, but which sink deep into the sensitive heart of the author.—That facility of expression so necessary to the polished writer, can only be acquired by time and practice, and when acquired, writers often lose those glowing conceptions raised by the lightning wings of youthful imagination which alone characterized their youthful productions. These youthful days will not return, and yet one will often think [illegible] in after life, and perhaps if he be given to poetry he will write something in this manner

When [illegible] I loved, in Nature's wild retreats,
Where she [illegible] her true votary needs,
[illegible] grot which Nature's hand had made,
To lay me down beneath its ivy shade
A babbling stream tripped slyly by the spot,
Among the flags and blue forget-me-not
Where spotted trout lay [illegible] and still
Beneath the shade of [illegible]
[illegible] I lain from morn till night
And watched the pale moon's rising light
[illegible] glow [illegible] twinkling stage
[illegible] green [illegible] columns
[illegible] scene invites the mind to seek
[illegible] high for syllables to speak

Authors are fond of Books. They live on them, and among them, and an extensive and choice library has more charms for them than the interior of an Egyptian pyramid to the antiquary. It is related of Heinsius that after shutting himself up for a whole year in the library of Leyden, his desire for study was not sated, but rather enlivened.—King James, when he visited the library of Sir Thomas Bodley, who founded the library at Oxford, is said to have expressed his thoughts in these elegant words. "If I were doomed to be a prisoner, and the choice were given me of my prison, this library should be my dungeon. I would desire to be chained by no other bonds than the clasps which incarcerate these pages, and to have no other companions in my captivity than these volumes." Yet this is no more than any lover of learning would do if thus doomed and would throw in these lines to boot.

Alone, yet not alone,—in prison! and yet free;
From the wide world shut out, I see
The [illegible] world before my eyes arrayed
All that e'er been done, or e'er was thought, portrayed
Away from dusty streets and clouded skies,
This treasured home of all bless my longing eyes.
Here age grow gently o'er each wearied sense,
The sleeping shade to soothe the parting hence

Ye sage tomes, companions of this solitude
[illegible] refined and rude!
In the cool shades with you I'll walk,
Or in these silent halls can talk
Of Death, of Life, of Hope, of Love,
On classic ground with Horace rove
With Plato on immortality can muse,
Or ramble hence with Petrarch to Vaucluse,
In Cæsar gird the sword in war's alarms,
Or rusticate with Virgil at his farm,
Thompson shall tell me how the seasons flow,
The [illegible], autumn, or the winter's snow,
How [illegible] earth her graceful verdure sees,
In [illegible] of fruitful trees!
I hear the Sabbath bells as years go by,
[illegible] soft winds sigh,
I see the sun shine brightly o'er the green,
Where memory portrays many a youthful scene
Here is the fairy land where shades we dwell,
Invoked in dreams by some strange, hidden spell

PETER PRINGLE

THE POET.

Poet? Well, what of him? Why firstly, those of the species are rare; secondly, there are many who would be "if they could, but they couldn't," and thirdly, it would be most glorious if we could discover a plan by which "they could if they would."

It has been an almost if not quite universally received opinion, that although man makes the philosopher and statesman, and what not else of this sort, God makes the Poet. An individual may be the greatest on earth, in anything relating to erudition, yet for all that *that* is concerned or we know, he may have been born the veriest fool as to what relates to the natural parts, but if a man is a poet, "*ipso facto*," he was born a poet. It strikes me, however, that man can make poets as well as philosophers. It may seem bold to deny that which has been received as true since man was created, but this is a land and an age of new and strange things. The "old landmarks" which have restrained the enterprise, and those obstructions which have damped the genius of man, are being fast removed. That which for ages has been considered as attainable but by a favored few, is now laid open to all. "No monopoly" is the cry. And, indeed, among all our gettings, why not get something of this nature? For almost six thousand years, it was received as an axiom, that the knowledge of a man's character and the human heart was attainable only by a long course of study and observations, until an obscure individual discovered that the labor of a life might be contracted to that of a few moments, by the simple operation of passing the fingers carelessly over the surface of the cranium. And I believe I have hit upon a plan, which, though it may not render poet-making quite as *short* a job as this, yet I think will be *quite as successful*.

Now the principal ingredient in a Poetific compound is evidently *imagination*. A *strong* and *vivid imagination* is at once indispensable and all-sufficient. To be a poet a person must be capable of assimilating his feelings to the character of the place in which he may be, or imagines he may be, and bring his thoughts to *rhyme* with what may be, or he imagines may be around him. When this is effected, all the rest is comparatively easy, for words, they say, in the shape of poetry, will flow forth in streams most mellifluous.

"*Quae cum ita sint*," we have nothing to do but to find some means by which we can increase the imaginative powers. And how shall it be done? is the next question. Well, if we wish to strengthen the powers of the mind or the memory, we exercise them there is an affinity between all the intellectual powers *ergo*, the *imagination* can be strengthened by exercising it. Now, the plan which I wish to propose, is this to make a slight improvement upon our weekly exercises in declamation. Come, my friend, and accompany me to the Academy this afternoon, and we will try how successful we shall be. * * * * * *

Well, we are here. The room is pretty full to-day. The girls look most char——but, hold! it won't do to describe the scene, for we must needs imagine it metamorphosed as many times as there are actors. Well, there is one on the stage, a veritable lad of "three feet and three," *pedibus nudatis*, &c.—And who are we to imagine him to be? Why, hark! "Mr President. The gentlemen who are opposed to our resisting the aggressions of Great Britain, tell us, sir, that we are weak!" Ah! I see. We must imagine ourselves—that is, we *are*—Virginia Representatives in Colonial Convention met. That's Patrick Henry himself. Rather slovenly looking—but what eloquence!—how soul-stirring! Listen—"Give me liberty or give me death!" Don't you feel the very blood in your veins congeal? What! smile at such eloquence? But the feelings are shown differently by different persons I suppose. Zounds, it's a hard go with me even.

Let's try another. It will, I perceive, require considerable practice to make all things go off well. Rather a rattish looking chap, that one up to speak. What can he say in reply to Patrick Henry? "Stand! your ground's your own, my braves!" Ho! we're now Bunker Hill soldiers, and that is Dr Warren. He looks fine in his epaulets, cocked hat, and gold tassels, and we make no mean appearance with our regimentals and glistening bayonets! Zounds! this piece of steel! I long to try its metal among those regulars. But stop, man—they had no cocked hats, gold tassels, regimentals, or bayonets at Bunker Hill. Quaker hats and muskets were in the fashions then. Indeed! did I speak of them? That *was* a mistake. Well, this old musket of mine—but what's become of the General? He's rather short to-day, ain't he? Let's see—he was shot at—O yes. Well, that was a rascally bullet that capsized him—sorry our good General is dead.

There's another up to speak. Look out, man, or you'll follow the footsteps of your illustrious predecessor. "Thrones and imperial powers," (down with him!—blow him over! he's a Tory—a loyalist) "offsprings of Heaven." Ha! ha! excuse me Mr —let's think—Mr Beelzebub, you took us by surprise. So this is Pandemonium—there sits old Diabolus in his chair—no, throne—you're Moloch, and I'm Mulciber. We do make a pretty respectable appearance, indeed. Ha! our orator finds some difficulty in his—he's through! Well, we must "sit mute" and "astonished" at such overwhelming arguments.

Here is another up to speak. He's a funny looking demon. Guess he's Belial. He speaks "I ask you now Verres"—what! why, that's Cicero himself. Ha! ha! ha! so we're now Romans. Wait a moment, Mr Cicero, we wish to catch up—you've got some four thousand years the start of us. (We'll *imagine* we fly fast.) So we are here in the most renowned city of Rome. Yes, Romans, Senators—"*Conscripti Patres!*" There sits Verres on his throne—no, chair. He's a queer sort of fellow. Don't you think he appears a deal like our Precep—no—well indeed, Marcus Tullius is eloquent to-day. What pure, unadulterated Latin! Was not that—no—*ne erat* a fine gesture—no—*bonus gestus?*

Marcus Tullius is brief in his exposition. He's given Verres a most sore handling. Do you think you shall vote to have Verres hung—no—well, executed? Why, where is Verres' counsel? Is that he up to speak? "On Linden when the Sun was low."—whew! this is droll! Why, were we not just now in Rome? This is surely our Athens Academy—and that is our respected teacher. This is clever truly. But we are now Yankees, and "thus endeth the first lesson."

This is my plan, and don't you think we can make poets? You of course see the intent, that is, to expand the *imagination*. [illegible] scheme? Look forward and *imagine* the days when America—yes, the whole world—shall swarm with bona fide poets! No scribblers then! No poetasters! Oh! most delectable days!

M. C. W.

EPISTLE—No. I.

MY DEAR W. All day the rain has pattered heavily against my window, the clouds, seemingly conscious of the value of their burthen, have sunk close to the earth, that we might lose none of the rich beverage for which vegetation has so long been suffering; and the earth shows her gratitude, by exchanging her dusty aspect for a more joyous hue.

The rain has sounded gloomily without, and as I occasionally cast a glance into the street, and saw the passer-by enveloped in his surtout, plodding his way through the mud, I turned with a comfortable shiver to my warm fire and dry accoutrements, content with my situation, and looking forward with regret to the clearing up of the sky, when I shall have to extinguish my comfortable fire, and relinquish my wet day amusements for excursions, which, (as a traveler, I shall think it my duty to make. Excursions, it is true, have their pleasures; but did you ever sit by a comfortable fire, on a rainy day, and try to think of pleasures elsewhere? If you have, you have doubtless found the attempt a vain one.

My present abode has not as yet been the theme of a letter, but it is not because it does not possess beauty or curiosity, but I am like old Willitt, in "Barnaby Rudge," it takes me a long time to get my thoughts fixed upon a subject, and a long time after to form my opinion respecting it. I have been rambling from one extremity of the valley to the other

(Courtesy of the Spaulding Museum, Athens, Pennsylvania)

Journal Published by the Students of Athens Academy, from Original In Spaulding Museum, Athens, Pennsylvania.

M'Farland, principal of the Academy. Many students contributed essays to this journal.[144] In 1871, *Our Effort,* a monthly magazine, was being published by the Junior Scientific Society of York County Academy. It carried articles of an historical and scientific nature.[145] *The Hall Boy,* of Nazareth Hall, appeared in 1877, and continued until the closing of the school, in 1928.[146] The *Academian,* of Harrisburg Academy, appeared in 1881. It was a bi-weekly publication, edited by the students, and to which students were invited to send their contributions. A humorous section appeared in this publication, the following being a sample: "An Irish soldier called out to his companion; 'Hello! Pat, I have taken a prisoner.' 'Bring him along then.' . . . 'He won't come.' 'Well come yourself.' 'He won't let me.' " The *Academian* was followed by *The Mirror* and the *Spectator.*[147] The earliest of these journals probably appeared at irregular intervals. The *Annual Gift,* of Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, was a yearly publication. In 1886, the Institute began to publish the *Journal* as a monthly.[148] Student journals, however, seem to have been an unusual activity, for reference to them seldom appears. Other forms of literary activity were much more general.

About 1791 or 1792, the "Philological Society" of The William Penn Charter School petitioned the trustees for the use of a room in the school building. They said that they existed for "litterary Pursuits, and to increase and ripen the knowledge, which most of us have collected under your Guidance and Direction." Their efforts, they stated, had been encouraged by their parents, who permitted them to hold their first meetings in their homes. "Not only the obligation," they urged, "of conferring upon us a room, is what we wish, but as Experience has often proved, that the formation of societies, if properly conducted, has been of the most liberal Advantage to its Members, we would, with pleasure look to you as the Patrons of our Institution."[149] The Philo Literary Society, of Canonsburg Academy, was organized on August 23, 1797, and adopted the following Constitution:

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[144] In possession of Miss Mary Hunt, of M'Alisterville.

[145] Vol. I, No. 4, Nov., 1871. [*Y. C. A.* Archives.]

[146] Files in Moravian Historical Society Archives, Nazareth.

[147] In Harrisburg Academy Archives.

[148] Files in Bradford County Historical Museum.

[149] From original in P. C. S. Archives. Date fixed by reference to Robert Proud in the original.

ARTICLE I

Of the Qualifications of the Members

. . .

No person who is not, or has not been, a student in the Academy of Canonsburg, except the Tutors, shall be a member. . . .

No person who is indolent and unattentive to study, or the duties of the Academy or is guilty of any species of immorality, such as swearing, drinking, gambling, lying, etc. shall be or continue to be a member. . . .

No person who is under public censure of the Tutors or Trustees of the Academy shall be admitted or continued a member.

. . .

Of the Time of Meeting

The Society shall meet once every week on Thursday at five o'clock . . . except that the Society may change the time of meeting when they shall find it necessary. . . .

Of the Duties of Members

The Exercises of the Society shall be Composition—Speaking Orations—Reading and Spelling—and Debating; For the performing of which the members shall be divided into three classes taking them in alphabetical order. . . .

Compositions shall be read on every regular meeting by one class, the classes performing it in rotation. No composition to be received which has been previously read as an exercise in or out of society. Members who have not begun the study of Greek may read a translation from the Latin. . . . Every composition and translation shall be given into the hands of the proper officers to be corrected. . . .

Orations shall be spoken on every regular meeting by the members of one class, the classes being taken in rotation. No oration to be received as an exercise which has been spoken by the member three times in society or which has not been approved by the proper officer three days before it is to be spoken. . . .

Reading and Spelling shall be performed on every regular meeting by the members of one class, the classes being taken in rotation. The pieces shall be carefully read before the meeting and shall be of such a length as not to take up more than five minutes in reading any one of them. The spelling shall be on the pieces read, and shall continue for a time not less than three, nor longer than five minutes. . . .

Debating shall be performed by four members chosen at the preceding meeting out of the class which reads and spells on the night of the debate. Questions for debate will be furnished every regular meeting by the class that composes. . . .

Of the Punishments

The punishments shall be fines, admonitions, suspension and expulsion. . . .

Members not performing their exercises shall be fined one eighth of a dollar. . . .

Members not obtaining the Eparch's permission to speak an oration, or to translate; and also those who shall omit to vote or to furnish a question for debate or be absent from the society at the calling of the roll, or absent during the meeting for a time longer than ten minutes but less than an hour shall be fined for each offence one sixteenth of a dollar. . . .

All disrespect or contempt of the Society or of the officers shall be punished by the officers by fine, admonition, or by reporting them to society for suspension or expulsion. . . . Fines remaining unpaid shall be doubled every regular meeting after they have been inflicted; but members omitting to pay for four meetings shall be suspended. . . .

Of the Admission of Members

Persons are to be proposed two weeks before admission, and none shall be admitted who shall be opposed by one fifth of the members. . . . At the introduction of a person for admission into the society, the Archon shall demand of him—"Do you solemnly promise never by any mean, or any occasion whatever to disclose any of the transactions of this society whether you shall become a member or not"—Upon his answering in the affirmative the Archon shall order the Clerk to read the Constitution, which being done, the Archon shall again demand—"Are you willing to become a member"—which being answered in the affirmative he shall proceed—"Do you solemnly promise to obey the Constitution and laws of this society, and do you further promise by diligence, good conduct and every laudable mean to promote its honour"—which being also answered in the affirmative the Archon shall address the society—"Gentlemen you are called upon to witness the solemn promise which this gentleman has made, in order that if his conduct hereafter shall be inconsistent therewith, he may be subjected to constitutional punishment"—"Sir (addressing the admitted member) you are now admitted to all the privileges of a Philo, and we hope you will act worthy of the character—To effect which you must pay a strict regard to the regulations of the academy, as well as of this society. Remember that you no longer act in a private capacity, but that every of your actions involves in some degree the honor of this society.[150]

Societies of this literary character became a very general feature of student life in the academies. A number of them are said to have developed in Milton Academy, from 1821 on.[151] York County Academy had a debating society, in 1829, to which the trustees somewhat reluctantly, because of possible damage to property, gave permission to use the "attic Story for Public Speaking."[152] Erie, 1832[153] Coudersport, 1843;[154] Franklin, 1847;[155] Eldersridge, 1850;[156] Freeburg, 1857;[157] George's Creek, 1857;[158] Swatara Collegiate Institute, 1859;[159] and Waterford, 1874,[160] were among the many academies with literary societies. The societies usually bore a high-sounding Greek name as the Amphisbeteon Literary Society of Eldersridge Academy.

As a rule, academy teachers seem to have encouraged these societies, and the popular attitude appears to have been favorable. The following expression of opinion in the *Crawford Democrat,* of 1858, probably represented the popular attitude at that time: "The societies connected with Academies and Colleges are frequently or nearly as much value to students, as the regular school recitations. They afford facilities for developing practical talent. In them, the theories taught in the school room, may, to a certain extent be reduced to practice. The very fact that every Academy or College in the country of any standing has such Societies connected with it, is a strong presumptive argument in favor of their value. And there is no substantial reason why they may not be made equally as valuable in connection with common schools—the People's Colleges.''[161] The trustees of the Episcopal Academy, however, in 1867, adopted a different attitude and resolved ''That the Head Master be . . . requested to dissuade the Scholars from the formation of any Society during their continuance in the Academy.''[162] Scientific societies did not develop in the academies. Jefferson College had a ''Lyceum of Natural Science'' from 1831 on, but this was evidently exceptional.[163]

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[150] *Min. Philo. Lit. Soc.,* 1 *ff.* [W. and J. College Archives.]

[151] Meginness: *Otzinachison,* 418.

[152] *MS.* petition, Sept. 28, 1829. [Possession of George Hay Kain, York.]

[153] *Erie Observer,* Mar. 31, 1832, 3.

[154] *Catalogue,* 1843, 7 *f.*

[155] *Biennial Catalogue of the Members of the Alpha Epsilon Society,* 1847–8. On page 7 we read: "Formed under auspices, that seemingly, would have discouraged the most sanguine expectations, another society, *professedly* literary, was already in the field, battling determinedly against its onward progress; desirous of confining all literary improvement to be derived from such a source to its own aristocratic limits. For a time all the odium that hearts base and reckless could devise, was heaped upon it. . . . Inspired by its ever glorious motto: 'Studia et artes colimus,' . . . it steadily moved onward, and now stands far in advance of all competitors. Its object is the mutual improvement of its members. Upon all exercises connected with the society, the most profound secrecy is enjoined. Measures are now being taken to procure a suitable library, from the pens of the most literary authors."

[156] Robinson: *An Address Delivered before the Amphisbeteon Literary Society.*

[157] *Lewisburg Chronicle,* Jan. 2, 1857.

[158] *Catalogue,* 1857, 10 *ff.*

[159] Woefly: Swatara Coll. Inst. [*Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc. Publications,* IV, 22 *ff.*]

[160] *Circular.* [In possession of Mrs. R. L. Brotherton, Waterford.]

The earliest practices in physical activities were decidedly informal, and Franklin's recommendations regarding physical education[164] seem to have had no influence on academy practice. Academies in rural districts, or in small communities, must have had sufficient land attached for play purposes, and the students probably enjoyed a certain amount of unrestrained physical life. Nazareth Hall had over fifty-five acres of ''pleasure grounds,''[165] and York County Academy had its bowling green, which the York muse, of 1788, referred to thus:

In classic times then shall be seen,
And softly tripping o'er that green,
In mazy dance, the nimble fawns
And satyrs frisking o'er the lawns,
While youthful Phoebus strikes his lyre,
And beauty's queen leads up the choir.[166]

In 1802, the boys in the mathematical department of The William Penn Charter School complained to the overseers that, while the Latin students had a yard to play in, they had no such privilege.[167]

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[161] Formation of Literary Societies. [*P. S. J.*, VII, Dec., 1858, 179.]

[162] *E. A. M.*, March 11, 1867.

[163] *Min. Lyceum Nat. Science*, 1831–44. [W. and J. Coll. Archives.]

[164] *Supra*, 178. Woody: *Ed. Views of B. Franklin*, 156–7

[165] Reichel: *Hist. of Nazareth Hall*, 29.

[166] *The Pa. Chronicle or The York Wkly. Adv.*, April 2, 1788, 3.

[167] Petition in P. C. S. Archives.

The first positive attempt at an organized plan of physical education appeared in the eighteen-twenties. At this time the gymnasium movement made its appearance. The trustees of Jefferson College, in 1828, announced that they would establish a gymnasium in the spring of 1829.[168] It is not certain that they carried out their plans immediately, for the catalogues of the years immediately following are silent regarding the innovation. It has been already noted that the private masters about this time introduced gymnastic exercises.[169] In 1831, the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania became interested in the movement in order to "relieve our institution," they said, "from a current charge of working the students too much for their health."[170] A committee, appointed to study the matter, recommended that the students be sent to Mr. Roper's gymnasium for systematic exercise, and the trustees proceeded to make arrangements for the attendance of the College and Academy students at Mr. Roper's institution, which was in no way under the control of the trustees.[171] In 1847, the trustees of the Episcopal Academy appropriated fifty dollars for "fitting up a Room . . . for gymnastic exercises."[172] West Chester Academy had a gymnasium, in 1863,[173] but this was an exceptional development in the academies before 1890, probably because of the cost of providing gymnastic apparatus. The trustees of Franklin and Marshall College decided, in 1862, to introduce " 'leaping-bars, exercising ladders and a swinging pole or poles,' " but this was not accomplished until 1890.[174] Mansfield Normal School announced, in 1867: "To keep pace with the improvements in education, a Gymnasium has been erected. A valuable apparatus for heavier and lighter exercises has already been secured."[175] West Chester,[176] and Millersville[177] normal schools reported the completion of their gymnasiums in 1890, and Edinboro Normal School then announced that the physical culture of its students was receiving "greater attention."[178] In 1885, The William Penn Charter School had a gymnasium regarding which it was stated:

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[168] *Catalogue*, 1828, 11.

[169] *Supra*, 287.

[170] *T. U. P. M.*, VII, 392.

[171] *Ibid.*, 405–6.

[172] *E. A. M.*, May 6, 1847.

[173] *Catalogue*, 1863, 19.

[174] Dubbs: *Hist. of F. and M. College*, 353–4.

[175] *Catalogue*, 1867–8, 28.

[176] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1890, 168.

[177] *Ibid.*, 169.

[178] *Ibid.*, 178.

> Between ten A. M. and 12 o'clock noon, daily except 4th day, in divisions of 25, the boys are exercised for 15 minutes with Indian clubs, dumb bells, and chest weight exercises, in classes, and with individual work on the special machines prescribed to each student by the doctor after giving him a careful physical examination. . . .
>
> The intention of the system is, as expressed in the motto from Isocrates which hangs on the walls, "Exercise for health not for strength," nor, it may be added, merely for pleasure.[179]

The gymnasium of the Germantown Academy was established in 1888.[180] With a few exceptions, then, the academies were without gymnasiums, although they seem to have attracted attention outside of the schools, as in Harrisburg, in 1858,[181] and in Pittsburgh, in 1871.[182] The purpose of the Pittsburgh gymnasium, chartered in this latter year, was "the improvement of its members in those physical exercises and manly sports essential to the enjoyment of health in large cities."[183] The purpose of the Washington gymnasium, chartered in 1884,[184] was said to be "to promote friendship and good will among the citizens of Washington; to foster good fellowship among the members and to cultivate their mental and physical natures by frequent social meetings and manly exercises."[185]

The gymnasium movement in the schools of Pennsylvania appeared at the time when the manual labor idea had found many advocates, and health and the philosophy of a sound mind in a sound body were common to both movements.[186] The same purpose was embodied in the early military practices of the schools. The trustees of Allegheny College informed the public of their adoption of military training for students in 1829.[187] A writer, in 1832, referring to the introduction of Partridge's system of military practice into Allegheny College, at that time, remarked:

> As the military organization is the peculiar trait in this system, those institutions in which it has been adopted, are distinguished

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[179] *P. C. S. M.*, 2–27—1885.

[180] *G. A. M.*, IV, 459.

[181] Morgan: *Annals of Harrisburg*, 325.

[182] *Charter Book*, III, 358. [Allegheny Co.]

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] *Deed Book*, 6–C, 387. [Washington Co.]

[185] *Ibid.*

[186] *Infra*, 453 *ff.*

[187] Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, III, 300.

as military, and an erroneous impression has been obtained in regard to their character; it being supposed that their principal object is the training of youth in the art of war. But such is not the fact; for, although a knowledge of the means of defending the country in the field as in the cabinet be essential, still the more immediate and principal benefit of this system, is found in the order, discipline, energy and promptitude, which is thus introduced into our seminaries of learning, together with the manly and noble exercise to which every student is subject, tending to form a sound mind in a sound body.[188]

It has already been noted that military training found embodiment in some of the private schools. Captain Alden Partridge, who conducted a military academy at Middletown, Connecticut,[189] and who had been "superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point,"[190] before coming to Pennsylvania, was the most influential early leader of the movement in this State. It was one of his assistants who organized the military department of Allegheny College, just referred to.[191] He opened his own school at Bristol, Bucks county, in 1843, and moved it to Harrisburg in 1845.[192] The Civil War brought a new interest in this form of activity. Millersville Normal School, in 1862, offered drill in military practice.[193] The Pennsylvania Military Academy, emphasizing "Military Instruction, both Theoretical and Practical," appeared in the field at this time.[194] In 1867, the *Pennsylvania School Journal* referred editorially to the rapid increase of these practices following the War, and condemned them because they had sacrificed academical work to military exercises.[195]

Organized games and sports were not, as a rule, introduced into the academies. In a few of the schools the students indulged in ball games. It has been noted that York County Academy had a bowling green, in 1788.[196] Indirectly we learn that the students of Meadville Academy played ball, in 1840. At this time the trustees, because of the burning of one of the buildings, "Resolved, That Scholars or others will not be permitted to play ball hereafter on the grounds of the Academy."[197] Baseball seems to have been indulged in at Nazareth Hall prior to the Civil War. "Who of us forgets," said a writer on the Moravian school, "the long class walks through the neighboring country . . . the fishing excursions to 'the Lake,' and the 'Factory Dam;' the semi-weekly half-holidays for bathing in the raging waters of the Bushkill, or skating on the neighboring ponds; the grand times we had chestnuting on 'the mountains,' the fierce snowball fights in winter; the glorious coasting we enjoyed; the baseball matches; to say nothing of our daily military drill after the war spirit had invaded the peaceful precincts of our school."[198] Before 1900, an organized program of athletics was probably well under way in the few academies that survived. Doctor Kershaw reported to the trustees of Germantown Academy, in 1901, that there were employed at the School a physical instructor and special trainers in football, baseball, cricket and track work, the football and track coaches being paid officials.[199]

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[188] Gordon: *Gazetteer of Pa.*, 289.

[189] *Ibid.*

[190] Ayres: *Hist. Sketch of Partridge Military Institute*, 5.

[191] Gordon: *Op. cit.*, 289.

[192] Ayres: *Op. cit.*, 5.

[193] Bates: Rept. on Condition of the State Normal School of the Second District. [*P. S. J.*, XI, Nov., 1862, 156–60.]

[194] *Catalogue*, 1864, 9. Complete file of catalogues in school archives.

[195] *P. S. J.*, XVI, July, 1867, 2–3.

[196] *Supra*, 346.

Thus, with the exception of literary societies, the developments of student activities outside of the classroom were on the whole very limited as far as the academies were concerned. The main emphasis throughout the academy period was placed upon the formal scholastic work of the classroom, and activities, especially of a physical nature, were largely neglected. The development on a large scale of a program of games and physical activities in the schools of Pennsylvania had to await the coming of the present century.

VI. *Method and Discipline*

During the greater part of the period when the academy held a prominent place among the educational institutions of the State, methods of instruction were largely determined by traditional attitudes regarding the nature of man and the necessity of disciplining that nature during youth, when habits were in the making. Coupled with this attitude, chiefly religious in its origin, were the theory of faculty psychology and its offshoot, the disciplinary conception of education. These influences have been sufficiently described elsewhere in this study.[200] In addition to these, there was frequently stressed, as a purpose of education in the academies, the formation of character. Out of these forces developed an atmosphere in which students did not dare to breathe very freely. Stringent rules for the government of academies were frequently drawn up by trustees, and probably rigorously enforced. The following rules will throw light on method, in a general sense, as practised in a few of our prominent academies.

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[197] *Crawford Democrat*, July 10, 1840, 1.

[198] Hark: Nazareth Hall Centennial. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIV, Aug., 1885, 53. Reprinted from *The Moravian.*]

[199] *G. A. M.*, IV, 459.

In 1766, the trustees of Germantown Academy adopted the following rules for the students:

> First, It is ordered, That from the first Day of October to the first Day of April in every Year the said School shall be opened and the Scholars shall meet at their respective Schools at the hour of Nine. . . . That the said Scholars shall be dismissed at twelve o'clock of the same Day and meet at two: And further, that from the first Day of April to the first Day of October in every year, the Said Schools shall be opened and the Scholars attend as aforsaid at the Hour of Eight o'Clock in the forenoon, be dismissed at twelve, and Meet again at two o'Clock in the afternoon of the same Day.
>
> Second, That every Scholar shall attend at the calling of the Roll or be punished at the discretion of the Master, unless he shall produce a sufficient excuse for his Default, to the Satisfaction of his Master.
>
> Third, That every Scholar who shall not discharge his duty in performing his appointed Exercise, Shall be punished in like Manner, unless he shall produce such Excuse as aforsaid.
>
> Fourth, That every Scholar who shall absent himself from the school without the leave of his Parent or such who have the care of him or Master; Shall be punished in like manner, Unless the Parent or such to whom the care of him is committed shall signify in writing to the Master or by some other token to be agreed on between them of such leave being obtained.
>
> Fifth, That no Scholar shall presume to go out of school without leave of the Master first obtained for that purpose.
>
> Sixth, That no Scholar after the school is dismissed in the evening continue playing in or about the Schoolhouse, but immediately retire to his home or lodgings.
>
> Seventh, That every Scholar when abroad treat all people with Civility Modesty and good Manners, more especially their

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[200] *Supra,* 319 *ff*; *Infra,* 526 *ff*.

known Superiors and Elders, and when at home their Parents etc with all dutiful respect and affection.

Eighth, That the Masters shall punish or correct every Scholar for every misdemeanor, neglect of duty, or disorderly behavior, in such manner as they shall in their discretion adjudge to be proper and equal to the offence committed.

And Lastly, That these Rules, and orders be read distinctly to the Scholars by the Masters (or such as they may appoint) on the second Day or Monday in every Week before they proceed to their Several Duties or Exercises.[201]

In 1785, the trustees of the Episcopal Academy adopted a long list of similar rules for their students, among which were the following:

All the boys of this Academy are strictly to refrain from prophane Swearing, and from all other Vulgar or indecent Language, both within and out of the Institution.

They are to avoid Lying and all other mean and dishonest practices whether at School or elsewhere.

They are not to keep company with Persons of disreputable character. . . .

There shall be no Fighting or Quarrelling. . . .

Neither eating nor playing is permitted in the School. . . .

Every offence against any of these Laws shall be punished according to the nature of it by private or public Reproof, or by Chastisement, or by Sending Information to the Parent or Guardian, or by Presenting the offender to the Trustees as a Boy disgracefull to the Institution, and deserving of Expulsion.[202]

Ten years later, the overseers of The William Penn Charter School adopted the following rules, similar in spirit and tone to those of Germantown and the Episcopal academies:

As the design of these Schools is not only the advancement of youth in useful learning, but also their preservation and improvement in religion and morality, as well as a decent and respectful deportment toward their instructors and each other—It is therefore enjoined by the Overseers that the following rules be carefully observed in all the schools under their Care:—

School hours are from eight to twelve in the morning, and from two to five in the afternoon, from the first of the third month, to the first of the eleventh month; and from nine to twelve in the morning, and two to five in the afternoon, during the other months of the year.

[201] *G. A. M.*, Oct. 31, 1766.

[202] *E. A. M.*, I, 23.

The scholars must attend punctually at these hours; and if, from indisposition, or other just cause, any have been absent, a note to the master from the parents or guardians, signifying the cause, must be brought.

A roll containing the names of the scholars, shall be kept by every teacher, to be called over at the opening of the school; the names of absent scholars noted—and these rolls shall be presented to the Overseers at their usual and occasional visitation to the schools.

Every scholar shall pay a becoming respect to any teacher or usher within the institution, who may be present on occasions when the exertion of proper endeavors is necessary for the preservation of good order, and support of the reputation of the schools, and where in the discreet exercise of this authority, cases of refractory and incorrigible offenders occur, the Overseers are to be speedily informed thereof.

More than two scholars are not to be out of the school at the same time, unless in instances of manifest necessity; and no one is to stay out longer than ten minutes at a time, at furthest.

The vacations to be held are—during the Yearly and Quarterly Meetings and during the Monthly Meetings of the district in which the respective schools are kept—Also a vacation of three weeks, to commence on the seventh Day preceding the last sixth Day of the Week of the Seventh month.

The children are to attend regularly the meetings for worship held in the respective districts where their schools are kept as well as the scholars and youths meetings.

The holy Scriptures, particularly the New Testament, are to be read daily in every school, and at proper seasons, the works of William Penn, Robert Barclay, and such other books as the Overseers may from time to time recommend.

A due respect to schoolmasters and mistresses,—silence and good order in school—condescending behaviour to school fellows—a constant use of the plain language—industry and attention to their studies—orderly behaviour in the streets—and a direct returning from school to their different homes, will be strictly required of every scholar.

A close attention to order and discipline is so indispensably necessary for the good government of the schools and the improvement of the scholars, that if any one shall refuse to comply with the rules here laid down, such scholar, after proper admonition has been found to be unavailing, shall be dismissed the school by order of the Overseers.

These rules shall be publicly read at least every three months, and as much oftener as fit occasion may present, and a printed copy thereof be put up in a conspicuous place in each of the schools.[203]

The overseers of the Friends' schools, however, were probably much more humane in enforcing these regulations than the trustees of other institutions at this time, for, in 1796, they addressed their teachers thus: "As the strongest of all Ties is that of Love we earnestly recommend that the Children under your Care be governed as much as possible thereby—This will make the use of the rod in a good Degree unnecessary, and will induce the children to love and respect rather than fear you. If any difficulty should arise with stubborn and refractory scholars you will find us disposed to strengthen your Hands and to give you such assistance as may be requisite."[204] The attitude toward students in Nazareth Hall was probably different from that in most schools until well into the nineteenth century. We are told that in this respect it was "different from every other school in the country;" that "machine-teaching . . . never had a place here;" that the scholar did not exist for the school but rather the school for the scholar; that "the teacher was not master, but an intimate personal friend of each individual boy."[205]

The discipline in most of our schools of the eighteenth century was thus quite rigorous, and it continued to be so until well into the nineteenth century. Regulations adopted for Germantown Academy, in 1820, contain in their preamble the statement that "the reputation and usefulness of academic institutions cannot be secured without the strictest discipline," and they went on to require that "After the Bell ceases tolling, all whispering, appearance of whispering, making signs to each other, passing notes, unbecoming gestures, etc, etc are strictly forbidden; and no student during school hours shall borrow any article from another, without permission from the preceptor."[206]

One wonders whether our forefathers succeeded, and how well, in transforming, in the angelic mould of the academies, that nature of youth which was deemed so vicious. Some products of our Philadelphia academies may have been responsible for the following observation of a foreigner, in 1798. This gentleman tells us: "When I first got to America, in travelling from Baltimore to Annapolis, I called at a tavern, to feed my horse. I was ushered into a room where there were several young gentlemen; and they were swearing, and making use of such language as I had never before heard from young men of their appearance. . . . The waiter told me they were a set of young gentlemen going to College at Annapolis. . . . They put into their pockets sugar, preserves, or any other thing they fancied. When the bill was brought in they used every device to cheat the waiter."[207]

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[203] *P. C. S. M.*, 5–12–1795.

[204] *Ibid.*, 11–2–1796.

[205] Hark: Nazareth Hall Centennial. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIV, Aug., 1885, 53–4. Reprinted from *The Moravian.*]

[206] *G. A. M.*, Nov. 6, 1820.

This general attitude toward the student and the mode of training him continued far into the nineteenth century. A speaker, in 1853, addressing the students of Dunlap's Creek Academy remarked: "Old times were in many respects good times. At least Old Truth is Good Truth. The doctrines preached by Dr. Dunlap in 1782 are still the doctrines which convert and sanctify the heart."[208] Then he went on to express his faith in the old-fashioned education, whose principles were: first, "that the mind should be properly educated in all its faculties;" second, that "the mere acquisition of knowledge is not the chief end of education;" third, that "the introduction of religion prominently among the studies" is essential; fourth, that "drilling, memorizing rules, short lessons, frequent reviews, hard studying, etc" were the roots of scholarship; and, fifth, that education required time.[209] He ended by remarking: "The discipline of the old education is as excellent as are its principles. . . . Lawlessness among youth is so great an evil, that, if permitted to gain sway, it would counteract all the great moral ends of education. . . . Discipline is, therefore, no unmeaning thing. Its maintenance is one of the heir-looms of Presbyterianism, descending along with the sovereignty of God, original sin, and future retribution."[210]

Corporal punishment was probably frequently resorted to in the academies, although we seldom hear of the actual administrations. One interesting document recalls such an event in Westtown Boarding School, in 1828. After the style of the scriptures, the story proceeds:

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[207] Parkinson: *A Tour in America*, II, 473.

[208] Van Rensselaer, Courtland: *An Address Delivered at the Annual Examination of Dunlap's Creek Presbyterial Academy*, 3.

[209] *Ibid.*, 4 *ff.*

[210] *Ibid.*, 8.

. . . 14th Howbeit as the elders of the congregation have said, even the great high priests which the L. E. R. D. hath set to judge his people, have said that these our young men, who err from the right way and narrow, which leadeth unto life shall be chastised, even now we will beat them with many stripes.

15th And the words of John pleased the masters, seeing that this council was good even as unto the council of Husbie to King Absalom.

16th Now there was an apartment in the Lord's house like unto the inner court of the temple, where the young men and children were taught after the manner of their fathers.

17th And they also cast them there into prison when they did not deal justly with their brethren, or did anything that was evil in the eyes of their masters.

18th There, even there did they send these sons of rebellion, and spake to them and said,

19th Inasmuch Oh! ye rebellious children, as ye have not hearken'd unto the voice of the Lord, and have done this thing, so shall ye this day be witnesses of our displeasure, and they beat them with many stripes.

20th And the thing displeased the people, and a very great fear fell on all those around; and they cried out with a loud voice saying, Mourn Oh! Virgins of Westonia, publish it not in the streets of York, tell it not in the City of Philadelphia, lest the daughters of the wicked rejoice, lest the children of the uncircumcised triumph.

21st And the rest of the acts of the people and all that they did, how they disobeyed their Masters; how they went into a strange land and did not hearken to the voice of the elders; are they not written in the book of the congregation, and recorded by the scribe of Westonia.

Copied by Sarah Wright
1st of 2nd Month 1828[211]

Just what the occasion was that inspired the writer of this document cannot be determined. It would seem evident from it, however, that the Westtown students had committed what must have been a serious violation of the rules of the institution, and that, consequently, some of them had been severely chastised. Corporal punishment does not seem to have been much resorted to as a stimulus to study, or as a penalty for the careless performance of school work, although tradition has it that an occasional teacher made scholars in this way. James Nowlins, we are told, who taught in Mauch Chunk from 1829, used the birch for this purpose, and when this device failed he is said to have sent the stupid one home with the remark, "'What God has denied you, I cannot give you; take your books and go home.'"[212]

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[211] *An Account of the first Chastisment inflicted on the boys at Weston, called, the rebellious sons chastized.* [*MS.*, in *Soc. Misc. Col.*, Box 9 a. Schools. H. S. P.]

Much more frequently than torture were prizes used as an incentive to study. In 1761, David James Dove was given forty shillings by the trustees of Germantown Academy, "to be by him distributed among the school boys in such manner as he may think proper as a gratuity for their expertness and aptitude in their learning."[213] More than a hundred years later, the trustees of the Episcopal Academy were using a similar device,[214] while they occasionally dismissed a student for falling below a certain standard of achievement.[215]

With regard to the actual teaching procedure, it may be fairly safely assumed that, as a general rule, the practice of the academies was the same as that of the high schools which shall be presented later.[216] Much repetition, memorization of the contents of text books, and preparation for examinations, based upon the texts, probably characterized the methods of most academy teachers.[217] One excellent account of the methods used in the Philadelphia Academy, in 1791, has been preserved. A committee of the trustees leaves the following picture of the work of the school at that time:

> The system pursued in the Latin School, appears to your Committee, to be susceptible of amendment in the following practic^s.
>
> The Business allotted to the afternoon, appears to bear too small a proportion to that of the morning—In the morning, within the compass of about three hours, the exercises of almost all the Scholars are examined and corrected. A lesson in Grammar is repeated and a Latin Lesson studied and recited by each class, besides which, the Boys generally write copies—In the afternoon, more than two hours are commonly devoted to a single lesson.
>
> The afternoon, on Thursdays, is employed in reading English only; Nothing is studied in consequence of this—the time of the Scholars, except when actually engaged with the masters, is spent in idleness—

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[212] Brenckman, Fred: *Hist. of Carbon Co.*, 120.

[213] *G. A. M.*, Dec. 24, 1761.

[214] *E. A. M.*, April 10, Sept. 11, 1871.

[215] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1877.

[216] *Infra*, 580 *ff.*

[217] *Infra*, 581 *ff.*

The time of the Boys appears to be, too frequently, employed in repeating former studies. We believe this kind of lesson to be less pleasing, and consequently less profitable to the scholars, than other studies. It is less pleasing because it wants the allurements of Novelty, and impedes their ambition of advancing in their studies; and less profitable because they frequently rely on their former knowledge of the Lessons, and do not study them—We apprehend that one Day in each Week, as formerly, is enough for repetition—

Most of the books, made use of in the Schools, have English translations annexed to the Text of the Author—The assistance of Translations may be useful to Youth at their first onset in the study of Latin, but ought not, in our opinion, be allowed after they have gone through Erasmus. They encourage idleness—prevent the lasting impressions on the mind which would be the consequence of assiduous study; and enable the scholars to deceive the Masters, as to the knowledge of their lessons, when called upon to recite them.

Neither Geography, nor English Composition, is taught in the School. Some early practice in English Composition, appears necessary to give the Scholars an early habit of collecting and expressing their thoughts with method and correctness. And a knowledge of the topographical parts of Geography is requisite to comprehend either common Books or common conversation.

Too little attention appears to be paid to public speaking. The time of the first class is too much absorbed in cyphering. By this they are too frequently drawn off from their other studies, and the time of the writing Master too much engaged with this single class to be able to attend sufficiently to the rest of the schools.

The time of writing Copies seems to be extremely irregular. As the number of Masters and Scholars—the business to be done, and the time for doing it, are generally the same; we do not perceive any Reason, why the Duty of the School should not, in general, be regularly performed.

There appears to be great want of Order and Decorum in the school. This is an Evil of fundamental importance, and ought to be remedied. We do not undertake to assign the causes of this defect, but we believe that it would contribute to remove it, if the scholars were more uniformly employed.[218]

An insight into the methods of the High School of the German Reformed Church at York,[219] in 1834, is given by the following letter of F. A. Rauch to Governor Wolf, regarding the progress of his sons:

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[218] *C. A. C. M.*. II, 231–3.

[219] Dubbs: *Hist. of Reformed Church*, 292.

Allow me now, Dear Sir, to state how I have tried to perform my duty towards Edward. Edw. has during this session attended to the following studies:

1, Latin, 2, English Composition, 3, Mensuration, and Arithmetic, 4, Natural Philosophy, 5, Astronomy, 6, General History, 7, Natural History, 8, Geography, 9, Terrestrial Globe, 10, Botany, 11, Penmanship. In some of these branches he has made tolerably good progress, in others not. I myself gave him instruction in Latin and as there were only four recitations a week for his class, I have given him and some other scholars, a private lesson every morning between 5–6 o'clock during the whole session and within a few weeks, Edw. has another private lesson by himself at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, to accelerate his progress. According to the instruction he has received in this subject, he should know much more, than he has learned, nevertheless his progress may be called quite good and on the whole I think, that he may soon enter a higher class. His exercises in English Composition were likewise very manifold, as he not only had to write every week one of his own, but had also to write every day a translation of two chapters from the Latin into English. Such exercises are exactly calculated for a boy, who dislikes labor and our penalties also, which consist chiefly therein that we detain the pupil, until he knows his lesson or make him do his work over again if not done right, so that he never can escape his duty.

With pleasure I shall speak a few words of your very *amiable* and *diligent* little son Luther and I assure you that it is gratifying to my heart to be enabled to tell you, how much *we all* are pleased with him. He has attended 1, to English Grammar, 2, to English Reading and Spelling, 3, to History, 4, to Natural History, 5, to Geography, 6, to the terrestrial Globe, 7, to English Composition, 8, to Penmanship—In all these branches he has been alike *diligent* and attentive, but especially in Geography his progress—considering the heat of the summer—is admirable and the pleasure he takes in learning history and Natural History is such that I like the boy from day to day more. In the Grammar he has made himself acquainted with the etymological part which on the whole is most difficult for boys to understand. It is really astonishing to see how very difficult it is to make some small things intelligible to little boys. I have now spent more than eight full hours, to give Luther a clear idea of the different tenses, so that he independently of his book and his memory might be able to point out each tense according to its signification, but there is no doubt I shall have to spend two or three hours more on this subject, and so it is with all parts of the etymology. Committed to the memory they are a dead Capital, but to bring the scholar so far as to enable his memory to yield spoken thought by what has been committed, is only effected by much labor and takes time.[220]

New departures in method began to creep in, around the eighteen-twenties. John M. Keagy was the most prominent and influential apostle of the new educational philosophy. Imbued with the spirit of Pestalozzi, he did much to carry his educational idealism and methods into many schools of the State. A good brief statement of his life and works appeared, after his death in 1837, in the *American Annals of Education.*[221] Having taught for a number of years in Harrisburg,[222] we find him employed as a teacher in The William Penn Charter School, in 1830.[223] In a few months the enrollment in the School had so increased that an usher had to be employed.[224] In 1830, we find the following evidence of his influence in an announcement of Bellefonte Academy: "The Pestalozzian system partially prosecuted by Dr. Keagy, lately a teacher at Harrisburg, is practiced successfully to a certain extent."[225] That system was described as a process of imparting knowledge "by means of sensible objects and oral explanations," the students being required to describe and compare the objects thus perceived.[226] From now on an occasional academy shows that it had broken with the old text-book and drill methods. In 1842, the trustees of Bloomfield Academy announced that pupils were not to be required to memorize, but to "ascertain why it is so and to inquire to what practical purpose in life it can be applied."[227] Benjamin Hallowell, however, encountered some questioning of his method when, in 1845, he exercised greater freedom in his teaching of the sciences than to some seemed warranted.[228] In 1847, Elias Schneider, of Pottsville Academy, announced, through the catalogue of the institution:

> To induce a child to think ought to be the first object aimed at by a teacher. The young mind is easily made to reflect; and the most lamentable fact in the history of education is, that the pupil, instead of being made to reflect, and treated as a thinking

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[220] Letter dated August 24, 1834. [State Archives.]

[221] *Loc. cit.*, VII, March, 1837, 132–4.

[222] *Ibid.*, 132.

[223] *P. C. S. M.*, 10–29–1830.

[224] *Ibid.*, 2–25–1831.

[225] *The Mifflin Eagle*, March 11, 1830, 4.

[226] *Ibid.*

[227] *Perry Co. Democrat*, July 14, 1842, 4.

[228] *Autobiography of B. Hallowell*, 140–7.

> being, is often handled like a machine; and his thinking powers withered in the very beginning; thus having destroyed every pleasure of which his intellectual nature is susceptible. Such a course is at variance with nature. As soon as a child begins to speak, it shows its naturally reflective disposition, by asking the nature and reason of every curious object presented to its mind. Such a disposition ought to be encouraged in every way: Nature, our proper guide in this matter, tells us to do so.[229]

Thus, at the time when the public high school was making its appearance,[230] educators were beginning to question the traditional practices of the schools, in respect to the manner of the educational process itself. Old attitudes toward the student and the mode of training him were changing, and, out of a questioning of ancient practices, there developed a new interest in the problems of method which led eventually to the adoption of new procedures. That development, being associated chiefly with the high school movement, shall be described in a later chapter.[231]

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[229] *Catalogue,* 1847–8, 13.

[230] *Infra,* 488 *ff.*

[231] *Infra,* 584 *ff.*

CHAPTER XII

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

I. *Early Conceptions Regarding Woman's Nature*

An examination of eighteenth and nineteenth century newspapers and periodicals discloses the fact that one of man's chief studies, until well into the latter century, was woman.[1] He analyzed and psychoanalyzed her and, with the penetrating discernment of a Platonic philosopher or a mediaeval realist, drew his inerrant conclusions regarding her nature, ability and her proper sphere. A traveler, in 1744, came into contact with a Philadelphia belle who had been disappointed in love, and who evidently could not let slip any occasion for a tirade against males in general. His sympathy for the lady was unbounded for he tells us:

> I believed she was one of those Generally call'd Fine Ladies, that have so little of what is called Character. . . . That they were a Composition of caprice—and whim—they Love—and Hate—are Angry—are Pleas'd without knowing any Reason for either. Always Affecting a Great deal of Good Nature, are Frightened out of their Wits at the Sight of an Object in Bodily pain, and yet Value not how much they rank People's Minds. But I must Justify them so far as they have no Minds of their own, they have no Idea of Others Sensations; they cannot I think be well liable to the Curse attending Eve's Transgression, as they do not Enjoy the Benefit propos'd by it of knowing Good from Evil.[2]

While the writer was a Virginian, his views regarding the nature and limitations of womankind were probably generally entertained at our own center of enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Men would like to have seen in her some well defined traces of angelic origin. Her imperfections, however, sometimes, shocked them, and her capacity to rule was occasionally recognized, with an evidently subdued feeling of regret. One writer denounced, with some fervor, our colonial ladies for their over-indulgence in snuff and wine, and unbecoming conversation, and concluded his admonitions by remarking: "We live not in an Age wherein Women suspected of Debaucheries, were condemn'd to walk upon red hot Coals; those that escaped the Test uninjur'd by the Fire, were justified, but those that the Fire had no respect for, were look'd on as Guilty. 'Tis a great Happiness for many in our Days, that this Ordeal Trial is now laid aside."[3] From another source came the following plaintive note:

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[1] For an excellent survey of literature dealing with conceptions regarding woman, see Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, I, 1–123.

[2] *Journal of William Black.* [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, II, 47.]

Man was a happy Favourite above
When Heaven endow'd him with the Power to love;
His God ne'er thought him in a perfect State,
Till Woman made his Paradice compleat.
Tis true, her Weakness cost him something dear;
Yet in the Fall more Weakness did appear:
For *Eve,* Excuses numberless abound,
Not one for silly *Adam* can be found;
She, helpless, yielded to the stronger Power,
The subtl'st Serpent Hell had then in Store:
He, tho' he saw at Stake Eternal Life,
Was fool enough to yield unto his Wife;
Nor do his Sons from his Example stray;
The Women promise, but the men obey,
By them the World has ever since been led,
And Cully'd Men content with Name of Head . . .[4]

The vanity of women was very frequently noticed, and evidently not without some justification. A colonial humorist inserted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* in 1735, the following: "Pray let the prettiest Creature in this Place know, . . . That if it was not for her Affectation, she would be absolutely irresistible,"[5] and, in the following issue of the paper, appeared letters from a number of ladies each claiming the distinction of "Miss Philadelphia." In 1767, the character of women was depicted on the Philadelphia stage, in a production with the title, "The Wonder; a Woman keeps a Secret. To which will be added, The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphosed."[6] Woman continued to be a strange enigma long after the close of the century. An early nineteenth century observer bequeathed to posterity the following: "Woman—A great woman not impetuous, a fair woman not vain, a woman of common talents not jealous, and an accomplished woman, who scorns to shine—are four wonders just fit to be divided among the four quarters of the globe.''[7]

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[3] *Am. Wkly. Mer.,* Feb. 8, 1738–9, 1.

[4] *Ibid.,* Dec. 28, 1738, 3.

[5] *Loc. cit.,* Nov. 20, 4.

[6] *Ibid.,* Oct. 29, 1767, 3.

Keenly conscious of the mistakes that were observable in woman's nature, men continued to advise her as to the ways of remedying her defects. It was probably Franklin who wrote in 1730 the following ''Rules and Maxims for promoting Matrimonial Happiness. Addressed to all Widows, Wives, and Spinsters:''

> The likeliest Way either to obtain a good Husband, or to keep one so, is to be Good yourself. . . .
>
> Avoid both before and after Marriage, all the thoughts of managing your Husband. Never endeavour to deceive or impose on his Understanding: nor give him Uneasiness . . . to try his Temper; but treat him always beforehand with *Sincerity,* and afterwards with *Affection* and *Respect.* . . .
>
> Consider beforehand that the Person you are going to spend your Days with is a Man, and not an Angel. . . .
>
> Resolve every Morning to be goodnatured and *Cheerful* that Day: and if any accident should happen to break that Resolution, suffer it not to put you out of Temper with every Thing besides, and especially with your Husband. . . .
>
> Be assured, a Woman's Power, as well as Happiness, has no other Foundation but her Husband's Esteem and Love, which consequently is her undoubted Interest by all means possible to preserve and increase. Do you therefore study his Temper, and command your own, enjoy his satisfaction with him, share and sooth his Cares, and with the utmost Diligence conceal his Infirmities.
>
> Read frequently and with due Attention the Matrimonial Service and take care in doing so, not to overlook the word *Obey.*
>
> In your prayers be sure to add a Clause for Grace to make a good Wife. . . .
>
> Always wear your Wedding Ring, for therein lies more Virtue than usually is imagined. If you are ruffled unawares, assaulted with improper thoughts, or tempted in any kind against your Duty, cast your Eyes upon it, and call to Mind, who gave it to you. . . .
>
> Let not many Days pass together without a serious Examination how you have behaved as a Wife. . . .[8]

In 1746, there was published in Philadelphia a pamphlet, ''Reflections on Courtship and Marriage,'' written apparently in much the same spirit as that just cited.[9] Men continued to warn woman against the moral snares and pitfalls that many agencies of evil had scattered through the world for the ruination of a being comparatively helpless and unprotected. In 1803, there was published in Philadelphia a treatise with the title: "*Advice to the Fair Sex; in a Series of Letters on Various Subjects: Chiefly Describing the Graceful Virtues, which are indispensably required to adorn and perfect the Female Sex, in every useful accomplishment; how to wear the garb of innocence, and to govern themselves in every station of life, from their infancy to their death. And the Contrast: Thereby showing how to follow what is good, and eschew what is evil.* By a Gentleman in this City, to his Niece in Cork. Dedicated to the Widows, Wives, and Young Ladies of the United States of America." Among the topics which this well-intentioned and sympathetic observer suggested as suitable reading matter for women were these: "On Virtue," "Beware of Seduction," "Advice to Unhappy Females," "Love Defined," "Rules for Female Conduct," "Advice on Marriage," "Different Suitors to be Avoided," "Of Reformed Rakes," "Maxims for Married Ladies," "Account of a good Wife," and "A Reasonable Woman Defined."[10] Of his views regarding their education we shall hear again. Another at this same time offered all the "Lovely Creatures" his advice regarding the best mode of eliminating the faults arising from their "education" and "natural dispositions."[11] Yet in spite of all sincere advice and guidance many men announced publicly that their wives had erred, and that they would no longer be responsible for debts contracted by them.[12] Some men, too, evidently felt that women could not be improved, that the inherent evils of their nature were irremediable, and decided to solve by flight the problems of men, which resulted from the nature of women. In 1822–23, a "Society of Bachelors" met regularly in York.[13] When "many new applicants" were being investigated on one occasion, it was announced that "Females are forbid crusing about the Hall."[14] One of the questions discussed by this group was "Have not the overbearing dispositions of Women caused the alarming increase of vice among men."[15] They evidently decided in the affirmative, for in a subsequent announcement they proclaimed:

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[7] Woman. [*Perry Forester,* July 19, 1820, 4.]

[8] *Pa. Gaz.,* Oct. 8, 1730, 1–2.

[9] *Ibid.,* June 19, 1746, 3.

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[10] *Op. cit.*, 194–5.

[11] Balance: Advice to the Young Ladies. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, June 18, 1802, 3.]

[12] *E.g.*, *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 13, 1730, 4; July 10, 1746, 6.

[13] *York Gaz.*, Aug. 13, 1822, 3; *Ibid.*, April 1, 1823, 3.

[14] *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1822, 3.

[15] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1822, 3.

> A Bachelors life we vow is the best,
> In peace and contentment they lay down *to rest,*
> *No wives,* to control them, no children to bawl
> How Happy are we, who keep Bachelors Hall.[16]

On other subjects, our eighteenth and early nineteenth century philosophers would probably concede the limitations of their knowledge, but, as regards women, their enlightenment knew no limitations. Metaphysical X-rays had revealed all the elements of woman's nature, her faults and their causes, and physicians-by-divine-right prescribed the remedies. One wonders that they could not have seen that the universal interest, which called their pens into action, was not a good remedy for that vanity which they recognized as one of woman's native faults. As to her general nature, then, she was looked upon as capricious, whimsical, affectatious, vain, ostentatious, highly emotional and, to a great extent, incapable of rational activity. She lacked the firmness and stability of character with which the male of the species was endowed. Occasional side-lights on the life of women, in colonial and early nineteenth-century times, reveal the effect of this ancient attitude regarding her nature, and the virtues which she ought to practise. "In Philadelphia," we hear, "the ladies roam about the statuary room by pairs and flee at the sound of a male footstep; corsets can not be named in polite company; and when A. K. Stewart exhibits them in his show windows, letters denouncing the immorality of his exhibit come in, and he withdraws the offending garments."[17] Watson says that, in 1842, the ladies at Cape May "at appointed hours go into the surf, at which time gentlemen do not walk on the banks. The ladies wear flannel and other woolen dresses. None go out above half their depth."[18] Thus, women of the past lived in a world of their own, a world different from that of men. A wide chasm separated these two worlds, for nature was conceived to have fashioned women in a mould peculiarly their own. They had duties peculiar to their sex to perform; certain traits of character belonged to them alone; a distinct category of feminine virtues was theirs to observe and practise; and any tendency to imitate the characteristics of the world of masculine affairs was considered a perversion of the very order of nature itself.

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[16] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1823, 3.

[17] Jones: *America and French Culture,* 61.

[18] Quoted from *Annals* by Shelton: Springs and Spas of Old-Time Philadelphians. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLVII, 208.]

II. *The Female Mind*

Just as, in a general way, women were thought to differ radically from men, so in the intellectual sphere they were considered inferior. William Black, in 1744, evidently was fairly certain that they had "no minds of their own," and that the transgression of Eve did not enable her sex to distinguish "good from evil,"[19] a view with which many were, probably to a great extent in accord. A writer, in 1730, however, felt that Eve had not much to do with the "Imperfections" and "Blemishes" of women, for he saw in them many "Virtues" which were the "Embellishments of the Sex." Moreover, he considered it his duty "to furnish their Breasts with Knowledge, without fatiguing their tender Spirits in the Attainment of it; so that in the End to set them upon the Level with the Men in their boasted Superiority of Reason, by diverting their Minds from useless Trifles, to give some finishing Touches to those who are already the most beautiful Pieces in human Nature."[20] By 1803, they were still considered, by some, unlike men in their mental qualities, although men now were ready to accord them the recognition of abilities to which they had established an indisputable claim. The writer of *Advice to the Fair Sex*[21] could say of women, at this time: "When we consider the quickness of their conception, and the happy progress some of them have made in various studies, we cannot sufficiently regret the little value set upon female understanding. . . . Women are much more capable of attention and application than is generally imagined."[22] Gradually, the educational philosophers of Pennsylvania came to the conclusion that women were men's intellectual equals. In some early coeducational schools, girls had been matched against boys and had established their claim to equal ability. Thus, at the public distribution of prizes given to the students in Thomas J. Harris' Academy in Chambersburg, in 1830, the prizes in mathematics, geography, rhetoric, grammar, astronomy, natural philosophy and composition were about equally divided among girls and boys.[23] In the first announcement of the Montgomery Female Institute, in 1851, the principal and his teachers proclaimed as their faith: "We believe the female mind endowed with powers and capabilities, quite equal to those of the other sex, and no sufficient reason can be assigned why they should not be as fully developed and carefully cultivated."[24] In 1853, a lady addressing the Allegheny County Teachers' Association made a similar profession of faith, and pleaded with the doubters to give girls an opportunity in the schools to demonstrate their equal ability.[25] The development of thought on this question in Pennsylvania followed the general trends in the United States as a whole.[26]

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[19] *Supra,* 362.

[20] *Pa. Gaz.,* April 16, 1730, 2.

[21] *Supra,* 365.

[22] *Op. cit.,* 18.

III. *Woman's Sphere*

While their claim to equality of mental powers, thus, came to be recognized, men, and sometimes women, would confine women's activities to a very definite and narrow sphere. Traditions of centuries of practice, in other lands, had consigned her to the home as her true and natural realm of activity.[27] In 1752, appeared the following "Advice to a Young Lady lately Married:"

> Small is the Province of a Wife,
> And narrow is her Sphere in Life;
> Within that Sphere to move aright
> Should be her principal Delight;
> To guide the House with prudent Care,
> And properly to spend and spare,
> To make her Husband bless the Day
> He gave his Liberty away;
> To form the tender infant Mind,
> These are the Tasks to Wives assign'd. . . .[28]

Whether rich or poor, her chief field of activity was in the home.[29] We hear, however, of a jury of twelve women summoned to decide a case against a woman in Chester, in 1689,[30] but this was, doubtless, a unique procedure at that time. Even as late as the period 1828–1849, she was practically barred even from the work of promoting temperance in Bucks county.[31] While later wars helped to open a wider domain of usefulness to women, that of the Revolution affected little, if at all, her status in society. Some of them pledged themselves to wear simple clothing and to make offerings of money toward the success of the American arms.[32]

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[23] *Franklin Repository,* Aug. 10, 1830, 3.

[24] *Announcement,* 1851, 6.

[25] Davis: Female Education. [*P. S. J.,* I, May, 1853, 431–2.]

[26] See Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in the U. S.,* I, 88–92.

[27] *Ibid.,* I, 1–123.

[28] *Pa. Gaz.,* Oct. 26, 1752, 1.

[29] Adams: *Provincial Society,* 81; Ward: The Germantown Road and Its Associations. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* V, 133.]

While women were, thus, confined to the home, their condition was not one of the servitude. Mittelberger remarked:

> English women in Pennsylvania and in all the English colonies have all the qualities and privileges of women in old England. They are exceedingly handsome and well formed, generally gay, friendly, very free, plucky, smart and clever, but also very haughty. . . . The English men make much of them and show them great respect. A man must not think of marrying a woman unless he is able to support her without expecting work of her; otherwise she would make him unhappy, or even desert him. . . . They are fond of receiving visits and attending parties; whether the husband likes it or not, he must not even show a dissatisfied mien. I would rather beat three men in England than box a woman's ear but slightly; and if such a thing is done by her own husband and she complains to her neighbors, his life is not safe. . . . In court the evidence of one woman is worth as much as that of three male witnesses.[33]

While one might reasonably question the universality of this attitude among English residents, Mittelberger's surprise lends plausibility to the belief that, among the Germans of Pennsylvania, woman's lot was not quite so fortunate, her comforts fewer, and her duties more onerous than those of her English sister. Rush, in his *Account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,* tells us: "When a young man asks the consent of his father to marry the girl of his choice, he does not inquire so much whether she be rich or poor, or whether she possesses any personal or mental accomplishments—as whether she be industrious, and acquainted with the duties of a good housewife."[34] He further states: "The wives and daughters of the German farmers frequently forsake, for a while, their dairy and spinning-wheel, and join their husbands and brothers in the labour of cutting down, collecting and bringing home the fruits of their fields and orchards. The work of the gardens is generally done by the women of the family."[35] Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans often reflect this philosophy. Two of them run thus: "*En gute frau und en guter hund sinn bescht deheim* [A good wife and a good dog are best at home]," and "*En grosse frau und en grosse scheier sinn ken mann ken schade* [A big wife and a big barn are no harm to any man.]"[36]

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[30] Hazard: *Register of Pa.,* V, 158.

[31] Lloyd: *Newtown — Past—Present,* 10.

[32] The Sentiments of Am. Women. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* XVIII, 361–66. Reprinted from a broadside in collection of H. S. P.]

[33] *A Journey to Pa. in 1750,* 98–9.

[34] *Essays,* 234.

Yet, while attitudes toward woman probably differed considerably among peoples of different national traditions, there was, doubtless, universal acceptance of the belief that a woman's true sphere was in the home. She had been designed by nature for the noble calling of wife and mother and, when, in the eighteen-fifties, the advocates of "Woman's Rights" would open to her the political arena, men of honesty of purpose and stern conviction spoke as if God's great and divine plan was being blasted by the impious satellites of Satan. In 1853, Governor Bigler, in an address at the opening of Pennsylvania Female College, remarked:

> I am, I must confess to you, my fair hearers, no advocate of Woman's rights, as practised by Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Antoinette Brown, and others of your sex—nor am I an admirer, to any extent, of the Bloomer costume. . . . Woman, from her delicate form and finer sensibilities, may not be permitted to appear in the halls of legislation nor to command on the field of battle. But in the domestic and social circles—in the great work constraining the youthful mind to right inclinations—in the formation of character, her influence is most potent.[37]

In 1854, the Rev. A. B. Clark, addressing the literary society of Saltsburg Female Seminary, attacked the advocates of woman's rights as violators of the "command of the inspired penman. . . . Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church." And he continued: "What! my sister in 'Bloomer Costume' parading the streets of a crowded city, with boots, overalls, belted sourtout, and feathered-coat; attracting the gaze of the crowd as well as the sneers and jeers of the vulgar; the contempt of the sober-minded, and the pity of the good! My daughter mixing up with a multitude, and as a public lecturer, catering to the perverted taste of a corrupted public? My wife arrayed in open discussion with libertines and skeptics? My mother in the political arena as a combatant—a candidate for office in these days of political degeneracy and corruption, to be held up, by the world, as dishonest, debased, corrupt and vile.''[38] And the speaker described the movement for woman's rights as opposed to ''nature, reason, common sense, and the teachings of Holy Writ.'' The ideal woman is one who would not wear jewels because her husband was her ''ornament.'' God has designed her for motherhood and headship of the home.[39] Nor were men the only opponents of Mrs. Bloomer, Lucy Stone, and the other protagonists of women's rights. Even some women were shocked by the outpourings of these radical philosophers. One of these wrote:

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[35] *Ibid.*, 232.

[36] Many Familiar Sayings in Pennsylvania German. [*The Reading Eagle,* Jan. 31, 1930.]

[37] *P. S. J.*, II, Dec. 1853, 190–2; see Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 382–452.

The rights of woman, what are they?
The right to labor and to pray,
The right to watch, when others sleep,
The right o'er others woes to weep,
The right to succor in distress,
The right to cheer the fatherless;—
Such are her rights, and heav'n will bless
And crown their champions with success.[40]

Many felt that women were better off in the home, and that her liberators were her worst enemies. The case for this point of view was presented thus:

> A woman may say what she likes to you without the risk of getting knocked down. She can take a snooze after dinner while her husband has to work. She can dress herself in neat and tidy calicoes for a dollar. . . . She can go forth into the streets without being invited to treat at every coffee house. She can paint her face if too pale, or flour it if too red. . . . She can stay at home in time of war and wed again if her husband is killed. She can eat drink and be merry without its costing her a penny. . . . She can run in debt and make her husband pony up the cash.[41]

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[38] Clark: Woman's Proper Sphere. [*P. S. J.*, III, July, 1854, 27 *ff.*]

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Iveson: Woman. [*Ibid.*, XI, Oct., 1862, 128.]

[41] A Woman's Advantages. [*Columbia Democrat*, Aug. 1, 1846, 1.]

Some, undoubtedly, considered woman's traditional sphere and its privileges a veritable heaven, but there was an increasing number of women who, like Childe Harold, "for change of scene would seek the shades below." Woody has described very completely the struggle of women for political equality in the United States, and the gradual recognition of their rights to property and suffrage in the democracy.[42] In the recognition of her rights to property, Pennsylvania was one of the pioneering states,[43] and it has probably had its share of the blessings and probable evils which resulted from woman's political emancipation.[44]

IV. *The Changing Position of Women*

While philosophers were discussing the nature of woman, her ability, and proper sphere, forces over which they had very little control were solving the problems. The colonial woman, as a general rule, held the position of housekeeper and housewife. Her labors were those growing out of the immediate needs of the colonial home. Women, too, were scarce in the earlier period and their services were at a premium. Gabriel Thomas remarked, in 1698:

> I shall add another Reason why Women's Wages are so exorbitant; they are not yet very numerous, which makes them stand upon high Terms for their several Services, in Sempstering, Washing, Spinning, Knitting, Sewing, and in all the other parts of their Imployments. . . . Moreover they are usually marry'd before they are Twenty Years of Age, and when once in that Noose, are for the most part a little uneasie, and make their Husbands so too, till they procure them a Maid Servant to bear the burden of the Work, as also in some measure to wait on them too.[45]

Fifty years later, Kalm described the condition of women servants: "A servant maid gets eight or ten pounds a year: these servants have their food besides their wages, but must buy their own clothes."[46] One is compelled, however, to question all glowing accounts of the happiness of even married women especially in the rural districts. A writer, of 1798, remarked:

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[42] *Op. cit.*, II, 382 *ff.*

[43] *Ibid.*, 398.

[44] *Ibid.*, 444 *ff.*

[45] Myers: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, 329.

[46] Kalm: *Travels in North America*, I, 387–8.

> I think it an extraordinary good place for a young person to go on the outset of his life: or if a man should be so unfortunate as to have married a wife of capricious disposition, let him take her to America, and keep her there three or four years in a country-place at some distance from a town, and afterwards bring her back to England; if she do not then act with propriety, he may be sure there is no remedy. But I am of opinion that it would be a certain corrective.[47]

Another document, a letter of 1812, throws further light on the position and problems of women in Pennsylvania:

> Neighbor Nicky informed me that he would take his wife to-morrow to her fathers, not in order to thank him for the loan of her, for they lived hitherto too agreeable to be tired of one another already, she does indeed appear a very agreeable woman and as a new comer in the family is assisting her Mother in law, wherever she can, for it cannot be expected that the old woman would resign the sole government of the Kitchen so quick into the hands of a new Mistress.[48]

Many women like this empress of the kitchen were probably prepared to offer a belligerent defense of their prerogatives against all comers, even against daughters-in-law.

While women generally were busy in the home as maid servants or hard-working housewives, some of their more fortunate sisters, especially in the towns and cities, enjoyed the prestige of domestic queenship, without having to endure the labors that generally attached to the position. The wives and daughters of the commercial aristocracy led a gay life,[49] and found pleasure in many unprofitable social activities outside of the home.[50] An unmarried girl, however, was closely chaperoned in Philadelphia, where, it was remarked, she, alone with a gentleman, might not visit a theatre or a dance, without incurring a social anathema.[51] Thus, while woman's chief duties, until well into the nineteenth century, bound her to the home, changing social conditions gradually widened the horizon of her activities.

It would be an error to assume that all colonial and later women were satisfied with their domestic servitude. Female indentured servants, who came to the colony in great numbers,[52] were often reported as having run away.[53] Married women, as today, sometimes deserted their husbands. An announcement of one seemingly happy husband ran as follows:

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[47] Parkinson: *A Tour in America,* II, 649.

[48] *Papers* [*MSS.*], Northampton County, 1797–1851, 213. [H. S. P.]

[49] Lippincott: *Early Philadelphia,* 280–1.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Nevins: *Emergence of Modern America,* 212–3.

Whereas Jane, my Wife,
Without quarrel or strife
Hath elop'd from my bed and boarding:
This caution I give
Its' as true as I live
For her I will not pay one farthing.[54]

Other married pairs occasionally agreed to separate, the wife resuming her own name. One party, after announcing such agreement, advertised as follows: ''Notice is hereby given . . . that the late Susannah Enis . . . is to be trusted and considered as a *Feme Sole* and that her estate shall not be liable for debts contracted by the subscriber William Jack; or the estate of said William Jack be liable for debts contracted by the said Susannah.''[55] The question now arises as to what positions outside of the home were open to the women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how the field of her activities was enlarged.

V. *Women in the Teaching Profession*

We have noted that, as early as 1722, Mrs. Rhodes kept a private school in Philadelphia.[56] From 1740 on, the advertisements of private female teachers frequently appeared.[57] Among the Quakers, women were frequently employed as teachers in elementary schools.[58] In 1767, the trustees of Germantown Academy appointed a woman to conduct a ''Mistress School'' in one of the rooms of the Academy,[59] and this arrangement was followed for many years.[60] No voices were raised against women teachers in the colony, probably because they were cheaper, and confined their activities to very young pupils and those of their own sex.[61] The development of female seminaries, and the establishment of the public school system widened the field of teaching possibilities for women. Emma Willard sensed the advantages for women resulting from the new developments. "Common schools," she said, "will never be well managed while there is a change of teachers every spring and fall—There should be settled teachers as in Academies. In a country presenting so many objects for enterprise as ours these cannot be men—Neither would men do as well (generally) as women properly qualified. Men are not happy as women are to spend their lives in communing with children nor can they teach the girls such handiworks as they ought to learn in common schools, whereas women of talents may be prepared by education to teach boys all they need to learn even to the languages and the higher mathematics. It is a mistake to suppose that a woman of talents cannot govern lads of fifteen or sixteen years of age."[62] It was being urged generally throughout the country, at this time, that women were the natural teachers of youth[63] and, in 1854, a Harrisburg newspaper editor expressed the belief that it is a rare thing to find a man who is a good teacher, or a woman who is a poor one, for men lacked that patience and sympathy which are essential in a teacher, and with which woman by nature is endowed.[64] Yet, the feeling continued that women were unsuited for certain teaching situations. In 1849, the directors of the sixth section of the Philadelphia district "Resolved, That . . . it is vain to make any further attempt to organize the Allen's Lane School under a female as principal, the disagreeable duty to a female of managing all sorts of Boys, with the bad accommodations of the School House and inadequate salary forbid the hope of being able to secure such experience and talent as should be at the head of that school."[65] The question regarding women in the teaching profession was much debated in the eighteen-fifties and later. A writer, in 1852, saw in the woman teacher the following advantage: (1) they will continue in the field longer than men, (2) they are peculiarly fitted by nature for the work of teaching, (3) they secure the confidence of parents much more easily than men, (4) educated ladies have a right to an independent position, and (5) to employ them is economical.[66] Another, in 1854, offered an eloquent refutation of the charge that women were qualified to teach only very small children, and asserted that "the unanimous opinion among those best acquainted with the matter is, that they are far better calculated by nature, disposition and temperament, than the opposite sex," to conduct schools.[67] The Beaver County Educational Society, in 1855, adopted the resolution, "That as teachers of children, females are superior to males."[68] Still another voice proclaimed, in 1857, that guiding youth was woman's true sphere, and that men who objected to her as a teacher were those who feared the usurpation of their "rights."[69] One of the chief arguments urged against the employment of women teachers was that they could not discipline older students as well as men. That opinion was expressed by the state superintendent in 1853,[70] and evidently reflected the popular sentiment in many parts of the State. The superintendent of Montgomery county, in 1862, said that one of the causes of opposition to women teachers was that the people considered it "indispensable for a teacher to possess sufficient physical strength to overpower the most incorrigible 'son of Belial.' "[71] We find an exactly similar feeling in Bucks county at the same time,[72] and in Northampton county, as late as 1874.[73] In 1866, Thomas Burrowes regretted the hope, expressed by the controllers of the Philadelphia schools, " 'that we may before long find only females employed as teachers in public Schools in the State at large, except, perhaps, in larger Grammar Schools for boys, in which the services of male Principals seem to be imperatively demanded.' "[74] He would have both sexes employed, and give the women equal salaries for equal service, because the "child has a right to contact with, training by, and the example of both in the school as well as the home."[75]

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[52] *Pa. Gaz.,* Aug. 24, 1738, 4.

[53] *Ibid.,* Dec. 14, 1769, 4.

[54] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1781, 1.

[55] *Huntingdon Gaz.,* Dec. 31, 1807, 3.

[56] *Supra,* 91, 103.

[57] *E.g., Pa. Gaz.,* May 7, 1747, 2; May 4, 1749, 3; *Berks and Schuylkill Journal,* March 26, 1825, 1; *Pitt. Mer.,* March 21, 1827, 3; *Erie Gaz.,* June 4, 1835, 3; *Erie Observer,* June 8, 1844, 3; *Hollidaysburg Register,* Aug. 15, 1849, 3.

[58] *P. C. S. M.,* 1–12–1740–1; 1–16–1748–9; Woody: *Early Quaker Ed. in Pa.,* 22, 54, 72–3, 204 *ff.*

[59] *G. A. M.,* June 4, 1767.

[60] *Ibid.,* May 15, 1797.

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[61] The advertised schools of the private schoolmistresses were almost universally girls' schools, *Supra*, 91, 103 *ff*.

[62] Letter to Wm. L. Marcy, Dec., 1836. [*Gratz MSS.*, Box 14, Case 6, H. S. P.]

[63] Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, I, 460 *ff*.

[64] *The Keystone*, Sept. 20, 1854, 2.

[65] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sixth Sect., Dec. 18, 1849.

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[66] J. K.: Female Teachers. [*P. S. J.*, I, Dec., 1852, 274.]

[67] *Address of Harlan Ingram*, 14.

[68] *P. S. J.*, III, June, 1855, 372.

[69] Cunningham, M. J.: Advantages of Female Teachers. [*Ibid.*, V, May, 1857, 363–4.]

[70] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1853, 10.

[71] *Ibid.*, 1862, 127.

[72] *Ibid.*, 50.

[73] *Ibid.*, 1874, 121.

[74] The Report and the Crisis. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XIV, Feb. 1866, 172.]

[75] *Ibid.*

The Civil War gave women teachers their great chance to demonstrate their ability, and the results were favorable. From various and many parts of the State came reports, in 1862, that women were replacing the men who had gone to the battlefront, and that their work was satisfactory.[76] The fact that the salaries of teachers were very low probably explains the fact that young men were not attracted to teaching in the decades following the Civil War. There is much evidence in the county superintendents' reports, of 1862,[77] to show that women were not always employed because school boards wanted them, but rather because they had no choice. Nor had they much choice, after the War had ended, because of the low salaries they paid. The county superintendent of Chester county, in 1866, said: "At the present wages no young man of enterprise and energy can be induced to follow teaching for any considerable length of time."[78] From Mercer county, in the same year, came the statement that women were employed "as a matter of economy and necessity." It was also remarked that "at same salary, an ignorant male teacher would be preferred to an intelligent female."[79] The average monthly salary paid to male teachers in the State, in 1861, was $25.68, and to female teachers, $19.71. The former had fallen, in 1862, to $23.81, and the latter to $18.55.[80] In 1875, the average salary of male teachers had risen to $40.03, and of female teachers to $31.03.[81] By 1876, these average salaries were reduced by about $1.00.[82]

Opposition to women teachers, however, gradually disappeared as a result of their success, and economic necessity. A writer, in 1866, remarked that, wherever there had been an increase of female teachers, "a perceptible advancement in the character of the schools of such districts" followed.[83] An examination of the statistics in the *Reports* of the state superintendent, from 1862 on, shows the rapid increase of women teachers, yet, in some sections of the State the opposition continued. Superintendent McNeal of Huntingdon county said, in 1876: "Female teachers . . . have met with violent opposition. They have had to battle against the grossest ignorance and most unreasonable prejudices; but, in the fight, they have come off victorious. They have established their title to patronage by their worth. Results prove that they have met with more uniform success than have male teachers. . . . In 1842, there were one hundred and thirty male and six female teachers. At the present time about one third of our teachers are females.''[84] The number of female teachers in the State rose from 3,853, in 1853[85] to 9,597, in 1875.[86] For the same years the number of male teachers rose from 7,860[87] to 8,507.[88] In parts of the State, prejudice closed certain public school positions to her, probably because she was still considered a poor executive, disciplinarian, or unfit to teach certain subjects. Emma Willard was certain a woman could teach the higher mathematics and the languages as well as a man.[89] In 1866, another had learned by observation that she could teach satisfactorily natural philosophy, higher mathematics and the languages.[90] Yet, in 1871, the public school directors of Chambersburg authorized their secretary to advertise ''for a proper Male Teacher to take charge of the female high school.''[91] They probably felt that a female principal could not teach high school subjects even to those of her own sex.

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[76] *E.g., State Supt. Rept.*, 1862, 34–5, 37, 39, 45, 47, 49, 53, 65, 91, 104–5, 107, 112, 130, 134, 143, 159.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*, 1866, 88–9.

[79] *Ibid.*, 159.

[80] *Ibid.*, 1862, 5.

[81] *Ibid.*, 1875, p. LI.

[82] *Ibid.*, 1876, p. XLIX.

[83] Humanitas: Female Education. [*P. S. J.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 112.]

As late as 1880, that same feeling existed in some quarters. One writer voiced his convictions thus:

> Without detracting anything from what has been said concerning woman's powers as a teacher, we believe that so far as the influence of mind upon mind in the more advanced stages of education is concerned, the preëminence must be given to man. It is man that has the broadening, liberalizing influence that can not only cultivate the minds under his care, but also give them a broad grasp of comprehensive scholarship. It is, after all, men that have been the great teachers of the world, and have established schools of philosophy and systems of thought, that have so impressed themselves upon their disciples that their influence has descended from generation to generation. . . .
>
> Again, in that stage of culture and in those departments of study where original thought and investigation are required,

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[84] Lytle: *Hist. of Huntingdon County*, 169–70. An examination of figures in the State Reports will show that similar conditions prevailed especially in the German strongholds.

[85] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1853, 14.

[86] *Ibid.*, 1875, p. LI.

[87] *Ibid.*, 1853, 14.

[88] *Ibid.*, 1875, p. LI.

[89] *Supra*, 375.

[90] Humanitas: Female Education [*P. S. J.*, XV, Nov. 1866, 112.]

[91] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 22, 1871.

> woman is at a disadvantage. In art and science, in every phase of intellectual and moral life, man outstrips her as an original investigator and as a creative agent. Endowed as woman is with superior taste and greater readiness of acquisition than man, she has furnished no Shakespeare, no Michael Angelo or Raphael, no Galileo or Newton, no Darwin or Huxley.
>
> We may safely assume, therefore, that in our higher institutions of learning, at least, woman's work as a teacher or educator will always be supplemented by that of man.[92]

Some interesting evidences of little disputes and difficulties which arose as a result of woman's entrance into the public schools have been preserved. Women evidently felt that they were being unfairly treated by male examiners in Philadelphia, in 1837, for, in one section, the directors provided for the examination of female candidates by women teachers, and of male candidates by men teachers. There was apparently some suspicion that one sex could not be fair to the other.[93] In 1843, the office of male assistant in the grammar school of the tenth section in Philadelphia was abolished, and the appointment of "an increasing number of female assistants" provided for, because of apparent dissension between the male assistant and the lady teachers.[94]

Opposition to married women as teachers was voiced, in Philadelphia, seventy-five years ago. The record reads:

> Whereas it is expedient that the Female Teachers of the Grammar Secondary and Primary schools of the First section shall devote, during the school hours, their time and attention assiduously to the instruction of the pupils under their charge, and whereas some of our Teachers are taken off at times from such duties, in consequence of their domestic concerns, Wherefore,
>
> Resolved that the Board in choosing Teachers hereafter, will, in general, prefer those persons who are unmarried or who are widows.
>
> Resolved that whenever any female Teacher, now in the employment of the Board, enters upon the married life, the Board considers that such Teacher ought to resign her situation, and will, in the event of her not resigning, proceed to declare her situation vacant.
>
> Resolved that, under certain delicate circumstances in the opinion of the Board, it is highly important that the situations

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[92] Stahr: Women vs. Men as Teachers. [*P. S. J.*, XXIX, Sept., 1880, 117.]

[93] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Ninth Sect., Dec. 22, 1837.

[94] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Tenth Sect., Nov. 7, 1843.

held by the married women in their employ, shall be declared vacant. Which Resolutions were, after considerations, severally adopted.[95]

In the eighteen-sixties, after women had entered the profession in great numbers, the demand for equal salaries for equal service became frequent and determined. The demand was heard earlier, and from various quarters throughout the country.[96] It was eloquently advanced in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere.[97] Women had demonstrated their ability to do the work of men in the school. Moreover, they had received their education in seminaries, academies and normal schools, where they had shone as brilliantly as their male counterparts. Why should they not be compensated as beneficently as men teachers? Thomas Burrowes pleaded for equal salaries for equal service, in 1866.[98] Another remarked, in the same year, that women paid for their training in normal schools as much as men, and should receive the same compensation.[99] In 1871, the city, borough and county superintendents, with only three dissenting votes, passed the following resolution: "That the common practice of many school boards making sex, instead of merit or amount of labor performed, the basis of compensation to teachers, is highly discreditable and should be abandoned as unworthy of the present age."[100] A Mr. Walker from Northampton, one of the male strongholds, said on this occasion that women could not teach as well as men, and an equalization of salaries would result in the refusal of boards to employ women.[101] In 1903, the minimum salary of school teachers in the State was fixed by law at thirty-five dollars per month, but otherwise boards of education were left free to reward women teachers, as compared with men, in whatever way they pleased.[102]

VI. *Women as School Officers*

Article X, section 3, of the Constitution of 1873, reads: "Women twenty-one years of age and upwards shall be eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of the

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[95] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, First Sect., Dec. 31, 1844.

[96] Woody: *Op. cit.*, I, 494–6.

[97] Werntz: Should Females have the Same Salaries as Males. [*P. S. J.*, VII, July, 1858, 25–7.]

[98] The Report and the Crisis. [*Ibid.*, XIV, Feb., 1866, 172.]

[99] Humanitas: Female Education. [*Ibid.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 112.]

[100] Proceedings of the Convention. [*Ibid.*, XX, July, 1871, 28.]

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Laws of Pa.*, 1903, Act. No. 118.

State." Having demonstrated their ability as teachers, women began to look to supervisory and administrative offices in the school system, as fields of activity. In 1869, a writer recommended that all school offices be divided equally between men and women.[103] Even before the constitutional provision, of 1873, was adopted, we hear of women superintendents. In 1869, Miss M. L. Sandford, who was an unsuccessful candidate for the county superintendency in Chester county, was superintendent of schools in Coatesville, and her work was praised.[104] In 1871, Miss Mary McCord was principal of the Lewistown High School, and Miss Sarah W. Starkweather held a similar position, in West Chester High School, and was, at the same time, borough supervisor.[105] In 1874, a woman held the position of district superintendent in Mill Creek, Erie county.[106] These were probably the only women holding higher positions in the State at this time, and women's occupancy of such positions began in the years immediately following the Civil War which, as in teaching, left vacant many administrative positions, for which no male applicants could be found. In 1928–29, there were fifty-six women on the list of high school principals for the whole State, an indication of the present unpopularity of her sex for the higher offices in the system.[107] Of the supervising principals in the State, in the same year, only twenty-seven were women.[108] There was only one woman among the district superintendents,[109] and three were listed as assistant district superintendents. All the county superintendents were men,[110] but ten women held the office of assistant county superintendent.[111] Outside of the counties of Allegheny and Luzerne, the attitude toward women for the supervisory and administrative offices seems to be very unfavorable.[112]

The appointment of women to school boards came in the eighties. Prejudice against her entrance into this field of educational work seems to have aroused some bitter opposition, probably because she would be called upon to exercise the prerogative of voting, long man's peculiar and exclusive right. In 1829, women were refused by the courts the right to vote for vestrymen of St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia. The judge in rendering his decision at this time remarked: "I see no reason, if the women can vote, why they might not be elected Church Wardens and Vestrymen—we must look to the consequences—the rule is refused."[113] The charter of Conneautville Academy, granted in 1848, excluded women from voting privileges, by the stipulation that "Any male individual having subscribed and paid the full amount of one or more shares of ten dollars each . . . shall be considered a member and as such entitled to the privilege of speaking and voting at its meetings."[114] In 1887, there were enumerated in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* all the cities and states that had opened up all school offices to women, and those that had permitted them to vote for school officers, a step toward their political emancipation. The article rather successfully concealed the sentiments of the writer, except that in referring to women's membership on school boards he seems to approve the following sentiments expressed by a Massachusetts committee: "'As there is neither honor nor profit connected with this position, we see no reason why it should not be filled by a woman.'"[115] In the same year, the Philadelphia *Times* commented favorably on the re-election of Mrs. Mumford as a school director, and remarked: "It is absolutely disgraceful to our city that intelligent women are not generally accepted as a necessity on our school boards."[116] To-day women are fairly well represented on school boards in various sections of the State.[117]

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[103] Humanitas: Public School Offices for Women. [*P. S. J.*, XVII, April, 1869, 282–3.]

[104] Educational Intelligence. [*Ibid.*, XVIII, Nov., 1869, 131.]

[105] Female Principals of High Schools. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XIX, Feb., 1871, 236.]

[106] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1874, 66.

[107] *Directory*, 1928–9, Bulletin No. 25, 26 *ff*. Dept. of Pub. Instruction.

[108] *Ibid.*, 16 *ff*.

[109] *Ibid.*, 13 *ff*.

[110] *Ibid.*, 11.

[111] *Ibid.*, 12.

[112] *Ibid.*, 11–47.

VII. *Opening of Other Positions to Women*

In colonial days, Philadelphia had its business women but, while their advertisements appeared frequently, they were few in comparison with those of men. Mary Banister and her daughter had been making and selling "Soverign Spirit of Venice Treacles," before 1721.[118] Elizabeth Warrnaby was evidently their most aggressive competitor, for she advertised, in the same year, her "Right and Genuine Spirit of Venice Treacle, truly and only prepared by her in Philadelphia, who was the Original and First Promoter of it in the City."[119] At the same time, she had for sale "the Spirit of Scurvy-Grass." In 1731, "The Widow Read" announced that she "continues to make and sell her well-known Ointment for the *Itch,* with which she has cured abundance of People in and about this City for many Years past. . . . It also kills or drives away all Sorts of Lice in one or twice using."[120] Soon, women appeared as merchants dealing in various articles of food and apparel.[121] Nor were all of them in the smaller merchant class. Margaret Duncan, for instance, in 1771, seems to have been an importer and merchant on a large scale,[122] as was Mary Eddy, in the same year.[123] Other women engaged in business which was not far removed from the domestic life of women generally. Thus, Jane Bennett was a baker of "the best Pound Cake," in 1752;[124] and Mary Jackson, in 1755, "keeps the house of publick entertainment, at the sign of the Clothiers Arms, near the Ferry Wharff, in the Borough of Bristol."[125] Elizabeth Gray had a public laundry, in 1731.[126] Several others might be enumerated for the colonial period, and the practice continued, throughout the State, after the Revolution.[127] Some of them were general merchants, other specialized. Mrs. Reutter, in 1807, continued her husband's drug business in Harrisburg,[128] and Mrs. Smart kept a millinery store in Huntingdon, in 1811,[129] as did Mrs. Gunnison in Erie, in 1824.[130] Mrs. Shallus, of Philadelphia, advertised a lending library and an "expensive collection" of books, in 1820.[131] Thus, women made an early entry into the commercial field,[132] and continued in it. Outside of the teaching profession, the other employments in which women engaged, and which might be called professional, were those of midwifery and nursing. Many women seem to have found employment as wet nurses,[133] while others engaged in the treatment of various physical ills. ''Nurse Tucker,'' in 1762, sold ''an extraordinary Ointment for clearing the Skin,'' and which, she said, removed all ''Freckles, and all Roughness, softens the Skin, and keeps the Frost from it, is good for Bruises, and curing the Ringworms.'' She also sold a ''Tooth Powder, for whitening the Teeth, and preserving them from the Scurvy.'' ''Any Person,'' she announced, ''by applying to said Nurse Tucker, the first Time they have the Tooth-ache, may be perfectly cured.''[134] There were twenty-nine nurses listed for Philadelphia, in 1805, of whom two were also ''layers out of the dead.''[135] The announcements of midwives appeared frequently in the newspapers.[136] Some of them were highly respected, as the following item, from 1730, shows: ''Just Published, the Second Edition of An Elegy, on the Death of that ancient, venerable and useful Matron and Midwife, Mrs. Mary Bradwell, who retired from her Labours, Jan. 2, 1730. Aged A Hundred Years and one Day.''[137] Twenty-five midwives were listed in Robinson's *Philadelphia Directory* of 1805.[138] Lectures on midwifery were offered in the University of Pennsylvania medical school, in 1803.[139]

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[113] Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, III, 228.

[114] *Deed Book*, D, II, 214. [Crawford Co.]

[115] Women as School Directors [*Loc. cit.*, XXXV, April, 1887, 407.]

[116] Quoted in *Ibid.*, XXXVI, April, 1888, 372. See Woody: *Op. cit.*, I, 516.

[117] *P. S. J.*, March 15, 1930, 177 *ff.*

[118] *Am. Wkly Mer.*, March 30, 1721, 2.

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[119] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1721, 2.

[120] *Pa. Gaz.*, Aug. 19, 1731, 4.

[121] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, July 1, 1731, 4; Dec. 25, 1740, 4; April 16, 1741, 4; Aug. 15, 1745, 3; April 3, 1746, 2; May 15, 1746, 3; Jan. 28, 1752, 3; Oct. 16, 1755, 3; Dec. 21, 1758, 3; Nov. 18, 1762, 1.

[122] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1771, 3.

[123] *Pa. Packet*, Dec. 9, 1771, 4.

[124] *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 28, 1752, 2.

[125] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1755, 3.

[126] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1731, 4.

[127] *E.g.*, *Am. Daily Adv.*, July 4, 1795, 1; *Pitt. Gaz.*, Dec. 5, 1795, 4.

[128] *Oracle of Dauphin,* May 16, 1807, 3.

[129] *Hunt. Gaz.*, July 11, 1811, 4.

[130] *Erie Gaz.*, July 15, 1824, 4.

[131] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.*, July 3, 1820, 1.

[132] See Dexter: *Colonial Women of Affairs.*

In the field of industry we find women early engaged. We hear of women who were ''mantua-makers'' in the early years of the eighteenth century.[140] Sarah Lancaster was a ''Sive-Weaver,'' in 1739, and bought ''good Horse-Hair, in the usual Manner.''[141] Another, in 1740, announced that she ''makes Gloves and Mittens, grafts and foots Stockings of all Sorts very neat, puts Pieces into Stockings, makes Children's Stockings, and performs plain Work at a very reasonable Rate.''[142] Ann Tatnal made ''her Powders as formerly,'' in 1743,[143] and Sarah Murry announced, in 1748, that she ''prepares and sells *Tar-*

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[133] *E.g.*, *Pa. Gaz.*, Nov. 28, 1765, 3; Sept. 10, 1767, 3.

[134] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1762, 1.

[135] Robinson's *Phila. Directory*, 1805, Appendix, 62.

[136] *E.g.*, *Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 27, 1746–7, 3; Oct. 10, 1781, 3.

[137] *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1729–30, 4.

[138] *Loc. cit.*, Appendix, 62.

[139] *T. U. P. M.*, V, 279. Dr. Shippen offered private lectures on midwifery to women in Philadelphia, in 1765—*Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 31, 1765.

[140] *E.g.*, Mary Wilson—*Pa. Gaz.*, Jan. 27, 1729, 4.

[141] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1739, 3.

[142] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1740, 3.

[143] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1743–4, 4.

Water, from the best Tar, at her house in Third-street, adjoining the Quaker burying-ground.''[144] ''Bonnet-makers,'' were occasionally sought by owners of millinery stores.[145] In 1801, Elizabeth Seidel of Harrisburg announced that ''she carries on Blue-Dying and blanket weaving in second street . . . at the house where Mr. G. Seidel formerly followed the said business.''[146] An examination of old city directories will reveal that women were engaged in a variety of occupations. In Philadelphia, in 1805, we find some of them described as ''huxters,'' while many kept boarding houses, stores, and taverns. Others were listed as seamstresses and mantua makers, and the Widow Butler was a ''shoe-binder.''[147]

Thus, women engaged in many occupations, but the number so employed, in the eighteenth century, seems to have been small as compared with that of men. Until the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the various duties of home-making and housekeeping furnished the chief source of women's employment. On the farms, and probably to some extent in the cities and towns, one of the duties was to work raw material into cloth and clothing for the family—an ancient field, almost exclusively women's.

The factory system of production, which developed rapidly in the first half of the nineteenth century,[148] gradually transferred to the factory the work which was for ages carried on by women in the home, and women followed their work from the home to the factory. In 1775, a spinning factory in Philadelphia employed women to spin yarn in their homes,[149] but soon the factory took them entirely from their homes. Advertisements in early nineteenth century newspapers show an increasing demand for women in factories. One reads:

> *Women Wanted!*
>
> Constant employment and good wages will be given to five or six industrious women that can work in a Paper Mill.[150]

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[144] *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1748, 4.

[145] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1769, 1.

[146] *The Farmer's Instructor and Harrisburg Courant,* Nov. 18, 1801, 4.

[147] Robinson's *Phila. Directory,* 1805.

[148] Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, II, 1 *ff.*

[149] *Pa. Packet,* Dec. 4, 3.

[150] *Am. Republican,* March 28, 1815, 2.

In some rural sections the home continued to be the factory until well into the century. It was said that Northampton county, in 1832, was "not distinguished for manufacturing enterprise. . . . The ordinary handicrafts prosper, and much flax and wool are converted into clothing of a rude but durable texture, by the hands of the farmers' wives and daughters."[151] In 1870, there were listed as employed in manufactures in Pennsylvania, 256,543 men, and 43,712 women. Of the total women thus employed, 32,687 were in Philadelphia county alone, while the only other counties employing more than 1,000 women in this way were Allegheny, Delaware, Lancaster and Montgomery.[152] Nearly all of the women thus employed were engaged in the manufacture of shoes, children's clothing, cotton goods, hosiery, millinery, cigars, umbrellas and canes, and woolen and worsted goods.[153] At the same time, 1,279 were engaged in agriculture; 90,327, in various forms of professional and personal service, chiefly domestic; and 4,539, in trade and transportation, most of these last being clerks and saleswomen in stores.[154] Only a few were employed as bookkeepers, while none was listed as a stenographer. In the whole country, in this year, there were 31,177 bookkeepers, of whom only 293 were women, and 154 shorthand writers, of whom 7 were women.[155] From certain occupations women were barred by law. In Philadelphia, they might not act as waitresses nor serve food in places of "public amusement"[156] and, in 1878, they were prohibited from working in hotels and restaurants of the State where intoxicating drinks were sold.[157]

Until quite recent times, preaching was a field almost entirely closed to women, and it still remains largely a male preserve. The Quakers extended the doctrine of the "inner light" to include women,[158] and women among them were accorded the privilege of preaching. "On the 6th Instant," an item of 1769 reads, "were interred at Abington, Philadelphia County, the Remains of Mary Knight, many years a Preacher among the People called Quakers."[159] The spectacle of a woman preaching, however, was for a long time an occasion for a front page newspaper article. In 1825, the following appeared:

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[151] Gordon: *Gazetteer of Pa.*, 326–7.

[152] *Ninth Census: Statistics of Wealth and Industry*, 562.

[153] *Ibid.*, 563–6.

[154] *Ninth Census. Statistics of the Population of the U. S.*, 686–95.

[155] *Ibid.*

[156] *Laws of Pa.*, 1864, Act No. 136.

[157] *Ibid.*, 1878, Act. No. 11.

[158] Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, II, 368.

[159] *Pa. Gaz.*, March 16, 1769, 2

> A gentlewoman of decent appearance, who is travelling through the country preaching, (or rather exhorting) visited our town on Wednesday last, seems an extraordinary being, of considerable understanding and common education. She delivered a discourse, which occupied about an hour and a half, was concise in her arguments, affording a clear connection of ideas in the arrangement of her subject, and a happy and easy delivery (excepting a few inaccuracies of expression), solemn but mild in her address, and graceful in her gestures.[160]

She was, indeed, an "extraordinary" woman for that time.[161] The fields of medicine and law opened to women slowly, and many prejudices had to be overcome before their opportunities in these fields were at all encouraging.[162] The Female Medical College of Pennsylvania was incorporated in 1850,[163] and prepared the way for the entrance of women into the field of the healing arts.

VIII. *Changing Educational Theories and Attitudes*

Educational philosophies, as they pertained to women, were shaped largely by the views entertained by men regarding woman's nature, ability, and proper sphere, and by social, political and vocational needs. Franklin would have Sally learn French and music, spell well, go to church, and read the *Whole Duty of Man* and the *Lady's Library*.[164] He would limit her duties in the scientific field. "The Knowledge of Nature," he wrote, "may be ornamental, and it may be useful; but if to attain an Eminence in that, we neglect the Knowledge and Practice of Essential Duties, we deserve Reprehension. For there is no Rank in Natural Knowledge of equal Dignity and Importance with that of being a good Parent, a good child, a good Husband or Wife, a good Neighbour or Friend, a good Subject or Citizen, that is, in short, a good Christian. Nicholas Gimcrack, therefore, who neglected the Care of his Family, to pursue

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[160] A Female Preacher. [*Norristown Herald and Weekly Adv.*, July 27, 1825, 1.]

[161] Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 363 *ff.*

[162] *Ibid.*, II, 340–62; 373 *ff.*

[163] *Laws of Pa.*, 1850, Act No. 148.

[164] Letter to Debby, in Smyth: *The Writings of B. Franklin*, III, 435.

Butterflies, was a just Object of Ridicule, and we must give him up as fair Game to the Satyrist.''[165]

In 1787, Benjamin Rush wrote:

> Female education should be accommodated to the state of society, manners, and government of the country in which it is conducted. . . . There are several circumstances in the situation, employments, and duties of women in America, which require a peculiar mode of education. . . . The early marriages of our women, by contracting the time allowed for education, renders it necessary to contract its plan, and to confine it chiefly to the more useful branches of literature. . . . They must be stewards, guardians of their husbands property. . . . The branches of literature most essential for a young lady in this country, appear to be
>
> I. A knowledge of the English language. . . .
>
> II. Pleasure and interest conspire to make the writing of a fair and legible hand, a necessary branch of a lady's education. . . . I know of few things more rude or illiberal, than to obtrude a letter upon a person of rank or business, which can not be easily read. . . .
>
> III. Some knowledge of figures and bookkeeping is absolutely necessary to qualify a young lady for the duties which await her in this country. . . .
>
> IV. An acquaintance with geography and some instruction in chronology will enable a young lady to read history, biography, and travels, with advantage; and thereby qualify her not only for general intercourse with the world, but to be an agreeable companion for a sensible man. To these branches of knowledge may be added, in some instances, a general acquaintance with the first principles of astronomy, natural philosophy and chemistry, particularly, with such parts of them as are calculated to prevent superstition. . . .
>
> V. Vocal music should never be neglected, in the education of a young lady, in this country. Besides preparing her to join in that part of public worship which consists in psalmody, it will enable her to soothe the cares of domestic life. The distress and vexation of a husband—the noise of a nursery, and, even, the sorrows that will sometimes intrude into her own bosom, may all be relieved by a song. . . .
>
> VI. Dancing is by no means an improper branch of education for an American lady. It promotes health, and renders the figure and motions of the body easy and agreeable.[166]

[165] *Ibid.*, IV, 22. Letter to Mary Stevenson.

[166] Rush: Thoughts on Female Ed. [In *Essays*, 75 *ff*.]

Rush went on to recommend the reading of history, travels and poetry, instead of novels. Above all he recommended a study and practice of religion as essential for girls, "the female breast," being, "the natural soil of Christianity."[167]

In the commencement exercises at Poor's Academy in Philadelphia, the "first" female academy "in the United States" to receive a charter,[168] the valedictorians, from 1787 on, expounded an advanced educational philosophy. Miss Priscilla Mason, addressing the commencement audience, in 1793, said:

> I mean not at this early day, to become an advocate for that species of female eloquence, of which husbands so much, and so justly, stand in awe. . . . Although the free exercise of this natural talent is a part of the rights of women, . . . yet it is rather to be *tolerated* than *established;* and should rest like the sword in the scabbard, to be used only when occasion requires. . . . Our right to instruct and persuade, cannot be disputed, if it shall appear that we possess the talents of the orator—and have opportunities for the exercise of those talents. Is a power of speech, and volubility of expression, one of the talents of the orator? Our sex possesses it in an eminent degree. . . . In all of these respects the female orator stands on equal—nay on superior ground. If therefore she should fail in the capacity for mathematical studies, or metaphysical profundities, she has on the whole, equal pretensions to the palm of eloquence. . . . Our high and mighty Lords . . . have denied us the means of knowledge, and then reproached us for the want of it. . . . The Church, the Bar, and the Senate are shut against us. Who shut them? *Man.* . . . But Paul forbids it! Contemptible little body! The girls laughed at the deformed creature. To be revenged, he declared war against the whole sex: advises men not to marry them; and has the insolence to order them to keep silence in the Church—: afraid, I suppose, that they would say something against celibacy, or ridicule the old bachelor.[169]

The philosophy of an age of rationalism and revolution was not lost on women. To be alive was bliss; to be young was heaven. And this new product of the female academy went on to demand for woman a place at the bar and in the senate.[170]

In 1795, the Lancaster Female Academy, a Protestant Episcopal school, taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, the elements of ancient and modern history, and "sketches of the nature and use of several other sciences."[171] But the sponsors of the plan felt forced to justify it by a quotation from "the Rev. John Bennett's Letters to a Young Lady" which follows:

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[167] *Ibid.*, 83.

[168] *The Rise and Progress of the Young Ladies Academy.* [Possession of Arthur R. Spencer, Villa Nova, Pa.]

[169] *Ibid.*, 90–3.

[170] *Ibid.*, 94.

> The elegant studies are . . . more immediately *your* department. They do not require so much time, abstraction or comprehensiveness of mind; they bring no wrinkles, and they will give a polish to your manners, and such liberal expansion to your understanding, as every rational creature should endeavour to attain. There is not a son or daughter of Adam who has not some concern in the knowledge of geography. It is necessary to your understanding the connection which this globe has with the other planetary system, and with all the wonderful works of God. It is indispensable to your comprehending history, or having the proper idea of the events and transactions it relates, as well as to divest your mind of little narrow prejudices, by giving you a view of the customs, manners, ceremonies and institutions of all the different nations of the world. With the history of your own country you cannot decently be unacquainted—The history of Greece and Rome is so frequently alluded to, so connected with that of almost all other nations, and so full of curious incidents and anecdotes, that a little knowledge of it would be useful and entertaining—That species of history which declares the lives and characters of particular persons, and is included under the name of biography, is far the most useful and interesting to a woman—instead of wars, sieges, victories or great achievements, which are not so much within the province of a female, it presents those domestic anecdotes and events, which come more forcibly home to her bosom and her curiosity.[172]

Thus, educational theory of the eighteenth century stressed polish, poise, and a character and disposition agreeable both in society and in the home. With the exception of Rush's view that a woman should have some knowledge of "figures and bookkeeping," in order to assist her husband while he is alive and "be executrix of his will" after his death,[173] the feeling that a woman's education should be in any way practical was not expressed. Rush's views on music and singing, as important for the health and happiness of women, were frequently reiterated throughout the State in the first half of the nineteenth century.[174]

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[171] *The Lancaster Jour.*, Aug. 26, 1795, 3.

[172] *Ibid.*

[173] *Op. cit.*, 79.

[174] *E.g.*, *Franklin Repository*, July 28, 1829, 4; *Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, Aug. 12, 1829, 4.

The earlier general conception, too, that polish and agreeableness were the main objectives in the education of girls continued to be the vogue for many decades. The classics, the mathematics, and the utilitarian studies, that were recommended for boys, were considered unsuited for girls. One writer, in 1803, voiced his faith thus:

> Let your girls go in hand with your boys, as far as reading, writing, and accounts; there draw a line, for girls have nothing to do with latin and greek; but when the boys set off in pursuit of the ancient languages, let the girls be led into the knowledge of housewifery, prudence, oeconomy, and industry; let the seeds of modesty and discretion be strongly planted in their breasts; and let good nature, affability and politeness be inculcated as secondary qualities, though equally essential to the formation of an amiable women. There is nothing perhaps, which makes a young girl so capable of conversation, as reading good authors. Yet an inclination to read the trifling productions of the generality of novelists, has a contrary effect; for a girl whose head runs much after these absurd tales, not only contracts an idle habit, and would do nothing else but sigh over a Sir Charles or a Lord William, but has so much of romance in her head, that she is incapable of conversing . . . and her taste becomes too vitiated, her understanding too corrupted, to relish more rational and more instructive authors.[175]

It is not true that every one was in sympathy with this idea of a polished education, and some were decidedly opposed to any attempt to make women intellectual beings. Many amusing rebuffs found a place in the newspapers, at various times. One woebegone husband lamented, in 1772, that his wife wasted much time in reading, and annoyed him by inquiring about the meaning of words, and he continued:

> I was going to tell you about my daughter. Why, Polly, sir, is a clever girl enough . . . and old enough . . . to know better than to follow her foolish mother in what only makes her laughed at by all her acquaintance behind her back. Polly has already lost a good match, a very good match by her nonsensical behaviour; and if she takes after her mother, will never get a husband worth hanging. A tradesman in the neighbourhood, an industrious young fellow, courted her, and I do verily believe would have married her in a little while; but she found so much fault one day, when he came to make her a present of some ribbons, with his phraseology and pronunciation, telling him that he had a

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[175] *Advice to the Fair Sex,* 129 *ff.*

> barbarous assemblage of expressions, and delivered them with a horrid incorrectness, that he took up his hat . . . and has never darkened my door since. I hope all unmarried tradesmen, when they have read this letter . . . will take special care how they venture upon a bookish woman.[176]

Another wrote, in 1805:

> I wish your Eagle would catch my daughter Mary up in his claws, and fly away with her, when she next goes for Novels to the Circulating Library. She has taken out a double subscription, so that she can have two sets at a time; and, as few Novels consist of less than six volumes each she is generally at work upon a dozen books at a time. I would not scruple to well whack her but her mother who has got the whip hand of *Me,* encourages the jade. She has stuck a pin in each of the following Novels, as they stand in the Circulating Catalogue: Old Nick, 2 Vols. Victim of Passions, 4 vols. Rights of Women, by Mary Wolstoncraft, 4 Vols. . . .[177]

In 1817, another writer complained:

> It too frequently happens that disobedience, ingratitude and contempt are the only remuneration which parents receive for the pains and expense they may have bestowed in giving their daughters what is styled a polite education. Miss goes to a boarding school.

> Where village maids are taught to write and read ill,
> And plain cloth to disfigure with a needle;
> To paint a thing to make the ''old ones'' stare
> A pig or puppy, bullock or a bear,
> But which of these the arts would pourtray,
> No mortal save a conjurer can say;
> Where they are taught health, morals, shape to spoil
> And French to murder in a barbarous style.
> With such accomplishments and so much learning,
> Our *finish'd* lady cannot help discerning
> Her parents are uncouth and *countrified,*
> Whom educated people cant abide;
> Disdains to pay to vulgar folks, so rude
> Her debt of duty, and of gratitude,
> And execrates that pitiable lot
> Which dooms her talents to a country cot.
> In fruitless plaints expectorates her spleen,
> That her bright beauty's ''born to blush unseen''

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[176] *Pa. Packet,* Aug. 17, 1772, Supplement, 1.

[177] *Poulson's Am. Daily Adv.,* Jan. 31, 1805, 3.

> Longs for high life, and lispingly declares,
> Her country suitors are a set of bears.[178]

When a gentleman, as late as 1833, was asked whether or not he would choose a learned wife, he replied: "I would as soon take one with a beard."[179]

The character and taste of refined and educated ladies remained under fire for many decades, and the intellectual shallowness and extravagance that men saw in women of leisure were frequently assailed. Watson, in 1856, saw in their extravagant tastes the ruination of the country, and recommended that they be educated for a useful life.[180] In 1872, the following criticism of the modern girl of that day appeared:

> Her chief concern is for her pretty face. . . . She cannot even darn a pair of her father's stockings. . . . She is afraid of spoiling her delicate hands. . . . She cannot make an omelette, or a pie. . . . To be sure, she always has a cold when asked, but she knows "lots" of opera music, and can sing so scientifically that you cannot for your life understand a word. . . . She trails and sweeps her long dresses on the street, and gathers up the dust and dirt, oblivious of the fact, that neatness is the first and most important item in a lady's toilette. . . . Her manners are exceedingly refined, particularly so at a lecture or concert, where she giggles and whispers to her escort, thereby annoying her neighbors . . . and causing them to wish her in the crater of Mount Vesuvius.[181]

One other thrust at the polite education of girls will have to suffice:

> "So you have finished your studies at the seminary? I was much pleased with the closing exercises. The author of that poem . . . bids fair to become a known poet."
>
> "We think the authoress will become celebrated as a poetess," remarked the young lady, pertly, with marked emphasis on two words of the sentence.
>
> "Oh!—ah!," replied the old gentleman, "I hear her sister was quite an actress, and under Mr. Hosmer's instructions will undoubtedly become quite a sculptoress."
>
> The young lady appeared irritated.

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[178] Fem. Ed. and Duties of Fem. Sex. [*Am. Republican*, June 3, 1817, 4. Reprint from *Vermont Intelligencer*.]

[179] Female Students. [*Lycoming Gaz.*, Dec. 25, 1833, 4.]

[180] *Annals*, II, 597–8.

[181] Bailey: Haps and Mishaps. [*P. S. J.*, XXI, Sept., 1872, 81.]

"The seminary," continued the old man, with imperturbable gravity, "is fortunate in having an efficient board of manageresses. From the presidentess down to the humblest teacheress, unusual talent is shown. There is Miss Harper, who as a chemistress is unequaled, and Miss Knowles has already a reputation as an astronomeress. And in the department of music, few can equal Miss Kellogg as a singeress . . . Mary . . . will become famous as an actress, and paintress, and even as a lecturess."

A loud slamming of the door caused the old gentleman to look up and the criticess and grammarianess was gone.[182]

In the midst of this tide of destructive, but evidently justifiable, criticism of women and women's education came the demands for a useful and practical training for girls. From the eighteen-twenties on, when all minds were directed to a program of internal improvements for the State; when the invention and use of the steam engine had taught man to tame the mountains; when the industrial revolution had begun to work havoc on the whole social fabric, and call women from the home and men from the farm into factories; when new interpretations were being read into our democratic political philosophy; when a public school system was in the making; and when the idea of progress, as never before, seems to have controlled the public mind and determined its attitudes, men and women began to measure the values of education by new standards.

The first suggestions for a new education for girls were based on the belief that a woman had a mind like a man's which needed discipline, and that, to this end, girls ought to be instructed in the "solid" branches, rather than in those that were merely ornamental. Supplementing this argument in favor of an education for women like a man's, were others based, first, on the assumption that women, who are born to be teachers, ought to be given a useful and solid education, and, secondly, on their abstract and absolute right to all the intellectual opportunities accorded to men. The following view was expressed, in 1818: "Why the disproportion of knowledge between the two sexes, should be so great, when the inequality of natural talents is so small, or why the understanding of women should be lavished upon trifles, when nature has made it capable of higher and better things, we profess ourselves not able to understand. The affectation charged upon female knowledge, is best cured by making that knowledge more general.''[183] In 1836, the proprietors of Edgeworth Seminary for Young Ladies, near Pittsburgh, condemned the current practices in girls' education thus:

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[182] Miscellany. [*Ibid.*, Oct., 1873, XXII, 145.]

> Music, painting and drawing are poor *accomplishments,* in comparison with right sentiments and right feelings in the soul, . . . and all training must be attended with some active influence on character. . . . Another reigning mistake relates to ''courses of study.'' There is a disposition with many to have them extended over a large field; and institutions are tempted accordingly to multiply subjects and textbooks in order to keep up with the ''spirit of the age,'' and make a fair show before the world in their advertizements and at their examinations. . . . When will the community fully understand that the business of education is to discipline the mind by unfolding and forming its own powers, and not to cram it with undigested facts? When may seminaries *dare* to commit themselves fully to the principle, that one study mastered in its principles is worth fifty of them learned in a superficial way.[184]

In 1837, a teacher in Bolmar's Academy, in West Chester, wrote a book to which Catherine E. Beecher[185] contributed a chapter, in which she said that the ''profession of a woman'' is ''to form immortal minds,'' and to this end women must understand the relation of food, clothing and exercise to the needs of their bodies. It is more useful for them to study these than the nature of the stars. They ought to be trained to teach, and their minds ought to be developed properly.[186] In the following year, 1838, Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, a sister of Emma Willard, and who was at this time principal of the ''Literary Department'' of West Chester Young Ladies' Seminary, issued an address to the public and parents on girls' education. Herein she stated that, while domestic life was her own ideal, deaths of husband and children forced her to teach. Teaching, she said, presented many trials, but its reward was found ''in the consciousness of a useful existence.''[187] She went on to say that, to Mrs. Willard and herself, Pennsylvania seemed to offer the brightest promise for developments in women's education, because of the munificence of the legislature. "We have been led to conclude," she said, "that there, perhaps, sooner than in any other in the United States, we might hope to see a legislative endowment for a permanent female seminary, corresponding in character and privileges with colleges for males."[188] In the thirties, women were demanding the recognition of their right to an education like a man's,[189] and Mrs. Phelps felt the justice of that demand. In speaking of the school at West Chester, she remarked:

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[183] Female Ed. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, April 22, 1818, 4. Reprint from *Edinburg Review.*]

[184] *A Notice . . . and Catalogue*, 1836.

[185] See Harveson: *Catharine Beecher: An Educational Biography;* Woody: *Op. cit.*, I, 74 *passim;* II, 11 *passim.*

[186] *The Little Orator for Boys and Girls*, Part I, 103--5.

[187] *Prospectus*, 1838, 6.

> The first object of the institution is to furnish females with the means of acquiring a liberal education, coinciding, as far as the varying conditions of the two sexes will admit, with a collegiate course for the other sex. The course of study, method of teaching, and rules of discipline and order, will be, in many respects, similar to those adopted in the Troy Female Seminary. The pupils, as at Troy, are furnished with *private apartments,* where they lodge and study. This arrangement affords them opportunity for reflection and investigation which they could not have, if obliged to study in one large room, in common, annoyed by the variety of sounds and sights which the best regulated schoolroom must present.[190]

And she remarked finally: "Serious study serves to strengthen the mind of women for more trying conflicts."[191] The theory that women were endowed with the same ability as men was soon being defended at the "lyceum" meetings in the State.[192]

Soon, the idea of equal advantages for girls and boys began to tell in the field of public education. In 1842, State Superintendent Parsons wrote the president of the Philadelphia Board of Education as follows: "I cannot avoid suggesting the propriety, nay, the absolute necessity, of establishing a *High School* upon the same plan as the present one, for the education of females—giving to them those high and equal advantages of a finished education which is now enjoyed by the males,"[193] and State Superintendent McClure, in the following year, wrote the same Board approving their intention of providing equal opportunities for girls.[194] The plan had been under consideration in Philadelphia, from 1841.[195] These moves for equality of educational opportunity for women paralleled the early agitation for equality of civil rights for women in which Lucretia Mott, a Philadelphia Quakeress, was active, and which culminated in the convention of the advocates of women's rights at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.[196]

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[188] *Ibid.*

[189] Woody: *Op. cit.,* I, 355, 362, 459.

[190] *Prospectus,* 1838, 7.

[191] *Ibid.,* 11.

[192] Humphrey: Equality of the Sexes. [*Bucks Co. Intelligencer,* Aug. 19, 1840, 1.]

[193] *Rept. of Controllers,* 1842, 57.

[194] *Ibid.,* 1843, 57.

In the eighteen-fifties, these earlier arguments based upon the supposed nature of the minds of women and men, on the needs of the woman teacher, and on the rights of women to an equal education were supplemented by another argument based on the ancient assumption that women's true sphere of activity is in the home. At this time, as has been noted, there was much discussion of women's true sphere.[197] Conceding the point, as many did, that women were destined by nature or by custom for domestic pursuits, it was asserted that they could never be fit and sympathetic companions for men, unless both were educated alike. Different education, it was said, brings different interests, and men would be forced to resort to clubs, while women would remain at home to weep over their own miseries. Social and domestic harmony, it was contended, demanded the same education for both sexes. To refinement in women must be added knowledge, for ignorance is destructive of refinement.[198] Just as a man wants a "wife that can cook him a good dinner, rather than one that can play music or work pretty dogs on stool covers," in the same way and for the same reason, he should prefer in her education "the solid to the showy—the useful to the merely ornamental."[199] Governor Bigler, too, in 1853, expressed the opinion that women ought to be educated as men, so that they might become suitable companions of the latter.[200]

Thus, in the eighteen-fifties, the view seems to have been generally held that a woman should be educated as a man. In the past, teachers and theorists spoke of the formation of a "lady" as the chief ideal in the instruction of a girl.[201] In 1857, Edward Brooks, of Millersville Normal School, wrote the following poem which was said to have enjoyed great popularity in America and England:

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[195] *Ibid.*, 1841, 8–9.

[196] Fish: *Rise of the Common Man*, 269 *ff*.

[197] *Supra*, 370 *ff*.

[198] Glass and Edgar: An Essay on Female Education. [*P. S. J.*, I, Nov., 1852, 250–2.]

[199] Carrier: The Art of Teaching. [*Ibid.*, II, Dec., 1853, 187.]

[200] Address. [*Ibid.*, 190–2.]

[201] *Prospectus of West Chester Young Ladies Seminary*, 1838, 1.

Oft I've heard a gentle mother,
As the twilight hours began,
Pleading with a son, of duty,
Urging him to be a man;
But unto her blue-eyed daughter,
Though with love's words quite as ready,
Points she out this other duty,—
"Strive my dear, to be a lady."

What's a lady? Is it something
Made of hoops, and silks and airs
Used to decorate the parlor,
Like the fancy mats and chairs?
Is it one that wastes on novels
Every feeling that is human?
If 'tis this to be a *lady,*
'Tis not this to be a *woman.*

Mother, then, unto your daughter
Speak of something higher far
Than to be mere fashion's lady—
Woman is the brightest star.
If you in your strong affection
Urge your son to be a true man,
Urge your daughter no less strongly
To arise and be a woman.[202]

At this time, also, it seems to have been dawning on the people of Pennsylvania, for the first time, that not all women were destined for married life. In 1857, Horace Greeley, in an address at Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, reminded his audience that some women must always remain single from choice, disappointment, or hard luck, and consequently ought to be educated for a life of economic independence. But he went further. He stated his case for women thus: "Pecuniary independence and self-support in single life are essential to woman, that she may spurn the degrading idea of marrying for a home and a livelihood."[203] To this end, he recommended an entirely practical education. "The fine arts," he said, "in all their phases, gardening, the vineyards, the manufactures, all must be annexed to her industrial domain, until it should be impossible, as well as shameful, to exact of her teaching and other service at half the price which man receives for equal ability and equal efficiency. This is among the achievements immediately before us, and it is to be attained through a wiser and more practical education.''[204] This idea continued to find exponents.[205] The first suggestion regarding the type of practical education valuable for girls grew out of the fact that most girls were to be wives and home-makers. Domestic economy was being thus urged, in the eighteen-sixties, as a most suitable practical study.[206] In 1889, Governor Beaver addressing the Lancaster County Institute remarked: ''Nine-tenths of all the girls in our Common Schools will become the wives of our wage-workers. . . . How can we better help them to become such than by this practical, common sense education, of which the school kitchen and the sewing school are but illustrations.''[207]

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[202] Brooks: Be a Woman. [*P. S. J.*, XX, Aug., 1871, 51.]

[203] *Ibid.*, VI, Nov., 1857, 160.

The place that women had been taking in the industrial world, however, attracted attention especially after the Centennial Exhibition, of 1876, in Philadelphia. The exhibits in the Women's Pavilion showed the wide variety of articles being manufactured by women in Europe and Canada. Women were shown operating steam engines and looms, and their inventions[208] were also on display.[209] Designing and industrial arts work for girls, which had their beginning in Philadelphia, and probably in the United States, with the school established by Mrs. Peter, in 1844,[210] received a new impetus after the Exhibition, and its importance was generally recognized from this time on.[211] In 1890, plans for a manual training school for girls, as a part of the public school system of Philadelphia, were adopted.[212] Thus, by 1890, in spite of theories to the opposite, women had entered many fields of activity, and educational theories and practices had been slowly changing to conform to the new conditions that a changing civilization had created.

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[204] *Ibid.*

[205] *E.g.*, Hettenbaugh: Female Ed. [*Ibid.*, VIII, July, 1859, 25–8]; Clardy: Hints about Teaching Girls [*Ibid.*, XIV, March, 1866, 214–5]; Shepard: Technical Training for Women [*Ibid.*, XXVIII, Dec., 1879, 229.]

[206] Clardy: Hints about Teaching Girls [*Ibid.*, XIV, March, 1866, 214–5.]

[207] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, Dec., 1889, 219–22.

[208] For patents issued to women in U. S., see Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 12.

[209] Women's Pavilion [*P. S. J.*, XXV, Aug., 1876, 57–9.]

[210] Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 76; *Infra*, 429.

[211] Riddle: Industrial Feature of Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIV, Sept., 1885, 95–8.]

[212] *Min. of Committee on Manual Training School*, May 1, 1890.

IX. *Coeducation*

It has already been noted[213] that the schools of the private masters in the colonial days were often coeducational, but that occasionally boys and girls were taught in separate rooms. Among the Quakers, separate schools for both sexes were the rule[214] and, when Westtown Boarding School was first established, the sexes were kept strictly segregated.[215] The colonial attitude generally on the propriety of coeducation is probably reflected in the following pronouncement of the trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in 1764: "A School for Girls was never a Part of our original Plan; it is unbecoming & indecent to have Girls among our Students; it is a Reproach to our Institution, and were our Funds able to support them, as they are not, they should be removed to another Part of the City."[216] Financial necessity probably forced coeducation on some of our early academies. York County Academy seems to have admitted both sexes to the same classrooms, in 1798, as would appear from the following announcement: "Opened in the Academy, an English Classical School, on a plan entirely new . . . to make youth of both sexes intimately acquainted with the English language . . . to cultivate the understanding and improve the taste."[217] In the same way, Milton Academy seems to have admitted both sexes, in 1827,[218] Erie, in 1833,[219] Coudersport, in 1843,[220] and Franklin in 1845.[221] Many others might be added illustrating this practice. As opposed to this procedure, many academies had separate schools or "apartments" for girls. Meadville announced, in 1842, the opening of the "Female School at the Academy,"[222] North Sewickley Male and Female Academy, in 1855, had separate departments and courses for both sexes,[223] and a writer, describing the practice at George's Creek Academy, says: "The ladies were compelled to walk to and from the academy by themselves. And for a gentleman to speak to a lady in the school building without permission incurred the severest censure."[224]

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[213] *Supra,* 108.

[214] *Ibid.*

[215] *Infra,* 408 *ff.*

[216] *C. A. C. M.*, I, 282.

[217] *Pa. Herald & York Gen. Adv.*, May 16, 1798, 3.

[218] *The Miltonian*, Oct. 13, 1827, 4.

[219] *Erie Observer,* March 23, 1833, 3.

[220] *Catalogue*, 1843, 5 *ff*.

[221] *Catalogue*, 1845–6, 5 *ff*.

[222] *The Crawford Democrat,* April 19, 1842, 3.

[223] *Lawrence Journal,* Sept. 29, 1855, 3.

In the eighteen-fifties, with the clamor for "women's rights," and for equality of educational opportunity, and the insistence that the minds of men and women were alike in capacities, coeducation seemed to present the solution of the difficulty. In 1852, James P. Wickersham, speaking of coeducation at Marietta Academy, remarked:

> The first design of the Principal and projectors of the school, was to confine the sphere of its action to the education of boys alone. But the smallness of the school at first, the existence of no Female Seminary in the place, the growing spirit of reform in education, which seemed to demand that boys and girls should be taught together, and the eminent success which, in various parts of the country,[225] had attended such efforts, conspired to effect a change in the original intention. The experiment was ventured, and six years have now elapsed, and the advantage of the alteration becomes more clearly manifested every year, and the result seems to prove that this mingling of the sexes in educational institutions is beneficial to both, without being attended, under proper regulations, with a single inconvenience.
>
> Its good influence is reciprocal. That sickly, prudish affectation, so much complained of in Female Boarding Schools, is avoided, and a healthy modesty takes its place;—that rude, unmanly roughness characteristic of schools for boys is banished, and more refined manners succeed. The rooms for study are however separate; but the boys and girls meet daily at the recitations, and the competition thus excited, adds not a little to the interest of the study and the advancement of the class. Besides, is not this the natural method of education? Why should brothers and sisters be separated at school? Men and women compose the world. Fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters make up the home; and what prevents the school, which should resemble a family more than any other social institution, from mingling in like manner, male and female? Nothing but the idea, which has extensively prevailed, that if such were the case, improper associations would be formed—immature affections indulged; but the experience of some of the most noted institutions in the country has abundantly shown that this is not the effect.[226]

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[224] Davis: An Old Catalogue [*The Evening Standard*, April 1, 1893, 5.]

[225] See Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 224 *ff.*

[226] Co-Education of the Sexes. [Editorial. *P. S. J.*, I, Jan., 1852, 9–10.]

Others felt that segregation of girls gave them an erroneous idea of man's character, and that too many female seminary graduates ran away with useless adventurers. Coeducation, it was suggested, would help girls to understand men, and men, in turn, would "cease to think of a woman as an angel."[227] In 1852, J. H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, addressed the Ohio State Teachers' Association, and made a strong plea for the adoption of coeducation. Among his arguments were the following: (1) It is economical. (2) It provides equality of opportunity for both sexes. (3) It develops social responsibility. (4) It gives boys a true idea of girls' character. (5) It incites to greater effort in study. (6) It creates a better moral atmosphere.[228] And he proceeded to answer the various objections raised against coeducation. Men and women were, he believed, different in physical and mental traits, and in their spheres of activity, but, nevertheless, they both "need the same air, and same mental discipline the means for which exist in our schools and we know no better."[229] Women, he said, needed the liberal education of the college as much as men, nor will a liberally educated woman want to shirk her domestic duties, this being true only of the half-educated products of boarding schools.[230] And he answered those, who objected to his program on the ground that girls could not do the same academic work as boys, by stating:

> Give them the same antecedent discipline, equal opportunities in other respects, and no such difference will be observed. I must be excused for speaking with some confidence on this point, having been connected for years past with a school where the sexes pursue the entire range of academical study in common, from the rudiments of English Grammar and common Arithmetic to the more difficult authors in the learned languages, and abstract and applied mathematics, which the college curriculum presents. Ladies ask no indulgence and receive none. If an experience of twelve years in a school of five hundred of both sexes, in nearly equal numbers, affords ground for judgment, the difficulty may be regarded as wholly ideal.[231]

Yet, with all his pleading for coeducation, he would draw the line at mixing the sexes in courses in animal anatomy and physiology, and a mingling of men and women medical students in a dissecting room would be "a crime against our common nature."[232] In 1854, a committee of the State Teachers' Association reported in favor of the adoption of coeducation, using exactly the same arguments as Wickersham and Fairchild, but strengthening them by their expressed belief that corporal punishment for boys in coeducational schools would become at once obsolete.[233] A remedy had at last been found for the baneful effects of Adam's fall as it affected life in the schools. The one argument, above all others, stressed by all these advocates of the new régime was that a woman's mind needed discipline in the same way as a man's, and that this truth was not affected in any way by the evident differences in nature and sphere of action of both sexes.

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[227] A. T.: Female Ed. [*Ibid.*, II, June, 1854, 370–1.]

[228] The Joint Ed. of the Sexes. [*Ibid.*, I, 314 *ff.*]

[229] *Ibid.*, 318.

[230] *Ibid.*, 319.

[231] *Ibid.*

Not all educators, however, were to be led easily into the acceptance of such a philosophy. The State Teachers' Association did not vote on the question in 1854.[234] As opposed to the opinions already noted, others insisted that coeducation led to irregularities; that parents were opposed to it; that it makes girls rude and boys disrespectful; that the use of sexual feeling, rather than good teaching, as an inducement to study was a serious error; and that coeducation was a product of absolute necessity.[235] In 1865, the coeducational scheme at the Millersville Normal School was proclaimed a great success, and the whole country heard of the result.[236] In 1872, when Edward H. Magill, of Swarthmore College, advocated coeducation at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, in Philadelphia,[237] Wickersham asked that the motion which was defeated by the same body, in 1854, be reconsidered, and the result was that the Association now approved "the coeducation of the sexes in all institutions designed for general education."[238]

Thus, we may say the equality of educational opportunities for both sexes was recognized, in principle, in the State. One of the earlier whole-hearted advocates of this ideal in the State is said to have been Jonathan Gause, an academy teacher in Chester county, in the eighteen-thirties. In his schools, he practised what he believed to be just, and admitted both sexes, encouraging girls to study exactly the same subjects studied by boys.[239] Thirty years after he set the fashion, his views were approved by the teachers of the State. In 1893, when a new high school building was being erected in Harrisburg, the superintendent sent a questionnaire to school officers in "over one hundred cities," to find out to what extent coeducation was practised. The replies showed it to be an almost universal practice.[240] It is not stated how many of these questionnaires were circulated in Pennsylvania, but practice here probably did not differ from practices in other states. The propriety of coeducation, to-day, finds little place in educational discussions or literature, for few seem to question the practice. The writer, however, listened within the past few years to the views of some teachers in the State, whose convictions in opposition to the practice are as firm and pronounced as those of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia, in 1764.[241] But man proposes and necessity often disposes.

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[232] *Ibid.*, 319–20.

[233] The Co-Education of the Sexes. [*Ibid.*, III, Sept., 1854, 87–92.]

[234] *Ibid.*, III, Jan., 1855, 204.

[235] *Ibid.*, 200–4.

[236] Barnard's *Jour.*, XV, 229.

[237] *P. S. J.*, XXI, Sept., 1872, 102 *ff.*

[238] *Ibid.*, 106. Wickersham either did not clearly recall the action of the group in 1854, or it was incorrectly recorded.

X. *Private Secondary Schools for Girls*

To-day, one is curious to know whether or not the people of Pennsylvania were startled by an announcement, of 1767, which ran thus:

> *To the Ladies of Pennsylvania and adjacent Provinces.*
> *Ladies*
>
> It is by many judicious Persons observed, and remarked as Matter of Surprise, that in so great and populous a City as Philadelphia, where every public Institution for the Benefit of Mankind, has met with ready Encouragement; a proper Seminary or Boarding-School for the Education of Young Ladies should be wanting. The Advantages resulting from such an Establishment, are obvious on the slightest Reflection. . . . This much may be said . . . that it must yield a secret Pleasure and Satisfaction to the Breast of every tender Parent, to know that the Behaviour and Conduct of Children, are under the Inspection of a prudent Woman; and that they are fixt there, where, without the Disadvantage and Fatigue of traversing the Streets to different Schools, whereby their Attention to Learning must be greatly in-

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[239] A Short Sketch of a Long Life. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, XXII, July, 1873, 5.]

[240] *Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools of Harrisburg*, 1895–6, 43–6.

[241] *Supra*, 400.

terrupted and hindered, not only the more necessary, but also the more polite Parts of Education may be attained. And now, Ladies, fully sensible of the greatness of the Task, and in a humble Sense of my many Deficiencies, relying on your Candour and Goodness, I venture to inform you, that on the 15th Day of May, will be opened a Boarding-School for the Education of young Ladies, in Market-Street, three Doors above the Corner of Sixth-Street, on the right Hand going up. . . .

MARY M'ALLISTER

N. B. The Number proposed for Boarders are Twelve.[242]

Moravian boarding schools for girls were established more than forty years earlier,[243] but Mary M'Allister may be considered the first one who attempted to popularize the idea in Pennsylvania. Girls were not admitted as boarders into any of the colonial private schools which we have elsewhere described,[244] but, in the nineteenth century the boarding school came into great prominence. The movement had its beginning, however, in the earlier century. In Pittsburgh, in 1786, Mrs. Pride, to whose school we shall refer again, conducted a "Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies," and soon the State was dotted with girls' schools of this type. Private schools for girls existed from 1722, when Mrs. Rhodes taught in Philadelphia,[245] if not from an earlier date, and provision was made for girls in the schools of the private teachers throughout the colonial period.[246]

After the Revolution, and throughout almost the entire nineteenth century, private schools exclusively for girls appeared in great numbers. In estimating the extent and value of the opportunities thus provided for girls, it must be kept in mind that the practice of instructing both girls and boys in the same school was generally followed by the private teachers in the State.[247] Yet, the number of private girls' schools established by these teachers was very considerable, especially in the first half of the century, and in and around the larger centres of population. In one issue of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* in 1850,[248] the advertisements of forty private schools appeared. Twelve of these were for girls only, six for boys only, and of the others nothing was announced to show whether they admitted both or either sex. The writer has before him the advertisements and catalogues of over five hundred proprietary girls' schools of which the list below, covering many sections of the State, and many decades, may be considered representative.[249]

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[242] *Pa. Chronicle & Universal Adv.,* April 27, 1767, 3.

[243] Reichel and Bigler: *A Hist. of the Moravian Sem. . . . at Bethlehem,* 20 *ff.*

[244] *Supra,* 90 *ff.*

[245] *Supra,* 91, 103.

[246] *Supra,* 103 *ff.*

[247] *Supra,* 90 *ff.*, 263 *ff.*

[248] Aug. 29, 1.

Schools of this type met the demands of those who, because of their views regarding the proper mode of educating girls, or for social or moral reasons, wished their daughters to be educated in such institutions. Many of the proprietors were women, but frequently ministers owned and conducted such schools. Oakland Female Seminary,[250] Roseland Female Institute,[251] Wilkesbarre High Schools for Young Ladies,[252] and Hatborough Young Ladies Institute,[253] are examples of schools conducted by ministers. Others were taught by laymen, assisted by their wives or daughters, as Mr. and Mrs. Withy's Boarding School, at Holmesburg, in 1820,[254] and Mr. and Mrs. Bazeley's School in Philadelphia, 1823.[255]

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[249] Mrs. M'Curdy's School, Harrisburg, 1793. [*Oracle of Dauphin,* April 15, 3.] Columbia House School, Philadelphia, 1800. [*Am. Dly. Adv.*, Dec. 12, 4.] Mrs. Elliot's School, Lancaster, 1802. [*Intelligencer and Wkly. Adv.*, Oct. 27, 1.] Edward Mott's School, Easton, 1805. [*Poulson's Am. Dly. Adv.*, Dec. 23, 1.] Rev. Hutchin's School, Philadelphia, 1810. [*Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 3.] Miss Henry's School, Lancaster, 1814. [*Lancaster Jour.*, May 27, 3.] Mr. and Mrs. Collin's School, Carlisle, 1814. [*Kline's Wkly. Carlisle Gaz.*, Sept. 16, 3.] Mrs. Sterrett's School, Somerset, 1819. [*Somerset Whig,* March 11, 3.] Mrs. Pawling's School, Harrisburg, 1819. [*Oracle of Dauphin,* Oct. 16, 2.] Miss Durang's School, Chambersburg, 1820. [*Franklin Repository,* March 14, 3.] Mr. and Mrs. Withy's School, Holmesburg, 1820. [*Poulson's Am. Dly, Adv.*, July 6, 1.] Mrs. Little's School, Greencastle, 1822. [*Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 3.] Mrs. Russell's School, Pittsburgh, 1826. [*Allegheny Democrat,* Nov. 21, 4.] Miss Hood's School, Jenkintown, 1830. [*Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, Feb. 17, 1.] Mrs. Gwinner's School, Abington, 1831. [*Philadelphian,* Oct. 14, 3.] Miss Gardner's School, Meadville, 1832. [*Crawford Messenger,* March 17, 3.] Wyoming Seminary, Wilkesbarre, 1832. [*Danville Intelligencer,* Oct. 6, 3.] Young Ladies School, Newtown, 1833. [*Bucks Co. Intelligencer,* March 4, 3.] Germantown Boarding School, 1835. [*Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 3.] Columbia Female Seminary, 1840. [*Danville Intelligencer,* Aug. 14, 4.] Miss McDowell's School, Bedford, 1845. [*Bedford Gaz.*, Sept. 19, 3.] Oakland Female Seminary, Norristown, 1846. [*Norristown Herald,* Oct. 14, 4.] Young Ladies Institute, Easton, 1850. [*Easton Whig and Jour.*, Aug. 7, 3.] Lewisburg Female Seminary, 1851. [*Union Wkly. Whig,* Oct. 2, 3.] Towanda Female Seminary, 1855. [*Bradford Argus,* Sept. 1, 3.] Select School, Franklin, 1858. [*Venango Spect.*, Nov. 17, 3.] Olome Institute, Canonsburg, 1860. [*Washington Wkly. Review,* Sept. 13, 2.] Linnwood School, Newville, 1864. [*Valley Star,* Feb. 6, 3.] Cottage Seminary, Pottstown, 1868. [*Record of the Times,* Aug. 12, 1.] Select School, Lock Haven, 1870. [*Clinton Democrat,* Aug. 1, 1.] Easton Female Seminary, 1872. [*Petroleum Centre Dly. Record,* Sept. 12, 4.]

[250] Ralston: Oakland Fem. Sem. [*Hist. Soc. Montg. Co., Sketches,* VI, 373 *ff.*]

[251] *Bucks Co. Intelligencer,* Sept. 3, 1850, 2.

[252] *Luzerne Union,* March 23, 1853, 3.

[253] *Bucks Co. Intelligencer,* Sept. 18, 1866, 1.

As in the case of private schools generally, little documentary material dealing with many of these schools can now be found. Their newspaper announcements are, in most instances, the only source of information regarding them that now remains. Some of them would seem to have been one-teacher schools, where the owner taught all the subjects that were offered, as, for instance, that of Margaretta Buckman, at Newtown, in 1833,[256] and of Mrs. Beatty, at Bridge Point, in 1840.[257] Others had four or more teachers, as, for instance, the Lancaster Young Ladies Institute, in 1853.[258]

The cost of tuition in these private schools for girls was probably higher than in schools for boys, because of the cost of instruction in ornamental branches, such as music and painting, in which most girls would seem to have sought instruction. Miss Hood, in 1830, charged $100 per year for boarding and instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, grammar, geography, use of the globes, history, astronomy, natural philosophy, botany, and plain and ornamental needle work.[259] In other schools, boarding and tuition were charged for separately, the subjects being grouped as in the schools already described.[260] This latter practice was followed in many schools, as in Wyoming Seminary for Young Ladies, in 1832. Here "Gilding and Bronzing on Glass and Wood" was charged for at the rate of $5 per session of twelve weeks, with an additional $5 for music.[261] The following rates for the Cottage Seminary for Young Ladies, in Pottstown, may be taken as typical of the practice in the more elaborate private schools of two generations ago:

	Half Year
Board, Tuition in English and Latin, Fuel and Light	125.00
Extras, per Half Year	
Lessons on the Piano (two per week)	30.00
Use of Instruments for practice, one hour daily	5.00

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[254] *Poulson's Am. Dly. Adv.*, July 6, 1820, 1.

[255] *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1823, 4.

[256] *Bucks Co. Intelligencer*, March 4, 3.

[257] *Ibid.*, March 11, 4.

[258] *Catalogue*, 1853, 5.

[259] *Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, Feb. 17, 1.

[260] *Supra*, 242 *ff*.

[261] *Danville Intelligencer*, Oct. 6, 3.

Modern languages, each	15.00
Drawing	15.00
Oil Painting	20.00
Seat in Church	1.50
Library	1.00
Washing, per dozen	.50
Tuition for Day Pupils	20.00[262]

Before the period of incorporated girls' schools began, in 1838,[263] this type of private school was the most extensive and important agency in the education of girls in the State. But there grew up with it the academies and private schools, which admitted both girls and boys either into the same classes, or into different rooms in the same building, or into the same room at different hours. Of these practices it would appear that the most common was that of separate rooms. This plan was followed by James Robins in Philadelphia, in 1781;[264] by D. Doyle in Lancaster, in 1795;[265] by James Noyes and Daniel Chute in Pittsburgh, in 1811;[266] by the trustees of Reading Academy, in 1814;[267] by the Union Academy of Philadelphia, in 1821;[268] by York County Academy, in 1833;[269] by Danville Academy, in 1853,[270] and by very many others. The practice of admitting girls and boys at different hours seems to have been resorted to by teachers who had but one-room schools. Mr. and Mrs. Smith followed this plan in Philadelphia, in 1800,[271] and George Thresher in Harrisburg, in 1814.[272]

Coeducational institutions were established by private masters in the colony[273] but, after the Revolution, the practice of mixing the sexes in the same school seems to have been less common. When Owen Biddle wrote *A Plan for a School,* in 1790,[274] which led to the final arrangements and plan for the Westtown Boarding School, in 1796,[275] he proposed that the sexes be separated so as to live in buildings sufficiently far apart and be instructed in different classrooms. "It is supposed," he said, "that the school-houses for the boys should be situate at a convenient distance from those for the girls, to prevent any improper familiarities: likewise that they be boarded in different houses; yet not so far separated but that an innocent and cheerful intercourse may be allowed and encouraged under suitable inspection at proper seasons."[276] And in 1796, when the school was being established, it was provided that the boys and girls be educated separately.[277] The private masters, however, continued to try the coeducational experiment. George Pierce, who conducted the Brandywine Boarding School, in 1815, admitted boys between the ages of eight and fifteen, and girls over eight years of age.[278] Chr'n Lichtenthaler admitted both sexes to his Ephrata Juvenile Seminary for Both Sexes, in 1838, but boys over seventeen years of age were not admitted.[279] Many of the incorporated academies, as has been noted, admitted both sexes, especially after 1830.[280] After 1850, a number of institutions were incorporated as coeducational schools, as Columbus Male and Female Academy, in 1851,[281] and Callensburg Male and Female Institute, in 1858.[282] On the whole, girls were comparatively well supplied with educational institutions of the private or incorporated type. Private girls' schools, and coeducational schools, as did those for boys,[283] met an urgent educational need both before the public school system was established, and again before it was brought to a perfection which satisfied the wishes, and commanded the respect of parents throughout the State.

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[262] *Circular,* 1873, 13.

[263] *Infra,* 415 *ff.*

[264] *Pa. Gaz.,* Oct. 17, 2.

[265] *Lancaster Jour.,* June 17, 4.

[266] *Pitt. Gaz.,* Aug. 16, 3.

[267] *Wkly. Adv. of Reading,* April 16, 4.

[268] *Phila. Directory and Register,* 1821.

[269] *York Gaz.,* Oct. 9, 3.

[270] *Danville Intelligencer and Montour Co. Adv.,* Sept. 22, 3.

[271] *Poulson's Am. Dly. Adv.,* Nov. 6, 3.

[272] *Oracle of Dauphin,* Sept. 17, 4.

[273] *Supra,* 108 *f.*

[274] *MS.* in Quaker Archives, 304 Arch St., Phila.

[275] *Min. Phila. Yrly. Mtg.,* 1796, 335 *ff.*

XI. *Denominational Girls' Schools*

Quakers.—The Society of Friends provided an opportunity for the elementary education of girls in the colony.[284] Probably the first approach in their girls' schools to anything above the mere elements appeared in the program of the school conducted by Anthony Benezet, in 1754,[285] in which English grammar was taught. A writer in the *American Journal of Education* said that he was surprised to hear girls parsing English in Philadelphia, in 1780.[286] The study of English grammar was, doubtless, an advanced step for girls, in 1754. What David James Dove taught in his school for girls is not known.[287] Watson says that Thomas Lloyd sent his daughters to a school in Lewistown "at our southern cape . . . to finish their education,"[288] but we do not know what they studied here, nor anything else about this seventeenth century school for girls. It is probable that Benezet's school in the seventeen-fifties was somewhat in advance of its time. The Quakers continued to make provision for girls, as in Westtown Boarding School, and in the select school opened under the control of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, in 1833.[289] In 1834, there were thirty-five girls in this latter school studying "the appropriate studies, generally pursued in the best schools for their sex, including the French language."[290] It was stated regarding this, and a select school for boys opened at the same time, that "the design of the Monthly Meeting in the institution of these schools" is "to promote among the scholars, the observance of our Christian testimonies in relation to dress and language and to provide for them a guarded education consistent with our religious profession."[291]

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[276] *Op. cit.*, 31.

[277] *Min. Phila. Yrly. Mtg.*, 1796, 335 *ff*.

[278] *Am. Republican*, June 20, 2.

[279] *Examiner and Herald*, July 26, 3.

[280] *Supra*, 400 *f*.

[281] *Laws of Pa.*, 1851, Act No. 329.

[282] *Ibid.*, 1858, Act No. 322.

[283] *Supra*, 292 *ff*.

[284] Woody: *Quaker Ed. in Pa.*, 70, 213, 217.

[285] *P. C. S. M.*, I, 80.

Moravians.—The first of these was opened by the Countess Benigna, daughter of Count Zinzendorf, at Germantown, in 1742, and was removed to Bethlehem, in 1743.[292] Until 1785, the school was open to Moravian girls only, but in that year it was decided to admit non-Moravian girls.[293] Reichel and Bigler present a well-documented account of the history of the school, after 1785. Of the activities of the school before 1785 little is known. In 1766, it had seven classes and eighty-three pupils.[294] In 1790, an announcement was prepared for the newspapers, stating that a lady was on her way from Europe to instruct the seminary girls in French, for which a charge of "five Spanish Dollars per annum" would be charged.[295] A visitor to Bethlehem, in 1799, described the school, saying that the girls were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, embroidery, drawing and music; that the minister of the place supervised the school and examined the pupils; that the girls were taken on walks for the sake of health; and that the charges for boarding, washing, and clothing amounted to $175 per year.[296] Another writer, of 1802, leaves us the following picture of the school:

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[286] *Loc. cit.*, V, 421–3.

[287] *Supra,* 191.

[288] *Annals,* II, 288.

[289] *Phila. Mo. Mtg. Min.*, 1–30—1834.

[290] *Ibid.*

[291] *Ibid.*

[292] Reichel and Bigler: *A Hist. of Moravian Sem.*, 20.

[293] *Ibid.*, 44.

[294] Meyers: List of students, August, 1766. [Taken from records in Herrnhut, and preserved in School Archives.]

[295] Document in School Archives.

> Daddy Thomas walked with several persons who had waited for this purpose at the Inn down to the schools of the girls which I think consisted of six rooms in which we saw about 14.—& this divided according to the several ages & proficiencies of learning, begin^{g} with reading, writing etc. to drawing embroidery in Silk and muslin & music & painting as we went thro' the rooms our guide was frequently called to by the children by his title,—In the girls schools they were mostly attended by a mistress one of the Sisters particularly so at the arts of Drawing needle work & music & were not interrupted by our coming, & it gave us much pleasure to see the specimens of considerable ingenuity—Whether from the affection the old Sage bears all his dear children as he calls the girls or from a disposition to show his familiarity the ceremony of kissing was again gone thro' to all who attracted his attention & which the young women permitted.
>
> He took great pleasure in informing us of such as had come for instruction from great distances such as N. Carol^{a}. Antigua Marietta N. E^{d}. etc. etc. and said upon the whole their project equalled their expectations—During the time we were in the girls school I observed a whiteness of complexion universally if not a sallowness attributable to close confinement or to exercise only under particular rules & am satisfied that the mind does not enjoy any relaxation while under the rules of others uniformly designed to suit all. . . .
>
> The modes of play exercise etc. are too much reduced to system they play under the eye of the Sister who accompanies them & they do become reduced to their order of acting & I have little doubt mode of thinking from enticement & from knowing no other.[297]

An old circular, dated 1806, and preserved in the Archives of the Moravian Historical Society, in Nazareth, throws further light on the earlier plan of the seminary: "The age of admittance of pupils is between 8 and 14 years. The age of 16 terminates their stay in the school. . . . The branches taught are Reading, Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, History, Geography, (German if desired), plain Needle-work, etc. Music and fine Needle-work, including Drawing, are two extra branches. . . . Entrance money is 5 Dollars. The quarterly expence for board and tuition, bedding included is $20.''

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[296] Odgen: *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pa. in the Year 1799,* 24–31.

[297] Gilpin: Journey to Bethlehem. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.,* XLVI, 143–4.]

Another famous Moravian school for girls, Linden Hall Seminary, originated as early, probably, as 1746, and non-Moravian boarding students were admitted, from 1794 on.[298] In 1827, John C. Kummer announced that he was superintendent of this school and would ''endeavor to promote the best interests of the young ladies . . . being aided by competent female teachers.''[299] He proposed to instruct the pupils in the solid, useful and ornamental branches, music, drawing, French, velvet painting, worsted work, bead work and ebony work being charged for as extras, at the rate of $3 per quarter.[300] Bethlehem Female Seminary, and Linden Hall Female Seminary, represent an outstanding contribution of the Moravians in the education of girls. The former had more than five thousand alumnae, in 1867,[301] and the latter had provided for over four thousand boarding students alone, prior to 1905.[302]

Episcopalians.—It has been noted elsewhere[303] that a female seminary had been established in connection with the Episcopal church in Lancaster, as early as 1795. Others were similarly established, as the Western Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, Pittsburgh, which was active in 1837,[304] the Pittsburgh Female Seminary, established in 1853, of which the Rev. William H. Clarke, who had been associated with Mrs. Lincoln Phelps[305] at the Patapsco Female Institute, of Maryland, was the first principal,[306] and Bishop Thorpe School in Bethlehem, 1874.[307]

Presbyterians.—Provision for the secondary education of girls was made by the Presbyterians in such institutions as the Birmingham Female Boarding and Day School, which was in operation,' in 1849,[308] the Luzerne Presbyterial Institute, 1853,[309] the Wilkes-Barre Female Institute, 1854,[310] and Covode Academy, established and controlled jointly by the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal churches, in 1862.[311] The Rev. William Hamilton, of Warren, approved, in 1864, the new departures in women's education:

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[298] Weitzel: *Linden Hall Sem.* [In *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*, 24–7]; Beck: Linden Hall, 1746–1921. [In *A Century and Three Quarters of Life and Service.*]

[299] *Pa. Intelligencer*, Jan. 5, 3.

[300] *Ibid.*

[301] *Catalogue*, 1867–8, 13.

[302] Weitzel: *Loc. cit.*, 27.

[303] *Supra*, 389 *f.*

[304] *Harris Pitt. Business Directory*, 1837. Adv. Section.

[305] *Supra*, 395 *f.*

[306] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Sept. 1, 3.

[307] *Charter Book*, II, 265. [Lehigh Co.]

> Formerly, the merest *smattering* of knowledge was deemed sufficient for a woman. If she could read, write, and keep a fair account of the house expenditures;—if she was tolerably expert in the use of her needle, and conversant with the culinary art, it was enough. She had then all that was requisite to make a good housewife, and nothing more was desired, or even thought of. Against the idea of teaching women the Greek and Latin Languages, and giving them some insight into mathematics, and some acquaintance with natural science, our fathers would have remonstrated vehemently. But juster views are beginning to prevail: nor can it be shown why women should not be educated as extensively and as thoroughly as men![312]

Baptists.—Connected with the University at Lewisburg, from its inception in 1849–50, was an academy for boys and another for girls.[313] In 1855, this department for girls was named the University Female Institute, this name being retained, until 1890, after which date it was called the Bucknell Institute.[314] Similarly, in other Baptist schools, provision was made for girls, as in Reid Institute, Clarion county,[315] and the Keystone Academy, Wyoming county.[316] In the proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society, 1887, the following views of Mr. Boardman were incorporated: "There is no reason in the nature of Woman as Woman why we should deny to her as complete an education as we grant to the brother brought up by her side. Indeed, we do recognize the equality and community of the sexes almost everywhere else: for example, we allow them to sit side by side in the family, in the school, in the church, in the railway car, in the evening party, but the moment we enter the sphere of the higher education, where good solid work is meant, we suddenly make an enormous exception.''[317] And he stated that the church needed ''educated mothers and feminine home-teachers even more than she needs educated fathers and public ministers.''[318]

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[308] *The Globe,* July 3, 3.

[309] *Record of the Times,* May 25, 4.

[310] *Deed Book,* LVII, 56. [Luzerne Co.]

[311] McAllister: *Hist. of Covode Acad.,* 17 *ff.*

[312] *Address,* 4 *f.*

[313] *Catalogues.* [Bucknell University Library.]

[314] *Bucknell University Catalogue,* 1890–1, 80.

[315] *Waynesburg Republican,* June 18, 1879, 1; *Forty-Seventh Rept. of Pa. Bapt. Ed. Soc.,* 39.

[316] *Catalogue,* 1871–2; the coeducational practices in this school have for some years been abandoned.

The first girl to enter the boys' courses in the college of Bucknell University was admitted from the Institute, in 1884, to pursue ''select studies,'' and girls' right to the same education as boys was gradually recognized.[319]

Methodists.—It has been noted that Covode Academy, which admitted both sexes was under joint control of the Presbyterian and the Methodist Episcopal churches. Before this time, in 1848, Dickinson Seminary at Williamsport was established by the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conference, and admitted girls as well as boys.[320]

Roman Catholics.—Such schools in charge of Roman Catholic sisters existed in Pottsville, from 1837;[321] in Loretto, from 1855;[322] in Reading, from 1859;[323] in Choconut township, Susquehanna county, from 1864;[324] near Latrobe, in 1869;[325] in St. Mary's, in 1870;[326] in Erie, in 1874;[327] in Titusville, 1875;[328] in Hollidaysburg, in 1876;[329] in Chestnut Hill, 1858–95;[330] and in Pittsburgh, in 1895.[331]

Lutherans.—The Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Institute was opened in 1858,[332] and, during the first year of the institution, girls were admitted with the boys. At the close of this year, the Susquehanna Female College was opened,[333] and both sexes were separated, until 1873, when mixed classes appeared in the ''Collegiate Department'' of the Missionary Institute.[334]

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[317] *Loc. cit.*, 5.

[318] *Ibid.*

[319] *Catalogues*, 1884–1930. [Bucknell University Library.]

[320] *Catalogue*, 1850–1, 10.

[321] Patterson: Hist. of Pottsville Schools. [*State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, 780.]

[322] McCormick: Cambria County Educational Survey. [*P. S. J.*, IV, 168.]

[323] Montgomery: *Hist. of Berks Co.*, 805.

[324] *Deed Book*, XXXIII, 729. [Susquehanna Co.]

[325] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Aug. 5, 5.

[326] *Clinton Democrat*, Sept. 15, 3.

[327] *Lake Shore Visitor*, Sept. 5, 8.

[328] St. Jos. Acad. [Editorial. *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 8.]

[329] *Cambria Freeman*, Sept. 29, 3.

[330] *Catalogue of Mount St. Joseph's Acad.*, 1894–5, 3.

[331] *Brookville Republican*, Sept. 18, 1895, 1.

[332] *First Catalogue*, 1858–9. [Susquehanna University Library.]

[333] *Ibid.*, 18.

[334] *Catalogue*, 1873–4, 5–7.

In 1889, it was announced that "The Classical Department is open for the admission of *female* as well as *male* students. In the case of ladies, Greek and all mathematics, except geometry, after the sub-freshman year, are optional; this course of study being equally extensive with that of the better class of Female Seminaries."[335] No attempt has been made to compile a complete catalogue of the religious schools thus established. Those enumerated will, however, show the interest of various groups in the education of their girls.

XII. *Support of Denominational Girls' Schools*

The denominational girls' schools were supported mainly by the tuition of students. In the Moravian schools fees were charged prior to the time when non-Moravians were admitted. In 1763, the rates at Bethlehem Female Seminary were fixed at £10 per year, the girls performing manual work as a partial compensation for their boarding and instruction.[336] The original cost of erecting and furnishing the school buildings was borne evidently by the Moravian community or church. In 1794, the Quakers had collected, in subscriptions and donations, over £12,000 to defray the cost of establishing the Westtown school.[337] A grant of two hundred and thirty acres of land was made, in 1854, for the establishment of St. Benedict's Academy, in Elk county,[338] and a similar donation was made to St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Female Academy, in Susquehanna county, in 1864.[339] Many gifts in the form of subscriptions and donations of money and land were probably made toward the support of religious schools. Their tuition rates, however, were not lower than in the private and non-denominational schools. In St. Benedict's Academy, in 1871, a charge of $90 per half-year was made for "board and tuition, including English and German," while French, Latin, vocal and instrumental music, drawing, painting, and fancy work were charged for as extras.[340]

XIII. *Incorporated Female Seminaries*

The first girls' school to receive a charter in Pennsylvania, and probably in the United States, was the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia. This charter was granted by Governor Mifflin on the first day of February, 1792. By the terms of the charter only female pupils, or males under seven years of age, could be admitted to the school. John Poor was continued as principal "in consideration of his great exertions and expence, in erecting forming and improving said Academy, from its infancy up to its present flourishing situation."[341] It may be true that the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem was the agency of inspiration back of this early experiment in Philadelphia, as William Woodbridge suggested,[342] but, in the fact that it received a charter from the State, it was a unique institution for many years. The policy of incorporating institutions for girls may be said to date from 1838, although some unchartered female seminaries before this date were controlled by boards of trustees, as, for instance, Huntingdon Female Academy, in 1815.[343] In 1838, as has been indicated,[344] the legislature provided an appropriation for incorporated academies and female seminaries, and many of the latter, some of them evidently in existence for many years, obtained charters in order to participate in the State grant. By one act alone, that of April 16, 1838, twenty-five female seminaries were incorporated.[345] This act stipulated that no religious tests should be required in the case of trustees, teachers or students, and similar provision was made for many incorporated later. The following table shows the number of female seminaries incorporated in the State.

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[335] *Catalogue*, 1889, 14.

[336] Hacker: *Nazareth Hall*, 30.

[337] *Min. Phila. Yrly. Mtg.*, 1796, 335 *ff*.

[338] *Deed Book*, E, 286–8. [Elk Co.]

[339] *Deed Book*, 33 P, 729. [Susquehanna Co.]

[340] *Venango Spectator*, Aug. 4, 2.

TABLE III.—*Incorporated girls' schools*[346]

Chartered by Legislature	
Prior to 1829	1
1830–1839	36
1840–1849	8
1850–1859	6
1860–1869	7
1870–1879	1
1880–1889	0
1890–1899	0
Total	59

Chartered by County Courts	
Prior to 1829	0
1830–1839	0
1840–1849	2
1850–1859	6
1860–1869	4
1870–1879	6
1880–1889	3
1890–1899	1
1900–1909	4
Total	26

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[341] From facsimile of charter furnished by the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

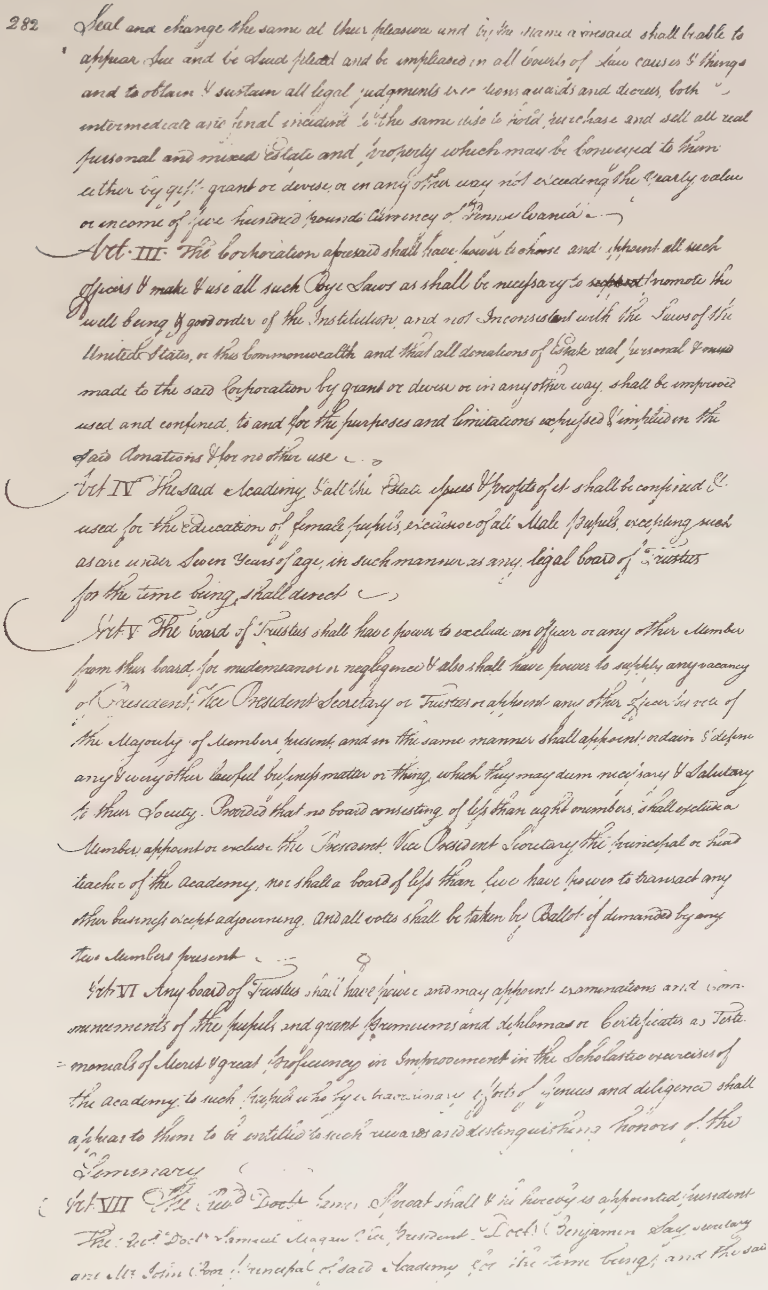
[342] *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, V, 421–3.

[343] *Huntingdon Gaz.*, June 1, 1815, 3.

[344] *Supra*, 221.

[345] *Laws of Pa.*, 1838, Act No. 95.

[346] Based upon material collected by the author from the printed laws of Pennsylvania, and from records in county courthouses.



282 Seal and change the same at their pleasure and by the name aforesaid shall be able to appear, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in all Courts of Law causes & things and to obtain & sustain all legal judgments executions awards and decrees, both intermediate and final incident to the same, also to hold, purchase and sell all real personal and mixed Estate and property which may be conveyed to them either by gift, grant or devise, or in any other way not exceeding the yearly value or income of five hundred pounds Currency of Pennsylvania.

Art. III. The Corporation aforesaid shall have power to chuse and appoint all such officers & make & use all such Bye Laws as shall be necessary to ~~support~~ promote the well being & good order of the Institution, and not Inconsistent with the Laws of the United States, or this Commonwealth and that all donations of Estate real, personal & mixed made to the said Corporation by grant or devise or in any other way, shall be improved used and confined, to and for the purposes and limitations expressed & implied in the said donations & for no other use.

Art IV The said Academy & all the Estate issues & profits of it shall be confined & used for the education of female pupils, exclusive of all Male pupils, excepting such as are under Seven Years of age, in such manner as any legal board of Trustees for the time being, shall direct.

Art V The board of Trustees shall have power to exclude an officer or any other Member from their board, for misdemeanor or negligence & also shall have power to supply any vacancy of President, Vice President Secretary or Trustees or appoint any other Officer by vote of the Majority of Members present and in the same manner shall appoint, ordain & define any & every other lawful business matter or thing, which they may deem necessary & Salutary to their Society. Provided that no board consisting of less than eight members, shall elect a Member, appoint or exclude the President, Vice President Secretary the principal or head teacher of the academy, nor shall a board of less than five have power to transact any other business except adjourning, and all votes shall be taken by Ballot if demanded by any two Members present.

Art VI Any board of Trustees shall have power and may appoint examinations and commencements of the pupils and grant premiums and diplomas or Certificates as Testimonials of Merit & great proficiency in Improvement in the Scholastic exercises of the academy to such pupils who by extraordinary efforts of genius and diligence shall appear to them to be entitled to such rewards and distinguishing honors of the Seminary.

Art VII The Revd Doctr James Sproat shall & is hereby is appointed President The Revd Doctr Samuel Magaw Vice President Doctr Benjamin Say secretary and Mr John Poor Principal of said Academy for the time being, and the sai

Facsimile of A Section of The Charter Granted to the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia (Poor's Academy), February 1st, 1792. Furnished by the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Institutions chartered under the name of female colleges have not been included in this tabulation. Nor has it entered into the plan of this study to collect information regarding girls' schools of recent origin or incorporation. A number of these have been incorporated since 1900, apparently in the vicinity of the larger cities, as Miss Wright's School,[347] Ogontz School,[348] Baldwin School,[349] Beechwood Hill School,[350] and Miss Caskins School for Girls.[351]

Among the chartered institutions in the table above were some of the oldest girls' schools in the State. Thus, the Bethlehem Female Seminary and Linden Hall Female Seminary, of the Moravians, were not chartered until 1863.[352] In 1837, Edgeworth Ladies Seminary announced: "It is now nearly 11 years since this Seminary was first established. It stood for some time, the only institution of its kind, it is believed, in this section of the United States."[353] In 1826, it was being conducted by Mrs. Oliver, whose announcement of this year leads to the conclusion that the school was in existence probably as early as 1825.[354] This school, however, was not incorporated until 1840.[355] The claims of Edgeworth Seminary to priority in the western section of the State may not have been well founded. A rather elaborate institution, known by the name of The Harmony Institute and Seminary for the Education of Young Ladies was in existence in Butler county, in 1817, with a board of trustees, composed of prominent men of Pittsburgh, Greensburg, Beaver, Butler, Washington, Uniontown, Erie, Meadville and Zelinople. A Mr. Eickstein was the proprietor. The first announcement was signed by Jacob Schnee, president of the board of trustees. In 1818, Mr. Schnee, who signed himself "Minister of the Gospel and President H. I." announced: "Tuition, boarding, washing, books and stationery are provided for One Hundred and Fifty Dollars per annum."[356] In 1820, Mr. Eickstein opened a seminary for girls in Pittsburgh, and carried with him excellent recommendations from the trustees of the Harmony Seminary.

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[347] *Misc. Book,* LIX, 245–7. [Montgomery Co.]

[348] *Ibid.,* LXXXVI, 452.

[349] *Ibid.,* XCIII, 526–7.

[350] *Ibid.,* CXI, 454.

[351] *Ibid.,* CXIV, 448.

[352] *Laws of Pa.,* 1863, Acts No. 282, 283.

[353] *Harris Pitt. Business Directory,* 1837, Adv. Section.

[354] *Pitt. Mer.,* Sept. 6, 3.

[355] *Laws of Pa.,* 1840, Act No. 65.

[356] *Washington Exam.,* April 6, 4.

In his institution at Harmony, Mr. Eickstein offered instruction in a long array of mathematical, scientific, linguistic and ornamental subjects.[357] This attempt to establish an elaborate school for girls in the western part of the State does not seem to have resulted in anything permanent, for its last announcement appeared in September, 1819,[358] and it does not seem to have continued after Eickstein removed to Pittsburgh, in the following January.[359]

Washington Female Seminary, the most notable in the western part of the State, and still in existence, was first opened, in 1836, under the direction of Mrs. Francis Biddle.[360] It was incorporated in 1838,[361] although it had a board of trustees, in 1836.[362] As elsewhere in the State, this seminary had many private forerunners, as the Ladies Academy, of 1817,[363] and the Washington Female Seminary, of 1835,[364] out of which it may have grown. In Harrisburg, in 1810, there was a Young Ladies Academy, controlled by a board of trustees,[365] probably the forerunner of the Harrisburg Female Seminary, which was incorporated in 1839.[366] Reading Female Seminary, incorporated in 1838,[367] was a continuation of the Rev. Mr. Sterling's girls' school which had been in existence for probably a number of years before this time.[368] The same may be said to have been true of Erie Female Seminary, which had as its first teachers ladies who had conducted a private school in Erie for some years.[369] This institution was chartered in 1838.[370] On the other hand, an occasional institution seems to have opened for the first time as a result of State recognition and aid, as would appear to be true of Carlisle Female Seminary,[371] chartered in 1838.[372]

In addition to these schools exclusively for girls, many others were chartered both by the legislature and county courts as schools for both sexes. Thus, the legislature incorporated Columbus Male and Female Academy,[373] Allegheny Male and

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[357] *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1818, 1.

[358] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Sept. 3, 1.

[359] *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1820, 1.

[360] *Washington Exam.*, April 16, 4.

[361] *Laws of Pa.*, 1838, Act No. 69.

[362] *Washington Exam.*, April 16, 4.

[363] *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 3.

[364] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 3.

[365] *Oracle of Dauphin*, June 30, 3.

[366] *Laws of Pa.*, 1839, Act No. 164.

[367] *Ibid.*, 1838, Act. No. 95.

[368] *Berks and Schuylkill Jour.*, Sept. 15, 1838, 3.

[369] *Erie Gaz.*, Sept. 27, 1838, 3.

[370] *Laws of Pa.*, 1838, Act No. 95.

[371] *Am. Volunteer*, March 16, 1843, 3.

[372] *Laws of Pa.*, 1838, Act No. 95.

[373] *Ibid.*, 1851, Act No. 329.

Female Seminary,[374] Paxton Male and Female Seminary,[375] McKeesport Academy and Female Seminary,[376] and about six others similarly designated. A much greater number of those chartered by the county courts provided definitely for the admission of both sexes. Thus were incorporated the Male and Female Academy of Tamaqua,[377] Leechburg Institute,[378] Sewickley Academy,[379] Parnassus Academy,[380] and Monongahela Academy of Monongahela City.[381] It must not be concluded, however, that, where legal provision was not made for the admission of girls, they were consequently excluded. The purpose embodied in academies generally, as stated in their charters, was the education of "youth," the trustees being left free to interpret the term "youth" in whatever way they pleased. The charters of Germantown[382] and York County[383] academies are examples of this general practice. The trustees of the former established a "Female Academy," in 1831,[384] and those of the latter had under their control the York County Female Boarding and Day School, in 1831, with three lady teachers, one of whom, Miss Sasell, was a graduate of Troy Female Seminary.[385] As was customary in many academies admitting girls, Germantown and York County academies had separate schools or departments for girls, in the eighteen-thirties.

XIV. *Support of Female Seminaries*

As in the case of academies,[386] the female seminaries of the State were supported chiefly by the fees paid by students, the rates being similar to those of the private schools.[387] Many of these schools were established by stock companies, as Muncy Female Seminary,[388] Johnstown Female Institute,[389] and Harrisburg Female Seminary.[390] A small annual grant was made by the State to these seminaries during the years 1838–1842, under the law of 1838.[391] This sum amounted, in 1838, to $700,[392] in 1839, to $8,413.83,[393] in 1840, to $9,977.08,[394] in 1841, to $13,500.02[395] and in 1843, to $10,444.27.[396] Between thirty and forty seminaries participated in the distribution in 1840, 1841, and 1843.[397] With the withdrawal of State aid, after 1843,[398] these seminaries had to rely again for support on the tuition of students. The medium annual rate of tuition in twenty-three schools, reporting in 1842,[399] was $15.54, and the medium total expense, including boarding, was $118.40.[400] At the same time, the average enrollment in these schools was forty.[401] This liberality of the State toward higher institutions for girls marks a recognition, though somewhat belated, of the rights of girls to educational opportunities corresponding to those provided for boys in academies. The State Superintendent, in his *Sixth Annual Report,* remarked: "In these Seminaries which constitute the highest schools for the education of females we have in our system, are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, rhetoric, history, natural and moral philosophy, composition, botany, chemistry, astronomy, French, Latin, and Greek languages, mathematics, drawing, painting and music. Amongst the greatest blessings that spring from free government is the restoration to woman of her proper rank in creation."[402] By the provisions of the law of 1838,[403] only those female seminaries having teachers capable of teaching Latin, Greek, mathematics, "English, or English and German literature," could share in the State appropriations. The State thus came to recognize a practice which had become general, but which until this time had been left largely in the hands of private teachers.

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[374] *Ibid.*, 1853, Act No. 160.

[375] *Ibid.*, 1857, Act No. 304.

[376] *Ibid.*, 1868, Act No. 541.

[377] *Misc. Records,* VII, 15, 1852. [Schuylkill Co.]

[378] *Deed Book,* XXIII, 124, 1857. [Armstrong Co.]

[379] *Charter Book,* I, 433–5, 1865. [Allegheny Co.]

[380] *Corp. Book,* I, 60, 1866. [Westmoreland Co.]

[381] *Deed Book,* 181, pp. 197–200. [Washington Co.]

[382] *Stat. at Large of Pa.*, XI, 372 *ff*.

[383] *Ibid.*, XVI, 181 *ff*.

[384] *Am. Annals of Ed. and Instruction,* I, June, 1831, 282; for earlier girl's school of this academy, see *Supra,* 374.

[385] *MS.* Letter of Mr. Van Dyck, March 9, 1831, in possession of George Hay Kain, York. For reference to earlier coeducational school in this Academy, see *Supra,* 400.

[386] *Supra,* 240 *ff*.

[387] *Supra,* 268 *f*., 272, 280.

[388] *Laws of Pa.*, 1840, Act No. 170.

[389] *Deed Book,* X, 433, 1851. [Cambria Co.]

XV. *Female Seminary Curriculum*

The curriculum of female seminaries was affected by the changing views regarding woman's nature, ability, sphere, which have been already described. It was also affected by the changing economic status of women in a rapidly changing industrial civilization. Before 1825, when the belief that girls had minds which needed to be disciplined[404] began to be accepted, the curriculum comprised, as a rule, reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, composition, French, and a sometimes amusing array of purely ornamental material. Mrs. Pride, in Pittsburgh, taught, in 1786, ''Plain Work, Coloured ditto, Flowering, Lace, both by bobin and needle, Fringing, Dresden, Tabouring and Embroidering.''[405] In 1795, James Cox, of Philadelphia, announced that ''His Employers may . . . expect . . . that his pupils, with proper application, will make rapid progress in Drawing and Painting upon Satin, Tiffany, Glass and Paper; Shading with Indian ink, Hair Work, and Italian Chalks—Crayon Painting and Painting with body colours. Ornamental Drawing, in the Festoon, Bordure, Attribute and Arbesque stile.''[406] The list of ornamental studies is a long one. How much time girls spent on this phase of their education cannot be determined, but the fact that a few girls' schools, like that of Mrs. Pride, taught practically nothing else would seem to indicate that there was a sufficient demand for such instruction to compensate the teacher who specialized in this work. An increasing avalanche of adverse criticism of the preponderance of the ornamental element in girls' education, and the feeling that girls were endowed by nature with minds to be trained by discipline, was followed, from 1830 on, by an increasing amount of the ''solid'' element in the curriculum of girls' schools. The emphasis on such subjects as rhetoric, botany, astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry and Latin dates from that same year, as shown by a tabulation of the subjects taught in one hundred and twenty-six girls' schools in the period 1750–1890.[407] Algebra, geometry and Greek appeared in the curriculum of very few schools before 1830. Yet, in spite of this new interest in the ''solid'' studies for girls' schools, the ornamentals in the form of music, painting and drawing continued to enjoy a popular vogue down to 1890, and probably to the present day.

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[390] *Laws of Pa.,* 1853, Act No. 331.

[391] *Supra,* 221.

[392] *Sixth Rept. of State Supt.,* 21.

[393] *Ibid.*

[394] *Seventh Rept. of State Supt.,* 7.

[395] *Eighth Rept. of State Supt.,* 9.

[396] *Tenth Rept. of State Supt.,* 4.

[397] *State Supt. Repts.*

[398] *Supra,* 221, 301 *f.*

[399] *Eighth Rept. of State Supt.,* 9.

[400] *Ibid.*

[401] *Ibid.*

[402] *Loc. cit.,* 22.

[403] *Supra,* 221.

The fact that attempts to establish colleges for women in Pennsylvania did not succeed until the second half of the nineteenth century, and that women were barred by custom and prejudice[408] from colleges, long the exclusive institutions of men,[409] prevented the force of college preparatory requirements from influencing the curriculum of the female seminaries. Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, in 1838, when she was principal of the literary department of West Chester Young Ladies Seminary, stated that her sister, Mrs. Willard, and she hoped to see in Pennsylvania "a legislative endowment for a permanent female seminary, corresponding in character and privileges with colleges for males."[410] At this time the curriculum of the female seminary had come to embody studies such as natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, Latin, and sometimes Greek. In Westtown Boarding School, about 1810, the girls received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, map drawing, sewing and knitting.[411] The curriculum of the Bethlehem Female Seminary has been mentioned elsewhere.[412] The studies in the Protestant Episcopal schools seem to have been liberal from the beginning, as is evidenced by the facts presented for their seminary at Lancaster, in 1795.[413] The studies in the senior class of Gettysburg Female Seminary, in 1836, were "grammar, geography, history, higher arithmetic, bookkeeping, algebra, geometry, astronomy, botany, chemistry, natural philosophy, moral and mental science, rhetoric, physiology, geology, with the Latin, Greek and French languages."[414] A similar curriculum was offered in the Western Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, in 1837,[415] and in Erie[416] and Reading[417] female seminaries, in 1838, Greek being, however, absent from the curriculum of the last two schools. In some earlier Roman Catholic schools, as in St. Ann's School, in Pottsville, a wide range of studies was provided.[418] In the Roman Catholic schools of the seventies, as St. Benedict's Academy, at St. Marys,[419] and St.

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[404] *Supra*, 367 *f.*, 402.

[405] *Pitt. Gaz.*, Nov. 11, 3.

[406] *Am. Dly. Adv.*, Sept. 26, 3.

[407] See table, *Infra*, 428 *f.*

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[408] Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 137–8.

[409] Oberlin College, in 1837, admitted women to the college course. *Ibid.*, II, 231.

[410] *Prospectus*, 1838, 6; *Supra*, 395 *f.*

[411] Dewees: *Hist. of West. Board. School*, 67–8.

[412] *Supra*, 410 *ff.*

[413] *Supra*, 389 *f.*

[414] *Adams Sentinel*, Sept. 26, 3.

[415] *Harris Pitt. Bus. Directory*, Adv. Section.

[416] *Erie Gaz.*, Sept. 27, 1838, 3.

[417] *Berks and Schuylkill Jour.*, Sept. 15, 1838, 3.

[418] Patterson: Hist. of Pottsville Schools. [*State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, 780.]

[419] *Brookville Jeffersonian*, Aug. 2, 1871, 2.

Joseph's Academy, Titusville,[420] considerable stress seems to have been laid on the purely ornamental studies.

The first college for women to be incorporated in Pennsylvania was the Pennsylvania Female College, near Perkiomen Bridge, Montgomery county, in 1853.[421] This was followed by the incorporation of the Pennsylvania Female College, at Harrisburg, in the same year,[422] and of Pittsburgh Female College in 1854.[423] The Pennsylvania Female College was opened, in 1851, as Montgomery Female Seminary, with J. Warrenne Sunderland as principal, assisted by seven other teachers. It had in this year a "preparatory" and a "collegiate" department. The course in the former required two years of study, in the latter three. It was announced that "Any young lady completing this course and sustaining satisfactory examinations on the same, shall receive an appropriate Diploma and be entitled to a *Laureate* as significant and valuable as that conferred on young men at Institutions of a corresponding grade."[424] The curriculum of this school, at this time, contained no foreign languages,[425] nor do we find them taught in 1853, when the college charter was granted.[426] In 1854, Latin was added to the curriculum[427] and, in 1873, a curriculum embracing the ancient languages, advanced work in English, mathematics and the sciences was being offered.[428] It was then announced that "Graduation at this College means the same as it does at the regular Colleges for the other sex."[429] Wilson Female College at Chambersburg, chartered in 1869,[430] announced, in 1870, that the school was "designed to extend to Young Ladies the same high advantages for a thorough education—physical, intellectual, moral and religious—as is now afforded young men in the best colleges of the land."[431] Susquehanna Female College, at Selinsgrove, was chartered, in 1858,[432] to provide for girls instruction in "the elementary branches of education, together with the sciences and modern and ancient languages, and all such concomitant branches of a female educa-

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[420] *Lake Shore Visitor,* Dec. 16, 1876, 6.

[421] *Laws of Pa.,* 1853, Act No. 217.

[422] *Ibid.,* Act No. 332.

[423] *Ibid.,* 1854, Act No. 28.

[424] *Catalogue,* 1851, 8 *f.*

[425] *Ibid.,* 12 *ff.*

[426] *Ibid.,* 1853, 13 *ff.*

[427] *Catalogue,* 1854, 11 *ff.*

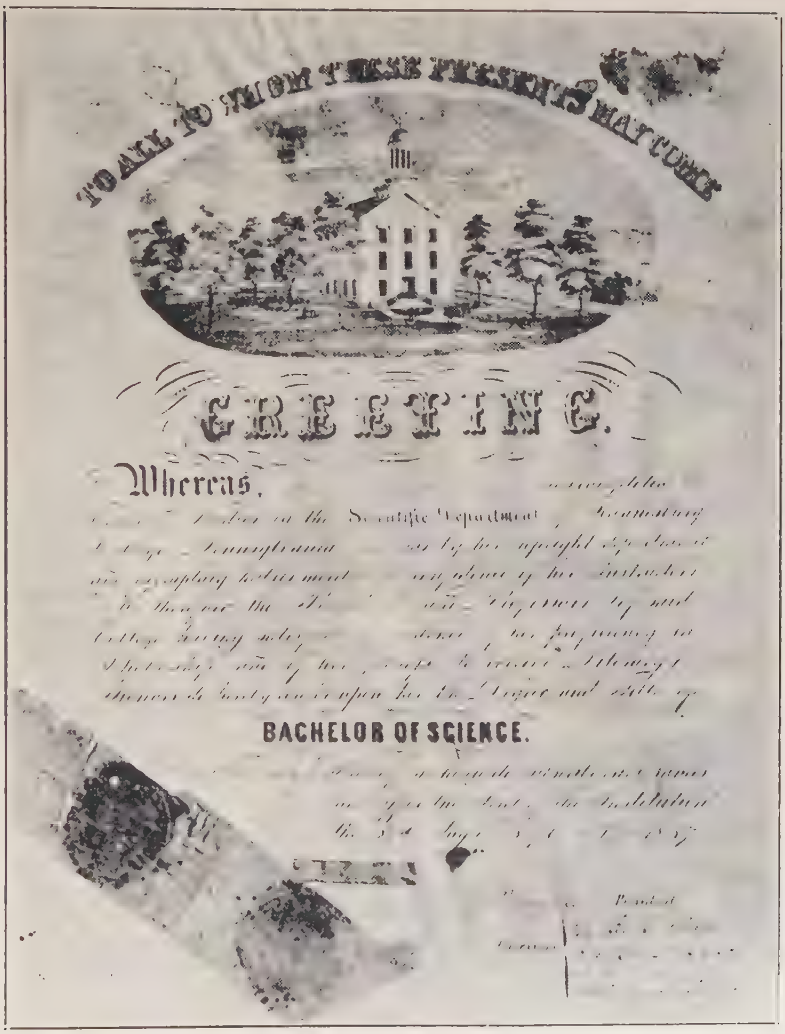
[428] *Catalogue,* 11 *ff.*

[429] *Ibid.*

[430] *Charter Book,* I, 3–6. [Franklin Co.]

[431] *Catalogue,* 1870–1, 5.

[432] *Deed Book,* I, 459 *ff.* [Snyder Co.]



TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME

GREETING.

Whereas,

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE.

(Courtesy of Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania)

Diploma issued to Margaret L. Needham by Waynesburg College. (1857)

tion.''[433] In 1893, the charter of the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove was amended by changing the words ''males'' and ''young men'' to ''persons,''[434] and the Female College blended with the Missionary Institute. It has been already noted that, from 1873 on, girls were admitted with boys to the college courses in Selinsgrove.[435] Other women's colleges followed those already mentioned, as Allentown Female College, 1868[436] and Philadelphia Female College, in 1874.[437]

The entrance of women into men's colleges in the State dates from about 1870. In this year, it was stated that Allegheny College had begun to admit girls and boys on equal terms.[438] The University of Pennsylvania, in 1877, admitted girls to special courses,[439] and Bucknell began, as has been noted, to admit them, in 1884.[440] The college preparatory purpose, therefore, did not influence to any great extent the curriculum of the seminaries in the period prior to 1890.

Contrary to the practices in the academies, the preparation of teachers was seldom stated as a purpose of the female seminaries. Oxford,[441] Washington[442] and Ercildoun[443] seminaries are examples of those that made teacher training a definite purpose. In 1839, the number of students, in female seminaries, who were preparing to teach was reported to have been nine[444] and, in 1841, there were sixty students in thirty-four seminaries who were being educated for that purpose.[445] As a rule, the purpose of the seminary was either not stated at all or very vaguely stated. The purpose of West Chester Young Ladies Seminary was said, in 1838, to be ''to afford every opportunity, at a reasonable expense, for a higher cultivation of the female mind, and refinement of the female character; and by this combination of the useful and ornamental, to form the lady.''[446] In 1873, the purpose of Cottage Seminary, at Pottstown, was embodied in the following statement: ''It will be the constant aim of the Principal to make this institution all that can be desired as a Seminary of learning.

[433] *Ibid.*

[434] *Misc. Rec. Book,* III, 514. [Snyder Co.]

[435] *Supra,* 414.

[436] *Charter Book,* I, 277. [Lehigh Co.]

[437] *Charter Book,* I, 616. [Philadelphia Co.]

[438] *P. S. J.,* XIX, Dec., 1870, 173.

[439] *Ibid.,* XXVI, 177–8.

[440] *Supra,* 413.

[441] *Prospectus,* 1838, 1.

[442] *Catalogue,* 1848–50, 19.

[443] *Catalogue,* 1860, 13.

[444] *Sixth Rept. of State Supt.,* 22.

[445] *Eighth Rept. of State Supt.,* 10.

[446] *Prospectus,* 1.

at the same time a home for his pupils, where their minds and habits may be cultivated, and their hearts brought under the influence of Christian truth daily imparted.''[447] While the academy for boys had a definite purpose, as preparation for college, for teaching, or for business, the seminary, as a rule, had no such definite goal in view, and its curriculum was shaped largely by the desire to mould the minds and hearts of girls. It is also probably true that the seminary catered to girls of a social and economic group, where the need for a practical or professional training was not keenly felt.

The following table shows some of the offerings of one hundred and twenty-six female seminaries. Many subjects which appeared in a comparatively small percentage of the schools have not been included in the table, although all of the subjects have been tabulated and the percentages computed. As in the case of academies, the seminaries offered a very wide range of subjects. A comparison with the tabulation of subjects taught in boys' schools,[448] will show the essential differences in the offerings of both institutions. In the girls' schools more emphasis was placed upon French and religious and ornamental studies; about an equal emphasis on the elementary subjects; and considerably less emphasis on Greek.

The type of professional work provided for prospective teachers in the seminaries that announced such a purpose was stated only in a few cases, and comprised a study of the elementary school subjects, with lectures on the theory and practice of teaching. A fair knowledge of the subjects taught in the public common schools was probably sufficient, through the greater part of the century, to insure a position for the student who turned to teaching after she had left the seminary. Girls, who entered the teaching profession, sought probably their education in academies more frequently than in the seminaries. The lack of demand for girls as bookkeepers probably accounts for the absence of the commercial element in the curriculum of the seminaries. Commercial courses were not organized in female seminaries before 1890. Bookkeeping found a place in a few schools. Benjamin Rush suggested its practical value for married women, because such a knowledge would make a woman a more useful

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[447] *Circular*, 6.

[448] *Supra*, 428 *f*.

TABLE IV.—*Per cent. of seminaries offering certain subjects*[449]

	1750–1829 (36 schools)	1750–1889 (126 schools)	1830–1889 (90 schools)
ENGLISH STUDIES			
Reading	83	78	76
Writing	77	79	79
Spelling	25	56	69
Grammar	72	88	93
Composition	42	56	62
Rhetoric	14	59	78
Logic	14	20	29
Literature	2	26	36
Criticism	2	23	32
Elocution	8	10	11
ETHICS AND RELIGION			
Moral philosophy	6	48	63
Evidences of Christianity	0	23	32
Natural theology	0	18	26
Butler's Analogy	0	15	20
MATHEMATICS			
Arithmetic	83	89	90
Algebra	3	50	69
Geometry	6	50	67
Trigonometry	0	17	22
Mensuration	0	6	8
SOCIAL STUDIES			
History	47	62	68
Geography	67	83	90
Political science	0	20	28
ANCIENT CLASSICS			
Latin	14	56	72
Greek	3	26	37
MODERN LANGUAGES			
French	39	70	82
German	8	30	42
Italian	8	20	28
Spanish	8	17	24
PHYSICAL SCIENCES			
Natural philosophy	17	69	88
Astronomy	22	60	67
Chemistry	6	52	72
NATURAL SCIENCES			
Botany	14	59	77
Natural history	11	24	29
Geology	0	26	33
Physiology	0	35	49

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[449] Based upon manuscript tabulation in possession of the author.

TABLE IV.—(*Continued*)

	1750–1829 (36 schools)	1750–1889 (126 schools)	1830–1889 (90 schools)
COMMERCIAL STUDIES			
Bookkeeping	11	14	15
Stenography	0	3	5
ORNAMENTAL STUDIES			
Painting	50	56	58
Vocal music	8	16	20
Instrumental music	36	63	74
DOMESTIC AND FINE ARTS			
Plain needlework	72	38	24
Ornamental needlework	58	26	25
Knitting	17	5	0
Drawing	53	68	74
PHYSICAL EDUCATION			
Dancing	11	4	1
Calisthenics	0	4	6
Mental philosophy	3	49	67

wife.[450] Stenography also was almost entirely absent from the curriculum of the seminaries before 1890, and mercantile arithmetic was offered only by two of the one hundred and twenty-six institutions represented in the above tabulation. While the Philadelphia School of Design[451] represented a novel experiment in the education of women, this type of school was evidently very rarely established. Mrs. Peter established it to help "women who, from reverses of fortune or otherwise, were under the necessity of supporting themselves."[452] She felt that women excelled men in this field. Drawing, industrial drawing, wood carving and lithography were among the early offerings of the school.[453] This school received a charter in 1853.[454] In 1866, the North Eastern School of Design for Women was chartered.[455] In 1869, it was in operation in Wilkes-Barre. This institution was governed by a board of directors,[456] as the Philadelphia school was controlled by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia.[457] The object of the Wilkes-Barre school was stated to be "the training and development of the art abilities of young women, improvement of the art manufactures of our country, and the establishment of the advanced element of civilization in the north-eastern part of the state."[458] The subjects offered here were drawing, painting, practical geometry and perspective. In 1881, the Philadelphia School of Art Needle Work was established and chartered for the purpose of developing "an industry most suitable as a means of support for gentlewomen of limited means."[459] The painting and drawing, so generally taught in the seminaries, were probably never related to the needs of women in the field of industrial arts.

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[450] *Supra*, 338 *f.*

[451] *Supra*, 399.

[452] Morris: Address on Schools of Design for Women. [*P. S. J.*, I, Aug., 1852, 132. Reprint from *N. Y. Tribune.*]

[453] *Ibid.;* also Woody: *Op. cit.*, II, 76–7.

[454] *Misc. Book*, G. W. C., I, 710. [Philadelphia Co.]

[455] *Deed Book*, CVII, 108. [Luzerne Co.].

[456] *Record of the Times*, June 23, 1869, 3.

Thus developed the curriculum in the female seminaries. In the schools admitting both sexes, special departments and courses were often provided for girls. Baynard R. Hall announced for his mixed school, at Bedford, in 1835, that "Females are of course exempted from everything incompatible with their sex."[460] The curriculum in schools, where separation was the practice, has been represented in Table IV. In schools where both sexes were admitted to the same classrooms, the girls were at liberty to select their own curriculum, and in these the studies which they might pursue were the same as those pursued by boys. In the classical department of the so-called Harford University, in 1851, there were thirty-seven boys and eight girls; in the mathematical, eighty-eight boys and twenty-eight girls; and in the scientific, ninety boys and eighty girls,[461] Annville Academy, in 1850, admitted girls on an equal footing with boys,[462] as did Clearfield Academy, in the same year;[463] Madison Academy, in 1851;[464] Maplewood Institute, in 1881,[465] and many others. Yet, while coeducation had received the approval of the teachers of the State, in 1872, and many schools had adopted it in practice, incidental differences in the treatment of boys and girls were occasionally made. In the Keystone Academy, for instance, in 1872, girls were required to write compositions semi-monthly and boys monthly, and only boys were permitted to indulge in "declamation,"[466] probably because it was still considered unbecoming for girls to appear as public orators.

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[457] Morris: *Loc. cit.*

[458] *Record of the Times,* June 23, 1869, 3.

[459] *Charter Book,* VI, 1–4. [Philadelphia Co.]

[460] *Circular,* 1835.

[461] *Circular,* 1849–51, 7 *ff.*

[462] *Catalogue and Circular,* 1850, 4–6.

[463] *The Country Dollar,* June 22, 1850, 4.

[464] *Catalogue,* 1851–2, 10 *ff.*

[465] *Prospectus,* 1881, 13.

XVI. *Organization*

In many girls' schools, especially the earlier ones, no definite organization or curricula were adopted. The announcement of the Columbia House Boarding and Day School, in 1800, indicated that a girl could take all the branches offered "or any of them separately."[467] Yet, definite curricula were apparent quite early. A regular course was offered in Poor's Academy in Philadelphia, in the seventeen-nineties, and a diploma was granted to girls who had completed the course.[468] A similar plan was followed in the Young Ladies Boarding School, in Easton, in 1805;[469] in Miss Henry's Institution, in Lancaster, in 1814;[470] and the practice soon become general. The organization of the seminaries into departments or classes, with regular studies assigned to each such class, seems to have originated about 1830. In the seminary of Mrs. Bishop and Mrs. Prior in Easton, 1829, there were a primary, junior, and senior department, each with its own group of studies.[471] How many years it required to complete the entire course is not clear. Edgeworth Ladies Seminary, in 1839, had a preparatory, a junior, and a senior class, and a regular course of studies, but apparently without any time limit being fixed for its completion. Preparatory departments were frequently mentioned, after 1840, and this explains the continuance of the elementary studies in the curriculum as presented in Table IV. Thus, Washington Female Seminary, in 1850, had a "Preparatory Course . . . for the benefit of such pupils as are not sufficiently advanced, or too young to be admitted to the regular Classes, the age for admission to these being *thirteen.*"[472] The studies in this department were reading, orthography, penmanship, geography, arithmetic, grammar and history of the United States.[473] A three-year course succeeded the work of the preparatory course,[474] and diplomas were granted to those who completed it satisfactorily.[475]

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[466] *Catalogue*, 1871–2, 8.

[467] *Am. Dly. Adv.*, Dec. 12, 4.

[468] *The Rise and Progress of the Young Ladies Academy.* [In possession of Arthur R. Spencer, Villa Nova, Pa.]

[469] *Poulson's Am. Dly. Adv.*, Dec. 13, 1.

[470] *Lancaster Jour.*, May 27, 3.

[471] *Easton Centinel*, Aug. 28, 1.

[472] *Catalogue*, 1848–50, 16.

[473] *Ibid.*

Oakland Female Institute, in 1853, had a ''primary'' and a ''collegiate department,'' and offered, in addition, an ''optional course,'' largely composed of the ancient and modern languages. There were two ''divisions'' in the primary department, each requiring probably one year of study, and pupils were received into the first division ''at any age.'' In this department, the students studied spelling, defining, writing, geography, grammar, history, mental arithmetic, arithmetic, history of the United States, beginners' botany and Biblical antiquities. In the collegiate department, there was offered a three-year course covering the higher English, mathematical and scientific studies.[476] Any study in the ''optional course'' might be elected by students in the regular course.[477] An exactly similar arrangement was followed in Lancaster Young Ladies Institute, in the same year.[478] Tuscarora Female Academy, in 1860, had five classes, the seminary classes proper apparently designed to cover four years' study. Here the preparatory class was called the ''Juvenile Class,'' and the seminary classes, the ''Freshman,'' ''Sophomore,'' ''Junior'' and ''Senior.''[479] Thus, the female seminaries offered, during the greater part of the century, but one general course, composed mainly of English, mathematical and scientific studies; the languages, music, painting and such other subjects being ''extras'' and optional. Not until the eighteen-eighties did special curricula evolve. The plan of Washington Female Seminary, in 1873,[480] was the same as in 1850,[481] but the catalogue of Mountain Female Seminary, in 1889–90, stated that ''Three Courses of Study have been arranged to suit the requirements of the times, viz:

''1st The English and Mathematical course for those not wishing to take the dead languages.

''2d The Classical and Mathematical course, adapted to those wishing to enter any of the leading colleges of this country.

''3d The combined English, Classical and Mathematical, the seminary course proper, which requires four years full work and gives an eminently wide culture to those who complete it.''[482]

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[474] *Ibid.*, 16 *ff.*

[475] *Ibid.*

[476] *Catalogue*, 1853, 5 *ff.*

[477] *Ibid.*, 7.

[478] *Circular*, 1853, 6–7.

[479] *Circular*, 1860, 4–6.

[480] *Catalogue*, 1873, 22–4.

[481] *Ibid.*, 1850, 16 *ff.*

[482] *Catalogue*, 1889–90, 22.

Darlington Female Seminary, in 1894, announced that "The primary object of the school is to give a thorough education to all its pupils. A course of study extending through a period of three years has been arranged. Pupils preparing for college receive such instruction as will fit them to enter Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, and other colleges. A primary course for younger pupils before entering the regular classes of the Seminary, has also been provided."[483]

Thus, the development of women's colleges, and the opening of men's colleges to women, acted as the chief incentive to the organization of other courses in the seminaries than the traditional general course for girls. During the greater part of the century, and for many girls throughout the whole period, there was nothing beyond the "finishing" education of the seminary. The seminary was the woman's college, and some of the early colleges for women in the State were probably but good seminaries. Thus, Pittsburgh Female College, in 1871–72, offered no classics and, in its senior class, offered only mental philosophy, trigonometry, mensuration, geology, English literature, Butler's Analogy, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, political science, moral philosophy, Kame's Elements, and evidences of Christianity—subjects that were taught in most female seminaries in this year.[484] The female seminary, then, represents a gradual expansion of the elementary school upward to include, in its offerings, subjects taught in academies for boys, rather than an intermediate school standing between the elementary school and the college, taking students from the former and preparing them for the latter. Not until the eighteen-eighties, when college courses began to attract girls in greater numbers, did the seminary seem to occupy its proper place, as an intermediate school, in the general educational plan of the State.

XVII. *Student Activities*

In 1839, Mrs. Phelps, in an article on The Female Student, pointed out the close relationship between the welfare of the body and the improvement of the mind:

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[483] *Catalogue,* 1894, 10.

[484] *Catalogue,* 1871–2, 28–9; the catalogues of such schools as Pennsylvania Female College and Wilson College, at this same time, show that they required the classics, as did colleges for men.

> When the mind is deeply interested in literary and scientific pursuits, it is prone to forget the body; this, by being suffered to remain long inactive, becomes reluctant to move, and visits back such neglect, by headaches, langours, sleeplessness, indigestion, and a thousand other ills, tending to paralyze the mental energies . . . Calisthenics or female gymnastics, is very properly becoming a branch of education. I have, however, seen with regret, that many of you appear to engage in physical exercises with reluctance, as if every moment taken from your studies were time lost.[485]

Then she went on to recommend the taking of exercises at proper hours and in suitable dresses, condemning flimsy stockings and shoes, used in early morning walks, as very detrimental to health. Manual labor, as a means to the health of boys, had been advocated, and sometimes practised for about ten years before this time,[486] and gymnasiums for boys had begun to make their appearance.[487] Moreover, the more strenuous and disciplinary studies were fast taking their place in the curriculum of girls' schools, and women, like Mrs. Phelps, evidently felt that the health of girls could not stand the additional strain without the aid of systematic physical exercise.

Dancing was the only form of physical instruction provided for women by the private colonial masters,[488] nor was it practised in the girls' seminaries, at any time before 1890, to such an extent that it could be considered significant. After 1830, we do not find it mentioned in the program of the schools. Before calisthenic exercises were adopted, the announcements of schools contained merely references to the solicitude of the principals and teachers for the health of the girls.[489] Girls probably went on walks through the country or indulged in informal play, as at Bethlehem Female Seminary.[490] After 1840, light gymnastics appeared in a number of schools. The principal of Doylestown Female Seminary announced, in 1841: "The calisthenics, a system of light gymnastic exercises adapted to young ladies, and designed to impart muscular strength and graceful motion, are practised by all the members of the seminary."[491] Mountain Female Seminary required, in 1861, "daily exercises in

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[485] *The Am. Republican and Chester Co. Democrat,* March 5, 1839, 1.

[486] *Supra,* 284 *ff.; Infra,* 453 *ff.*

[487] *Supra,* 346 *ff.*

[488] *Supra,* 103, 105 *f.*

[489] *E.g., Catalogue of Edgeworth Ladies Seminary,* 1841, 7.

[490] *Supra,* 411.

[491] *Bucks Co. Intelligencer,* March 17, 1841, 3.

Calisthenic classes or in walking.''[492] Similarly, Allegheny Male and Female Seminary, in 1862,[493] Athens Academy, in 1866,[494] and Oakland Female Institute, in 1870,[495] provided for formal instruction in calisthenics. The last named institution announced as the purpose of these exercises the ''securing fulness and strength of the muscles, and development in graceful proportion to the entire physical system.''[496] In 1881, croquet, ball games, and other similar exercises were recommended by the principal of Maplewood Institute, in order to make ''the mental faculties . . . more vigorous by pure blood.''[497] Hollidaysburg Female Seminary, in 1886, was equipped with a gymnasium which contained a bowling alley, wands, rings and dumbbells, and Dio Lewis' system of gymnastics was said to be taught by a special lady teacher.[498]

While literary societies and student journals were frequently found in academies,[499] the seminaries for girls, as a general rule, did less to encourage these activities. Some instances, however, of such interest have been found. Thus, in 1843, Coudersport Academy, as has been noted elsewhere,[500] had a literary society for boys and another for girls, ''the design of the former being to improve young men in extemporaneous discussion, and of the latter to benefit young ladies in composition. The *Ladies Repository* in pamphlet form, is published weekly, by the ladies of the academy.''[501] In 1844, *The Fair Ephemeral* was published by the girls of Washington Female Seminary.[502] The girls in Greenwood Seminary, Columbia county, in 1858, produced ''a literary paper,'' and the boys debated questions ''which tend to the improvement of the mental and moral faculties.''[503] The *Catalogue* of Ercildoun Boarding School for Girls, Chester county, in 1860, announced that ''A Society for the mutual improvement of the pupils, in Composition, Declamation, Debate, etc. has been established.''[504] Activities like these, however, are seldom referred to in the records of girls' schools, and the conclusion that they were not much fostered seems justifiable.

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[492] *Catalogue,* 1861–2, 16.

[493] *Bedford Gaz.,* Jan. 10, 3.

[494] *A Card,* Nov. 16, 1866.

[495] *Catalogue,* 1870, 5.

[496] *Ibid.*

[497] *Prospectus,* 13 *f.*

[498] *Catalogue,* 1886–7, 3, 14.

[499] *Supra,* 342 *ff.*

[500] *Supra,* 340.

[501] *Catalogue,* 1843, 6–7.

[502] Facsimile in Woody: *Op. cit.,* I, 419.

[503] *Catalogue,* 1858–9, 6.

[504] *Loc. cit.,* 13.

PART III

THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

CHAPTER XIII

THE ENVIRONMENT

I. *Economic Aspects*

The period in which the high school made its appearance in Pennsylvania was one of great economic expansion and achievement. It was a period when the interest in the economic resources of the State, which had been increasing for fifty years, had blossomed into an unbounded popular confidence in the untold possibilities of the new land. America suddenly became the land of opportunity. A desire for new economic conquests became a characteristic of the Pennsylvania mind, as it probably did of the American mind everywhere. At every turn, there was evident a dissatisfaction with traditional practices, and old modes of life and activity were being suddenly abandoned for new and better ones. In Pennsylvania, as in the country at large, an enterprising, venturous, change-loving people[1] had replaced older generations, whose "material inheritance was not a remarkable tribute to the two centuries that preceded."[2] In the decades following the Revolution much money and energy were expended on the building of turnpikes and canals in Pennsylvania,[3] but these soon lost interest for a new generation:

> The old turnpike is a pike no more—
> Wide open stands the gate;
> We've made a road for our horse to stride,
> Which we ride at a flying rate;
> We have filled the valleys and levelled the hills,
> And tunneled the mountain side;
> And round the rough crag's dizzy verge,
> Fearlessly now we ride!
>
> On—on—on—with a haughty front!
> A puff, a shriek and a bound;
> While the tardy echoes wake too late
> To babble back the sound;
> And the old pike road is left alone,

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[1] Beard: *Rise of Am. Civilization,* I, 628 *ff.*

[2] Fish: *Rise of the Common Man,* 31.

[3] *Supra,* 149.

And the stagers seek the plough;
We have circled the earth with an iron rail,
And the steam-king rules us now.[4]

Thus the versifier expressed the enthusiasm which was inseparably linked with the speed trait of Pennsylvanians, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Another writer calls attention to the desire for rebuilding and remaking as he observed it: "Philadelphia," he says, "looks new, and is new, and like Juno always will be new; for the inhabitants are constantly pulling down and new-vamping their houses. The *furor delendi* with regard to old houses is as rife in the bosom of her citizens as it was in the breast of old Cato with regard to Carthage. A respectable looking old house is now a rare thing."[5] There was undoubtedly an evident stamp of materialism on the age, but one cannot help remarking that this was preferable to stagnation. Mrs. Trollope saw and stressed this material character of our civilization in the thirties. Of Philadelphia, she remarked that "The United States' and Pennsylvania banks are the most striking buildings, and are both extremely handsome, being of white marble, and built after Grecian models."[6] And before she left the city she paused to take a "last look at the Doric and Corinthian porticoes of the two celebrated temples dedicated to Mammon."[7] Americans, she would have us believe, out of the abundance of their hearts, were forever talking of dollars.[8] Any favorable comment from a writer of Mrs. Trollope's propensities must carry some weight. Having stressed many ugly features of our developing civilization, she remarked that Americans "believe themselves in all sincerity to have surpassed, to be surpassing, and to be about to surpass the whole earth in the intellectual race."[9]

But mere mention can be made here of the economic developments which helped to transform the attitudes and habits of the people of the State. The eighteen-thirties saw Philadelphia and Pittsburgh linked by a canal and railroad system for the construction of which the State itself had contributed, in the years 1826–1831, a total of $13,000,000.[10] In the latter year, the State was reported to have had eight hundred miles of canal and six hundred of railroad.[11] A number of short local railroads were being constructed in 1829.[12] The legislature was soon kept busy passing on various railroad bills. In 1836, sixty such bills came up for consideration.[13] The year 1846 saw the beginnings of the Pennsylvania Railroad,[14] which, a few years later, linked the two chief cities of the State,[15] and established a rapid communication between the eastern and western sections.

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[4] John: Rambles Over a King's Highway of Colonial Times. [In *Schuylkill Co. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, I, 156.]

[5] Nicklin [Peregrine Prolix]: *A Pleasant Peregrination Through the Prettiest Parts of Pa.*, 10.

[6] *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, 266.

[8] *Ibid.*, 242.

[9] *Ibid.*, 261.

As a result of appropriations made for building canals and railroads, and the promotion of banking, the State in the early eighteen-forties found itself involved in debt and its credit almost ruined.[16] This debt amounted, in 1842, to $40,000,000.[17] The improvements were made quickly and at great expense, the State hoping that the revenues, collected in tolls, would meet all obligations without having recourse to taxation for the purpose.[18] In 1840, the legislature was forced to resort to taxation, in order to meet its obligations, and, in the next few years, the State adopted the policy of turning banking and transportation over to private interests.[19] But, while the State became thus involved in debt, the people became considerably richer as a result of the improvements in transportation. Freight costs were reduced; land increased in value; markets were made readily available for merchandize of all kinds; and the development of the mineral resources of the State on a large scale was made possible.[20] In 1842, it was estimated that the value of real and personal property in the State was $2,000,000,000, and of its annual products, $200,000,000.[21] One-thousandth part of the wealth of the State, or one per cent. of the value of its yearly products, would have been sufficient to cancel the public debt,[22] but the legislature was hesitant for a time to stir up opposition by an increase in taxes. The year 1845 saw the State treasury replenished, and the people, evidently, reconciled to the idea that taxation was unavoidable.[23]

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[10] Internal Improvement. [*Niles Register*, XL, 394.]

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Internal Improvements in Pa. [*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 34]; Railroads [*Ibid.*, 116.]

[13] Miscellaneous. [*Ibid.*, L, 49.]

[14] Pennsylvania. [*Ibid.*, LXX, 144.]

[15] Railroads. [*Ibid.*, LXXIV, 400.]

[16] Jenkins: *Pa. Col. and Fed.*, II, 306–7, 311–2, 315–6, 321–2.

[17] Trego: *A Geog. of Pa.*, 107.

[18] *Ibid.*, 306–7.

[19] *Ibid.*, 311–2, 315–6; Chronicle. [*Niles Register*, LXIV, 128; *Ibid.*, LXVI, 64.]

[20] Trego: *Op. cit.*, 108.

[21] *Ibid.*, 108.

[22] *Ibid.*

We cannot attempt here to picture, with any completeness, the economic growth of Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century.[24] Some idea of that growth may be gathered from the fact that the coal mined in the State, in 1846, was worth $8,000,000, "a larger sum than was realized for all the flour exported from the whole United States in 1845."[25] In the same year, Pennsylvania produced as much iron as France.[26] It was then stated that "The iron industry alone . . . gives food, raiment, shelter, education and happiness, to 400,000 human beings."[27] The following statement describes economic conditions generally, in 1887: "Summing up the resources of capital, there are in manufactures $474,000,000, producing $74,000,000; in coal mining $192,000,000, producing $60,000,000; railroads $940,000,000, producing (net) $42,000,000; and in farms $975,000,000. In industries there are one-third of the whole, 4,300,000, [population] divided as follows: agriculture, one-fifth; manufacturing and mining, one-third; trade and transportation, one-eighth; other laborers, one-sixth; professionals, one-seventh."[28] At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pennsylvania produced about one-half of all the coal, iron and steel of the United States,[29] and was "first of all the States in the production of . . . carpets and rugs, and probably first of all in the manufacture of silk. In 1900 it was second in the manufacture of woolen products and in the total value of all textile products, fourth in the production of lumber and all kinds of paper, and second in the production of chemicals. It has long been first in the production of leather and in the manufacture of glass."[30] Yet, with all this great industrial growth, agriculture continued to be throughout the nineteenth century "the leading industry of Pennsylvania.''[31] Methods of farming had not changed much until after the Civil War, and the advent of improved machinery, which had been revolutionizing industry for over a generation, was postponed in regard to agriculture. ''Thrashing Machines,'' run by horses, were in use from 1830 on.[32] Reapers, however, while invented in this earlier period, were probably little used to any large extent in Pennsylvania until the seventies. Speaking of the United States, Fish says: ''It was not until the next generation that the supplementary inventions lightening the work of planting were put in satisfactory shape, and the population of agricultural regions began actually to decrease while production increased. Moreover, the generation which produced the reaper did not to any large extent use it. Only three thousand machines were manufactured in 1850, and, indeed, only twenty thousand in 1860.''[33] Yet, the progress of this age of speed had not left the farms entirely untouched. A revolution had occurred in the methods of farming, probably little less significant, from a social and economic standpoint, than was that of the great industrial changes in urban centres.[34]

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[23] Pennsylvania. [*Niles Register*, LXVII, 275.]

[24] *Niles Register* contains many statistical reports of the nature and amount of trade in the State, with products shipped over canals, railroads, *etc.*, *e.g.*, XLV, 23; XLVIII, 218; LV, 51; LXIX, 276.

[25] Anthracite Coal and Iron Trade of Pa. [*Niles Register*, LXX, 4.]

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Waller: Resources and Industries of Pa. [*P. S. J.*, XXXVI, 105–7.]

[29] Swank: *Progressive Pa.*, 174.

[30] *Ibid.*, 184.

Everywhere, machinery and improved methods of transportation were changing the whole face of society and the old modes of life. Williamsport which, in 1856, was a town of 3,000 inhabitants, had, in 1871, a population of 16,500, many of them employed in fifty saw mills which cut 250,000,000 feet of lumber yearly.[35] In 1872, Philadelphia was reported to have had 8,000 factories, employing 120,000 men and 40,000 women.[36] Pennsylvania had brief periods of economic depression before the Civil War,[37] but on the whole the State must have shared in the general prosperity of the country. West says:

> To most men of the time these years 1845–1860 had a more engrossing aspect than was afforded by the slavery struggle. Wealth increased fourfold—for the first time in our history *faster than population.* Men were absorbed in the mad race to seize the new opportunities. . . . Between 1850 and 1857 rail-

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[31] *Ibid.*, 183.

[32] *Norristown Herald and Wkly. Adv.*, May 26, 1830, 1; *Bucks Co. Intelligencer*, June 17, 1835, 3.

[33] *Rise of the Common Man*, 95.

[34] Beard: *Rise of Am. Civilization*, II, 254 *ff*.

[35] The State Association. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XX, Sept., 1871, 65.]

[36] Miscellany. [*Ibid.*, 403.]

[37] Miscellaneous. [*Niles Register*, XLVI, 86, 87, 255, 315]; Chronicle [*Ibid.*, LXII, 288, 336.]

road mileage multiplied enormously. . . . Lines reached the Mississippi at ten points. . . . In 1850 postage was lowered from 5 cents for 300 miles to 3 cents for 3,000 miles. With cheap and swift transportation, *the era of commercial combinations* began, and great fortunes piled up beyond all previous dreams. . . .
For labor, too, the period was a golden age. Between 1840 and 1860, wages rose twenty per cent. and prices only two per cent. Pauperism was unobtrusive, and, to foreign observers, amazingly rare.[38]

The decade following the Civil War was one of nation-wide depression. Out of the reconstruction, which followed, came large railroad, oil and steel corporations.[39] Fortunes were suddenly accumulated in mining and other enterprises, and there emerged a plutocracy whose extravagant mode of life could scarcely be considered a healthy aspect of democracy.[40] Struggles between capital and labor were frequent.[41] It was, however, a period of rapid population growth, which created new educational problems for Pennsylvania and many other states.

On the economic side, then, the most significant change, after 1830, was the rapid development of the factory system of production, and of the mineral resources of the State. These were added to agriculture and transportation, which, prior to 1830, were the chief sources of economic activity.[42] Changes of a social nature followed, and depended upon, the economic changes thus briefly described.

II. *Social Aspects*

The population of the State rose from 2,311,786,[43] in 1850, to 3,521,951,[44] in 1870, and reached a total of 5,255,853,[45] in 1890. The greatest increase was in the cities. The population of Philadelphia rose from 408,762, in 1850,[46] to 674,022, in 1870[47] and reached a total of 1,099,850, in 1890.[48] An examination of the Census reports of 1850 and 1870 shows that cities, such as Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Reading, Harrisburg, and Erie more than doubled their populations in this period of twenty years. If we leave out of consideration the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia districts, which were fairly populous, we find that Reading, Lancaster, Harrisburg, and York were the only cities with more than five thousand inhabitants, in 1850.[49] In 1870, however, the population of the cities stood as follows:

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[38] West: *Story of Am. Democracy,* 516–7.

[39] Nevins: *The Emergence of Modern America,* 380 *ff.*

[40] Beard: *Rise of Am. Civilization,* II, 383 *ff.*

[41] Nevins: *Op. cit.,* 380 *ff.*

[42] *Supra,* 148 *f.,* 150, 442.

[43] *The Seventh Census of U. S.,* 187.

[44] *Ninth Census,* The Statistics of the Population of U. S., 634.

[45] *Abstract of The Eleventh Census,* 40.

[46] *The Seventh Census of U. S.,* 179.

[47] *Ninth Census.* The Statistics of the Population of U. S., 254.

[48] *Compendium of the Eleventh Census, Miscellaneous Statistics,* 12.

Population	Number of Cities
5–10,000	19
10–20,000	7
20–30,000	1
30–40,000	1
50–60,000	1
80–90,000	1
over 500,000	1[50]

While this increase represents, in part, a gradual influx from the farms to the cities, it was to a still greater extent the result of immigration from foreign countries. The percentage of foreign-born persons in the entire population of eight cities was, in 1890, as follows:

Philadelphia	25.74
Scranton	34.00
Reading	8.07
Erie	25.58
Lancaster	11.68
Altoona	10.26
Williamsport	10.67
Allentown	8.11[51]

The industrialization of the State, which has just been described, was a potent factor in the growth of great urban population centres. It is a significant social fact that, in 1887, manufacturing, mining, trade, transportation, and ordinary fields of unskilled labor gave employment to two-thirds of those engaged in the various "occupations," while agriculture and the professions combined accounted for the employment of the other third of our working population.[52] With the rapid development of industries came the emergence of an ultra-rich class, the owners and controllers of the industries of the State, and a new laboring class whose contribution to the industrial development of the State was not made in capital but in manual labor. Machinery made it possible for one factory laborer to produce more wealth than probably a hundred workers under the old domestic hand system, but this wealth went mostly to the new capitalists.[53] "There were only three millionaires," says one writer, "in the United States in 1861 and at least thirty-eight hundred in the lapse of thirty-six years."[54] The same authority remarks: "The richest class in America was composed of those who owned factories, mines, railways, and urban property."[55] Between the impoverished factory laborer and the great capitalist, there were represented in the social structure many degrees of wealth, and many distinctions based upon wealth appeared.[56] Harriet Martineau found that, in the eighteen-thirties, in Philadelphia, a wide chasm separated the ladies who lived on Chestnut Street from those who lived on Arch Street, although the times of their rise to opulence were separated by merely one generation.[57] Watson, also, calls attention to the rapid changes in society consequent upon the sudden acquisition of wealth by many who had been accustomed to poverty.[58] On the other hand, he noticed the fall from wealth and power of some members of the older aristocracy.[59] Pennsylvania society, then, from the eighteen-twenties on, was in a state of rapid change due largely to the deep-seated economic revolution, which was transforming the old habits of life in the State.[60]

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[49] *Seventh Census,* 158 *ff.*

[50] *Ninth Census.* The Statistics of the Population of U. S., 243 *ff.*

[51] *Compendium of the Eleventh Census. Miscellaneous Statistics,* 12.

[52] *Supra,* 442.

The factory system of production, which increased so tremendously the population of urban centres,[61] brought with it new social problems. Attention has already been called to the evil effects of child labor in factories, and of vagrant children of the poor who were said to be a "moral plague" in Philadelphia.[62] From an educational standpoint, the most significant development, however, was the rise of an organized working-man's party, for the attainment of the political rights of labor in a democratic society. In the first two decades of the century, laws had been enacted providing for the protection of certain laboring groups.[63] Early attempts to organize the workmen of Philadelphia, for the purpose of regulating wages and of acting as an organized force, were judged by the court to be unlawful.[64] Similar developments were taking place in Pittsburgh.[65] As late as 1829, the court at Chambersburg found a group of laborers guilty of an attempt to increase their wages by organized methods.[66] In the late eighteen-twenties, however, and early thirties the labor movement had attained considerable strength and proportions, and its demands became more militant. In 1828, there was organized in Philadelphia the Mechanic's Union of Trade Associations. In the preamble to the articles of association it was proclaimed:

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[53] West: *Op. cit.,* 425 *ff.*

[54] Beard: *Op. cit.,* II, 383–4.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.,* 393–5, 399 *ff.*

[57] Nevins: *American Soc. Hist.,* 136–7.

[58] *Annals,* II, 248.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Supra,* 147 *ff.,* 150 *ff.,* 440 *ff.*

[61] *Supra,* 150 *ff.*

[62] *Supra,* 151.

> When the disposition and efforts of one part of mankind to oppress another, have become too manifest to be mistaken and too pernicious in their consequences to be endured, it has often been found necessary for those who feel aggrieved, to associate, for the purpose of affording to each other mutual protection from oppression.
>
> We the Journeymen Mechanics of the City and County of Philadelphia, conscious that our condition in society is lower than justice demands it should be, and feeling our inability, individually, to ward off from ourselves and families those numerous evils which result from an unequal and very excessive accumulation of wealth and power into the hands of a few, are desirous of forming an Association, which shall avert as much as possible those evils with which poverty and incessant toil have already inflicted, and which threaten ultimately to overwhelm and destroy us. . . .
>
> As freemen and republicans, we feel it a duty incumbent on us to make known our sentiments fearlessly and faithfully on any subject connected with the *general welfare;* and we are prepared to maintain, that all who toil have a natural and unalienable right to reap the fruits of their own industry; and that they who by labour (the only source) are the authors of every comfort, convenience, and luxury, are in justice entitled to an *equal participation,* not only in the meanest and the coarsest, but likewise the richest and the choicest of them all.[67]

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[63] Browne: *A Summary of the Laws of Pa. Securing to Mechanics and others Payment for their Labour.*

[64] Commons: *Documentary Hist. of Am. Ind. Soc.*, III, 68–70, 236; V, 20–1.

[65] *Ibid.*, IV, 86–7.

[66] *Ibid.*, 273.

[67] *Mechanic's Free Press*, Oct. 25, 1828, 1.

As a means to the securing of their purposes, the Union resorted to political measures, resolving to support only those candidates for public offices who would uphold the interests of the working classes. Prominent among the demands of the labor party was that for a State system of public schools. "We are well aware," reads one of their pronouncements, "that large endowments have been made to colleges for the rich; and that some appropriations have been made in the establishment of Public Schools for the Poor; but to the latter of these institutions the mark of the beast has been affixed in the most repulsive characters, and that which should have been to us a matter of *right*—is dealt out in the less palatable form of *charity* to the 'needy' and 'indigent'; to this we answer, give us our *rights* and we shall not need your *Charity*."[68] In 1829, the demands of labor for a "republican" system of education were loud and frequent.[69] Moreover, they soon resorted to political methods to ensure the success of their cause. In 1831, the candidates for office of the labor party recommended, to Governor Wolf, George Rehn for the position of Justice of the Peace in Philadelphia. Their petition read in part: "The undersigned 'Working-men' and others, citizens of the city & county of Philadelphia have with pleasure observed that your Excellency has at various times, recommended a general System of Education, to the Legislature of the Commonwealth—That system is ardently advocated by us as a party. . . .

"We have at various times united upon men, as candidates for the representation of the county, who would advance our views and interests, in relation, particularly, to that System of Education recommended by your Excellency."[70]

By 1830, organized labor had cast aside the old political allegiances and, as a new political party, demanded those rights which to them seemed to be essentially implied in the principles of democratic government. In 1830, the representatives of labor, in an address to the working-men of the State, remarked:

> In offering to your consideration a subject of such importance, we shall state the ground which has led us to a separation from

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[68] Address of the Delegation of the Working People of the City of Philadelphia. [*Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1828, 1.]

[69] *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1829, 1–2; Oct. 17, 1829, 3; Oct. 24, 1829, 1.

[70] Petition on Behalf of George Rehn. [*MS.* in State Archives.]

the two great political parties which have hitherto misruled and misrepresented the people, and the reasons for dissenting from existing laws, which we consider unreasonable and unjust, operating like an incubus upon the equitable energies of those who constitute the true wealth and strength of our country, thereby nullifying in practice the glorious principle and vivifying declaration that "all men are created equal." Too long have the operatives of this country, as in all others, been left without a suitable representation in the local, state, and national councils, to guard their interests and crush a power in its origin that ultimately deadens and paralyses their efforts to sustain their rank and privileges as freemen. . . .

The main pillar of our system is general education; for it is an axiom no longer controverted, that the stability of a republic depends mainly upon the intelligence of its citizens . . . that an early and suitable education for each child is of primary importance in maintaining the public weal.

It is now forty years since the adoption of the constitution of Pennsylvania, and although that instrument strongly recommends that provision be made for the education of our youth at public expense, yet during that long period, has the salutary and patriotic obligation been disregarded by our legislative authority. . . .

It is true, that some attempts have been made to remedy the omission in two or three districts of the state, but they have proved ineffectual. The very spirit in which these provisions have been made not only defeats the object intended, but tends also to draw still broader the line of distinction between the rich and the poor. All who receive the limited knowledge imparted by the present system of public education are looked upon as paupers. . . . The spirit of independence and of feeling in which all participate, cause the honest and industrious poor to reject a proffered bounty that connects with its reception a seeming disgrace. . . .

All must be aware of the necessity of the prompt interference of the people in behalf of those cardinal principles of republican liberty which were declared in '76, and which can only be sustained by the adoption of an ample system of public instruction, calculated to impart equality as well as mental culture—the establishment of institutions where the children of the poor and the rich may meet at that period of life, when the pomp and circumstance of wealth have not engendered pride; when the only distinction known will be the celebrity each may acquire by their acts of good fellowship. . . . The objection that the children of the wealthy will not be sent to these schools, is one of minor importance. Our *main* object is to secure the benefits of education for those who would otherwise be destitute, and

> to place them mentally on a level with the most favored in the *world's gifts.* As poverty is not a crime, neither is wealth a virtue.[71]

This address to the working-men of Pennsylvania came a few months after the publication of a lengthy report by a committee of the labor party of Philadelphia, in which the principle of equality of educational opportunity for the children of the State was enunciated. The report condemned the provisions for public education already made in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh, because they savored of pauperism, and afforded but a limited measure of instruction. Regarding the traditional practice of State-endowed colleges the report stated:

> It is true the state is not without its colleges and universities, several of which have been fostered with liberal supplies from the public purse. Let it be observed, however, that the funds so applied, have been appropriated exclusively for the benefit of the wealthy, who are thereby enabled to procure a liberal education for their children, upon *lower terms* than it would otherwise be afforded them. Funds thus expended, may serve to engender an aristocracy of talent, and place knowledge, the chief element of power in the hands of the privileged *few;* but can never secure the common prosperity of a nation nor confer *intellectual* as well as political equality on a people.
>
> The original element of *despotism* is a *Monopoly* of *Talent,* which consigns the multitude to comparative ignorance, & secures the balance of knowledge on the side of the rich and the rulers. If then the healthy existence of a free government be, as the committee believe, rooted in the *Will* of the American people, it follows as a necessary consequence, of a government based upon that *will,* that this monopoly should be broken up, and that the means of equal knowledge, (the only security for equal liberty) should be rendered, by legal provision, the common property of all classes.[72]

In order to bring secondary education within the reach of all who desired it, the report suggested the establishment, in each county, of manual labor high schools, wherein it would be possible, by agricultural or mechanical labor, for any youth to defray the cost of his instruction in literary and scientific studies.[73] The committee, which made this report, drafted a bill for the establishment of these manual labor high schools, without which

[71] *Mechanic's Free Press,* July 10, 1830, 1–2.

[72] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1830, 1.

[73] *Ibid.*

there could not be, they said, "*Universal And Equal* Education" of the youth of this State. The proposed bill provided that establishment of such a county high school or schools be decided by the vote of the inhabitants of each county, who would elect a board of controllers for the schools. The board would select "teachers in the various branches of literature, science and industry," and employ " a superintendent of the male and a superintendent of the female department." Children under ten years of age were not to perform manual labor. Those between ten and twelve years would work for not more than two hours daily, the number of hours increasing with the age of the pupils, and amounting to eight hours per day for those between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. Students were to be "maintained" as well as "educated," and the schools would be supported entirely by a special public tax levied in each county.[74]

While, in the eighteen-thirties, Philadelphia was the great centre of labor strength in the State, and exerted by far the greatest influence, labor was not silent elsewhere. In 1831, labor sentiment in Chester county favored "the enactment of a law for the establishment of a General Republican System of Education throughout the State."[75] Nor did the enthusiasm of labor for a republican system of education lose its ardor after the victory had been won. Among the toasts at a mechanics' celebration in Easton, on July 4, 1835, was one to "Universal Education—The legitimate bulwark of free institutions."[76] Although this early militant labor movement ended with the panic of 1837,[77] it hastened, as a new social and political force, the recognition of the rights of industial workers in society. Labor, in the past, was considered menial and degraded, but it emerged from the struggle with the mark of dignity upon it. In poetry, Whitman sang the virtues of labor:

The young mechanic is closest to me—he knows me well;
The woodman, that takes his axe and jug with him, shall take me
with him all day;
The farm-boy, ploughing in the field, feels good at the sound of
my voice,

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[74] Substance of A Bill To Establish High Schools throughout the State of Pennsylvania. [*Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1830, 1.]

[75] *Chester Co. Democrat,* Nov. 22, 1831, 3.

[76] *Easton Sentinel,* July 10, 1835, 3.

[77] Forman: *The Rise of Am. Commerce and Industry,* 208 *ff.*

In vessels that sail, my words sail—I go with fishermen and seamen, and love them.[78]

And Whittier wrote:

Haply from them the toiler, bent
Above his forge or plough, may gain
A manlier spirit of content,
And feel that life is wisest spent
Where the strong working hand makes strong the working brain.

* * *

A blessing now, a curse no more;
Since He, whose name we breathe with awe,
The coarse mechanic vesture wore,
A poor man toiling with the poor,
In labor, as in prayer, fulfilling the same law.[79]

The most significant social changes in the period when the public school system of Pennsylvania had its beginning were the increase in population of the urban centres, consequent upon the development of the Industrial Revolution, the dissatisfaction of the laboring classes under the new economic régime, and the rise of a formidable labor party whose leaders demanded those rights which, they felt, belonged to all citizens of a democracy. Added to these features of our society was that of an increasing foreign element in the population of the State. In 1830, Pennsylvania had 15,435 unnaturalized foreigners,[80] which was evidently but a small fraction of the entire foreign-born population. Of a total population of 60,000 in Pittsburgh, in 1839, only 28,000 were said to be ''native born Americans.''[81] In the eighteen-forties, there was a rapid increase in the annual arrival of immigrants into the country as a whole, a goodly portion of whom may be safely considered to have settled in Pennsylvania. The arrivals at the port of New York alone increased from 53,050, in 1844, to 161,303, in 1848.[82] In 1849, 160,994 immigrants entered the country through the port of New York.[83] This represented ''about 70 per cent'' of the entire immigration into the country.[84] In this same year, 9,824 entered the country through Pennsylvania.[85] At least three-fourths of the new arrivals were natives of Germany and Ireland.[86] Considerably more than one-half of those who arrived, in 1845, were children and those classified as laborers or having no occupation.[87] There was some anxiety felt by members of the national government regarding some of the new immigrants, and foreign governments were accused of unloading their paupers and criminals on the United States.[88] Immigration had thus, in the first half of the century, begun to create problems which soon gave rise to public concern, and throughout the entire century the problem remained acute.[89]

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[78] Whitman: *Leaves of Grass*, 63.

[79] *Songs of Labor*. Dedication in Complete Works of Whittier, Cambridge Ed., 357.

[80] Fish: *Rise of the Common Man*, 109.

[81] Chronicle. [*Niles Register*, LVI, 416.]

[82] Statistics. [*Ibid.*, LXXIV, 316.]

[83] Immigration. [*Ibid.*, LXXV, 22.]

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Ibid.*

Manual labor schools.—We have just noted that, in the eighteen-twenties and early thirties, there was developing, among certain groups, a feeling that the exclusion of the poor and the laboring classes from the advantages of secondary and higher education was contrary to the principles of democracy. Organized labor, as we have seen, demanded the establishment of manual labor high schools throughout the State. It was partly to meet that demand that manual labor, and monitorial schools were recommended and, to some extent, adopted before the public school system was established in 1834.[90]

The manual labor idea, in its significant social and educational aspects, was institutionalized and popularized by Emanuel Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, in the first quarter of the century. In Pennsylvania, farm work was recommended to students in Madison College, in 1827,[91] and the charter granted to the institution, in that year,[92] embodied a provision for manual labor, for the sake of the health, morals, and future usefulness of the students, but no plan of financial remuneration of students for their labor was adopted.[93] Health and the development of practical skills were usually mentioned as the purposes of manual labor activity. In 1829, the Manual Labor Academy of Pennsylvania was opened at Germantown.[94] The purposes embodied in the institution were health and the opening of the ministry to boys of limited means.[95] A farm was to be an essential part of the institution. By their labor in the fields, students would be enabled to pay in whole or in part for their academic training.[96] Among the advantages claimed for the plan were economy, an expansion of educational opportunities, the development of an enterprising spirit in rich and poor students, the promotion of piety and the fullest development of the physical, moral and mental faculties.[97] The school was established by a stock company,[98] and is said to have been chartered in 1829.[99] The experiment was not a success, and the trustees, thinking that the location was responsible for their failure, agreed, in 1832, with the trustees of Lafayette College, to transfer their institution to a farm near Easton. This marks the actual beginning of Lafayette College, which, though chartered in 1826, could not open previously for lack of funds.[100] In the western part of the State, Zelienople Manual Labor Academy was proclaimed a great success by its trustees, in 1831, and economy, health and industrious habits were found to be the fruit of the practice.[101] This institution was established and supported by the Western Pennsylvania Lyceum for the purpose of providing a system of "popular education."[102] In 1835, it was still flourishing.[103] In this year, boys under fifteen years of age were paying for board and tuition $100 yearly, and those over fifteen, $60 yearly.[104] Jefferson College had, in 1832, twenty-six students "who nearly support themselves by laboring two hours daily."[105] but, in 1844, the experiment had ceased, for the Catalogue of this year does not mention the practice. Mr. Ismar's manual labor school at Bristol has been already referred to.[106] Bristol College, an Episcopal institution adopted the plan, in 1834.[107]

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[86] Immigration. [*Ibid.*, LXVII, 372]; Immigrants Arrived. [*Ibid.*, LXXIV, 141]; Emigration. [*Ibid.*, 192]; Immigration. [*Ibid.*, 16]; Fish: *Rise of the Common Man*, 109 *ff*.

[87] Immigration. [*Niles Register*, LXVII, 372.]

[88] Senate of the U. S. [*Ibid.*, 258]; Congress. [*Ibid.*, LXXI, 341, 358]; Foreign Paupers and Criminals. [*Ibid.*, 401.]

[89] See statistics on foreign population in 1890, *Supra*, 445.

[90] *Infra*, 475.

[91] *Pa. Democrat and Literary Gaz.*, Sept. 12, 1827, 1.

[92] *Laws of Pa.*, 1827, Act No. 47.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] *First Annual Report of Trustees*, 8.

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[95] Monteith: *Report on the Subject of Connecting Manual Labor with Study*, 2 *ff*.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] *First Annual Rept. of Trustees*, 4. No record of this charter has been found in the printed laws of the State.

[100] *Fellenberg or An Appeal to the Friends of Education on Behalf of Lafayette College*, 2 *ff*.

[101] Manual Labor Academy. [*The Christian Herald*, Aug. 16, 1832, 2.]

[102] *The Pittsburgh Christian Herald*, Aug. 20, 1831, 3; for full account of the institution see Constitution of West. Pa. Lyceum. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, VIII, 12.]

[103] *The Pittsburgh Christian Herald*, June 6, 1835, 4.

[104] *Ibid.*

[105] *Catalogue*, 1832.

[106] *Supra*, 284 *ff*.; *Bucks Co. Intelligencer*, Oct. 31, 1831, 4.

[107] *The Laws of Bristol College*, 18 *ff*. [Bucks Co. Hist. Soc.]

In the thirties, the manual labor plan of education was finding advocates in the legislature, where it was enthusiastically recommended by a Committee on Education in 1833.[108] The committee found by investigation:

> *First*—That the expense of education, when connected with manual labor, judiciously directed, may be reduced at least one half.
>
> *Second*—That the exercise of about three hours manual labor, daily, contributes to the health and cheerfulness of the pupil, by strengthening and improving his physical powers, and by engaging his mind in useful pursuits.
>
> *Third*—That so far from manual labor being an impediment in the progress of the pupil, in intellectual studies, it has been found that in proportion as one pupil has excelled another in the amount of labor performed, the same pupil has excelled the other, in equal ratio, in his intellectual studies.
>
> *Fourth*—That manual labor institutions tend to break down the distinctions between rich and poor which exist in society, inasmuch as they give an almost equal opportunity of education to the poor by labor, as is afforded to the rich by the possession of wealth; and
>
> *Fifth*—That pupils trained in this way, are much better fitted for active life, and better qualified to act as useful citizens, than when educated in any other mode—that they are better as regards physical energy, and better intellectually and morally.[109]

Petitions came from many parts of the State to the legislature advocating the establishment of such schools. One of them reads, in part:

> *Now, therefore,* to the end that the people of this State may be qualified to hold in safety the power with which they are invested, and to exercise it understandingly and with judgment, your Memorialists respectfully request that your honorable body will be pleased to pass a Law, to establish in this State, "*Manual-Labour Schools,*" open alike to all classes and conditions of the people, in which they shall be taught by a system of *Education,* adapted to the principles and genius of our government, and with which shall be connected the pursuits of agriculture and the mechanic arts.
>
> And your Memorialists also further request, that, to meet the expenses consequent on the founding and support of these schools, your honourable body will be pleased to pass other laws, appro-

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[108] Report on Manual Labor Academies. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, XI, 289–91.]

[109] *Ibid.*, 290.

> priating a sufficient portion of the State Funds for the complete accomplishment of this paramount object.
>
> Your Memorialists will be pardoned the freedom of reminding your honourable body, that the basis upon which rests the beautiful superstructure of our political system, is the intelligence, the moral virtue, and the devoted patriotism of the people, and that where these are wanting, no security exists against the prevalence of vice, corruption, crime, and consequent degradation and misery, and the ultimate subversion of our republic to an odious aristocracy, and our freedom to unqualified despotism.
>
> Your Memorialists are constrained to say, that all past experience goes to prove that our colleges and incorporated institutions of learning, though greatly multiplied and highly respectable, do not, and cannot, *educate the people.* They are very serviceable only to the few who have the wealth and consequent influence sufficient to procure admittance within their walls, while the destitute multitude, the great body of the people, are shut out and left to the consequences incident to a neglected and degraded condition of life.
>
> To the advantages of wealth and influence, these institutions furnish to the fortunate few, the high distinction of knowledge and consequent power, and create, in the midst of those, who, by the charter of their freedom, are held equals, and equally entitled to all the rights and trusts known to the provisions of that charter—a privileged and dangerous order of men, a monopoly of knowledge and power, claiming pre-eminence from superior intelligence, and exclusive privileges from superior ability and influence, and drawing a broad and offensive line of distinction between the educated and prosperous few, and the ignorant and despised many.[110]

There is a striking similarity between the sentiments expressed in this document and those of the early labor movement which have just been referred to. A manual labor provision was embodied in the first general education act of 1834.[111] In the eighteen-thirties a few manual labor academies were chartered, one, for instance, at Monongahela City,[112] and another at Elizabeth in Allegheny county.[113] Not many academies, however, adopted the plan in Pennsylvania, and Thomas Burrowes stated, in 1862, that with the exception of the ''Pennsylvania Farm College,''

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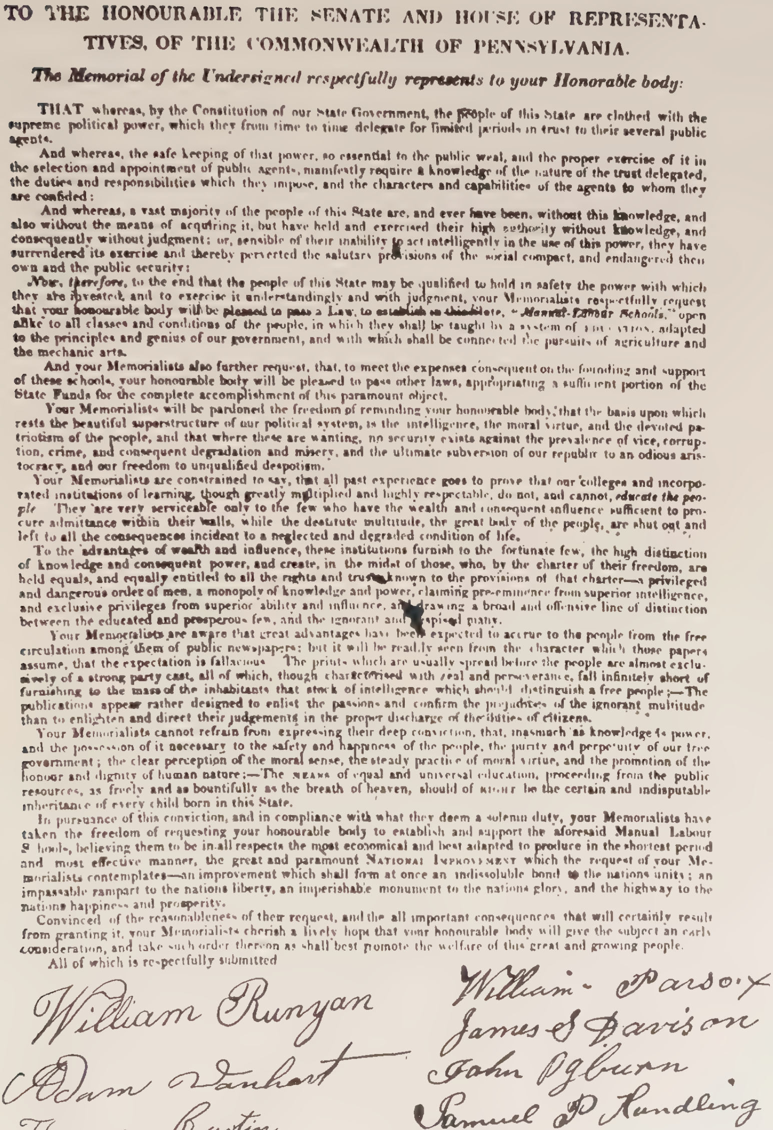
[110] A Memorial Signed By Citizens of Bucks County Praying for Aid to the Manual Labour Schools, June [?] 30, 1834. [State Archives]

[111] *Laws of Pa.*, 1833–4, 170–9.

[112] *Laws of Pa.*, 1835–6, Act No. 76.

[113] Harris: *Pitt. and West. Bus. Directory*, 1837, 251.



TO THE HONOURABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Memorial of the Undersigned respectfully represents to your Honorable body:

THAT whereas, by the Constitution of our State Government, the people of this State are clothed with the supreme political power, which they from time to time delegate for limited periods in trust to their several public agents.

And whereas, the safe keeping of that power, so essential to the public weal, and the proper exercise of it in the selection and appointment of public agents, manifestly require a knowledge of the nature of the trust delegated, the duties and responsibilities which they impose, and the characters and capabilities of the agents to whom they are confided:

And whereas, a vast majority of the people of this State are, and ever have been, without this knowledge, and also without the means of acquiring it, but have held and exercised their high authority without knowledge, and consequently without judgment; or, sensible of their inability to act intelligently in the use of this power, they have surrendered its exercise and thereby perverted the salutary provisions of the social compact, and endangered their own and the public security:

Now, therefore, to the end that the people of this State may be qualified to hold in safety the power with which they are invested, and to exercise it understandingly and with judgment, your Memorialists respectfully request that your honourable body will be pleased to pass a Law, to establish in this State, "*Manual-Labour Schools*," open alike to all classes and conditions of the people, in which they shall be taught by a system of EDUCATION, adapted to the principles and genius of our government, and with which shall be connected the pursuits of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

And your Memorialists also further request, that, to meet the expenses consequent on the founding and support of these schools, your honourable body will be pleased to pass other laws, appropriating a sufficient portion of the State Funds for the complete accomplishment of this paramount object.

Your Memorialists will be pardoned the freedom of reminding your honourable body, that the basis upon which rests the beautiful superstructure of our political system, is the intelligence, the moral virtue, and the devoted patriotism of the people, and that where these are wanting, no security exists against the prevalence of vice, corruption, crime, and consequent degradation and misery, and the ultimate subversion of our republic to an odious aristocracy, and our freedom to unqualified despotism.

Your Memorialists are constrained to say, that all past experience goes to prove that our colleges and incorporated institutions of learning, though greatly multiplied and highly respectable, do not, and cannot, *educate the people*. They are very serviceable only to the few who have the wealth and consequent influence sufficient to procure admittance within their walls, while the destitute multitude, the great body of the people, are shut out and left to all the consequences incident to a neglected and degraded condition of life.

To the advantages of wealth and influence, these institutions furnish to the fortunate few, the high distinction of knowledge and consequent power, and create, in the midst of those, who, by the charter of their freedom, are held equals, and equally entitled to all the rights and trusts known to the provisions of that charter—a privileged and dangerous order of men, a monopoly of knowledge and power, claiming pre-eminence from superior intelligence, and exclusive privileges from superior ability and influence, and drawing a broad and offensive line of distinction between the educated and prosperous few, and the ignorant and despised many.

Your Memorialists are aware that great advantages have been expected to accrue to the people from the free circulation among them of public newspapers; but it will be readily seen from the character which those papers assume, that the expectation is fallacious. The prints which are usually spread before the people are almost exclusively of a strong party cast, all of which, though characterised with zeal and perseverance, fall infinitely short of furnishing to the mass of the inhabitants that stock of intelligence which should distinguish a free people;—The publications appear rather designed to enlist the passions and confirm the prejudices of the ignorant multitude than to enlighten and direct their judgements in the proper discharge of the duties of citizens.

Your Memorialists cannot refrain from expressing their deep conviction, that, inasmuch as knowledge is power, and the possession of it necessary to the safety and happiness of the people, the purity and perpetuity of our free government; the clear perception of the moral sense, the steady practice of moral virtue, and the promotion of the honour and dignity of human nature;—The MEANS of equal and universal education, proceeding from the public resources, as freely and as bountifully as the breath of heaven, should of RIGHT be the certain and indisputable inheritance of every child born in this State.

In pursuance of this conviction, and in compliance with what they deem a solemn duty, your Memorialists have taken the freedom of requesting your honourable body to establish and support the aforesaid Manual Labour Schools, believing them to be in all respects the most economical and best adapted to produce in the shortest period and most effective manner, the great and paramount NATIONAL IMPROVEMENT which the request of your Memorialists contemplates—an improvement which shall form at once an indissoluble bond to the nations unity; an impassable rampart to the nations liberty, an imperishable monument to the nations glory, and the highway to the nations happiness and prosperity.

Convinced of the reasonableness of their request, and the all important consequences that will certainly result from granting it, your Memorialists cherish a lively hope that your honourable body will give the subject an early consideration, and take such order thereon as shall best promote the welfare of this great and growing people.

All of which is respectfully submitted

William Runyan

Adam Vanhart

Thomas Rartin

Robert Magee

William Parsox

James S Davison

John Ogburn

Samuel P Rundling

Charles Machaulley

Petition to the Legislature (1834), Signed by Ninety-three Citizens of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, for State Aid for Manual Labor Schools. From the Original in The State Archives, Harrisburg.

where students paid a moderate fee, no such school was known to exist in the State.[114]

Monitorial plan of instruction—As early as 1807, the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children was organized in Philadelphia, and adopted the Lancasterian plan of instruction.[115] In the "Adelphia Schools" of this society there were taught, between 1807 and 1813, about fifteen hundred children.[116] The first academy to adopt the plan seems to have been Erie Academy in 1819 or 1820.[117] The Franklin High School of the Franklin Institute, in Philadelphia, was conducted on this plan, in 1826.[118] The curriculum of the school was a combination of classical, mathematical, scientific and modern language studies.[119] The purpose of the institution was to bring higher academic work within the reach of the sons of tradesmen and poorer citizens, an opportunity hitherto enjoyed "almost exclusively by the children of the rich."[120] The entire repudiation of the philosophy that secondary and higher education should be for a social élite was embodied in this school. A fee, however, of $7 per quarter was charged, evidently because the endowment was not sufficient to make it possible to offer instruction entirely free. The monitorial plan was adopted in a modified form, a number of regular teachers being employed.[121] In 1828, the results of the plan were highly commended.[122] In the same year, a committee of the trustees of York County Academy recommended the adoption of the plan.[123] In 1831, Mr. "A. T. W. Wright, Superintendent" of the Milton Lancasterian Academy wrote Robert Vaux of Philadelphia as follows: "I have the pleasure to inform you our building is completed, and the school is in session, with about 240 pupils; who will receive *education* during the current year, for a sum less than $1,000—showing at once the economy of the Monitorial system of education, and its superiority, in this respect, over all other systems.''[124] Wright went on to say that the system was as effective in the higher studies as in the elementary. Yet, with all the popularity of the monitorial scheme, it seldom found a friendly atmosphere in the academies of Pennsylvania. The few attempts to introduce the plan into academies appeared not many years before the public school system began, inspired no doubt by both necessity and philanthropy. With the progress of the public system, the monitorial plan was quickly abandoned.

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[114] Answers to Directors, Teachers, Citizens, and County Supts. [*P. S. J.*, XI, Nov., 1862, 139–42.]

[115] Ellis: *Lancasterian Schools in Philadelphia*, 5–6.

[116] Paxton: *Phila. Directory and Register for 1813*, Appendix, 102.

[117] Caughey: *Hist. of Erie Acad.*, 13. [*MS.*, Erie Public Lib.]

[118] *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, III, 603; see also Rept. of Committee of Instruction, March 12, 1828. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, I, 174–5.]

[119] *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, III, 607 *ff.*

[120] *Ibid.*, 603.

[121] Rept. of the Com. of Instruction of Franklin Inst., 1828. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, I, 174–5.]

[122] *Ibid.*

[123] *Rept. of Com. on Funds*, 1828. [*MS.* in possession of George Hay Kain, York.]

III. *Political Aspects*

The most significant political development in the period in which the public high school appeared was the victory of the popular party in the presidential election of 1828. Supported by the laboring men in the industrial centres, Jackson received the twenty-eight electoral votes of Pennsylvania.[125] A writer on the Jackson presidential victory in Pennsylvania states: ''When the election returns came in they showed that the Jackson democrats had carried everything before them in the city and county of Philadelphia. Men of the Workingmen's Party, on the Federal Ticket, were not elected. But all of the workingmen's candidates who were also on the Jackson ticket were elected. There is no doubt that Jackson gained much support from the rising industrial class of eastern Pennsylvania.''[126] Jackson's victory represents the culmination of a long struggle of the common man against aristocratic conceptions and practices of government in the early decades of American nationhood. ''As politically minded as that of England,'' says Fish, ''the American aristocracy had for many years maintained a monopoly of office holding almost complete. It dominated both parties, and while elections made fundamental changes in political policy, . . . they did not change the fact that most offices were filled by gentlemen. These gentlemen, moreover, failed to share to the full the exuberant optimism of the majority of their fellow countrymen, and they quite failed to accept its belief in equality. . . .

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[124] Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, VII, 240.

[125] Channing: *Hist. of the U. S.*, V, 375; Hailperin: Pro Jackson Sentiment in Pa. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, L, 197 *ff.*]

[126] Hailperin: Pro Jackson Sentiment in Pa. [*Loc. cit.*, L, 232.]

"This was a spirit and a monopoly which the optimistic equalitarians of the new generation set out first to break. Between 1815 and 1829 they had dented it seriously in such states as New York and Pennsylvania. In 1829 the new spirit swept into national power with Andrew Jackson."[127]

The power and will of the people had thus been demonstrated in the State. One writer says that, in the presidential election of 1824, Pennsylvania cast only 47,000 votes while, four years later, the votes increased to 150,000.[128] Thus developed that consciousness of political power in the common people, which became a new factor in the life of the commonwealth. The evident widespread acceptance of the doctrine of equality was noted by foreigners and sometimes severely criticized. Mrs. Trollope, in 1832, remarked: "The assumption of equality, however empty, is sufficient to tincture the manners of the poor with brutal insolence, and subject the rich to the paltry expediency of sanctioning the falsehood, however deep the conviction that it is such. It cannot, I think, be denied that the great men of America attain to power and to fame, by eternally uttering what they know to be untrue. American citizens are not equal."[129] Whatever one may think of the view thus expressed, it is a significant truth that the road "to power and to fame" lay through the recognition of the equality of all classes in the democracy.[130] On the simple monument erected over the grave of Thaddeus Stevens in Lancaster, the philosophy of the Great Commoner is thus inscribed: "I repose in this quiet and secluded spot, not from any natural preference for solitude; but finding other cemeteries limited as to race by charter rules, I have chosen this that I might illustrate in my death the principles which I advocated through a long life: Equality of man before his Creator."[131] "Americans of the thirties and forties," says Fish, "were laughed at by foreigners, and still are by their own descendants, for their frequent assertion that every American was a king in his own country."[132] Thus, the principles of equality

[127] *Rise of the Common Man*, 21.

[128] West: *The Story of Am. Democracy*, 456.

[129] *Domestic Manners of Americans*, 353.

[130] Fish: *Op. cit.*, opposite 166, shows how, in 1840, the Whigs represented their candidate, Harrison, as a log-cabin resident, while he really lived in a country gentleman's mansion.

[131] Inscription on tomb in Shreiner's Cemetery, Chestnut and Mulberry Streets, Lancaster, Pa.

[132] *Rise of the Common Man*, 7.

and rule of the majority, and the beliefs that the majority is always right, and that the voice of the people is the voice of God, became the chief characteristics of American political thought.[133]

With the growth of more democratic thought, came the demand for a more democratic educational system. The idea of public schools was not new in Pennsylvania. It had been advocated by Penn in the early days of the colony.[134] Nor would its provisions be limited merely to elementary instruction. In 1685, Thomas Budd proposed the following plan of education for New Jersey and Pennsylvania:

> 1. Now it might be well if a law were made by the Governors and General Assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that all persons inhabiting the said provinces, do put their children seven years to the Public School, or longer, if the parent please.
> 2. That schools be provided in all towns and cities, and persons of known honesty, skill and understanding be yearly chosen by the Governor and General Assembly, to teach and instruct boys and girls in all the most useful arts and sciences that they in their youthful capacities may be capable to understand, as the learning to read and write true English and Latin, and other useful speeches and languages, and fair writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping; the boys to be taught and instructed in some mystery or trade; . . . and the girls to be taught and instructed in spinning of flax and wool. . . .
> 6. Let one thousand acres of land be given and laid out in a good place, to every public school that shall be set up, and the rent or income of it to go towards the defraying the charge of the school.
> 7. And to the end that children of poor people, and the children of Indians may have the like good learning with the children of the rich people, let them be maintained free of charge to their parents out of the profit of the school, arising by the work of the scholars.[135]

Exactly one hundred years after Budd's plan appeared, there was published in Philadelphia an essay by Joseph Clay[136] in which he recommended for the whole country a school plan almost identical with that proposed to the legislature of Virginia by Thomas Jefferson, in 1779. Clay in his *Essay* suggested the establishment of district elementary schools, county academies, and a university in each State, provision being made in the academies and university for the education of the most talented poor students at public expense. ''The expenses of education,'' he said, ''to the citizens throughout the commonwealth, would be no greater or but little more so, by this method than they are in the irregular and unconnected manner in which it is now conducted; and those who had no children, would thus contribute something for the benefit of those useful citizens who increase the number of the commonwealth.''[137] Two years later, appeared Benjamin Rush's ''A Plan for Establishing Public Schools in Pennsylvania.''[138] In it he recommended the establishment of one State university, four colleges, and a free elementary school in every district of one hundred families. ''The university,'' he said, ''will in time furnish masters for the colleges, and the colleges will furnish masters for the free schools, while the free schools, in their turns, will supply the colleges and the university with scholars, students, and pupils. The same systems of grammar, oratory and philosophy, will be taught in every part of the state.''[139] For the support of the whole system he would have the legislature impose a tax on the ''estates'' of all persons in the commonwealth. This taxation he justified as follows: ''Every member of the community is interested in the propagation of virtue and knowledge in the state. But I will go further, and add, it will be true economy in individuals to support public schools. The bachelor will in time save his tax for this purpose, by being able to sleep with fewer bolts and locks to his door . . . and the children of wealthy parents will be less tempted, by bad company, to extravagance. Fewer pillories and whipping posts, and smaller gaols, with their usual expenses and taxes, will be necessary when our youth are properly educated.''[140] In 1797, John Downey in a letter to Governor Mifflin recommended the establishment of a public system in the following words:

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[133] *Ibid.*, 10–11.

[134] *Supra*, 19 *f.*

[135] *Good Order Established*, 43 *ff.*

[136] *An Essay Delivered in a Competition of the Students of the College of New Jersey.*

> To teach the introductory branches of education as far as reading, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping, two or more schools may be erected in each township, and supported by such an annual tax upon property as may be sufficient to secure a moderate independence to the teachers. The more advanced parts of science, already noticed, may be taught in one school erected in each township and supported in the same manner with the

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[137] *Op. cit.*, 12.

[138] *Essays*, 1 *ff*.

[139] *Ibid.*, 4.

[140] *Ibid.*, 5.

former, while more liberal science may be cultivated at an academy erected in each county, which a very moderate assessment throughout the county will be sufficient to support. Attendance upon the schools for a sufficient time should be strictly enjoined under an adequate penalty.[141]

In 1796, the American Philosophical Society[142] offered prizes for essays on "the best System of liberal Education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the Government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility."[143] The first prize of $100 was awarded to Samuel Knox, of Maryland, and Samuel Smith, of Philadelphia, and divided between them for essays adjudged equally meritorious. Each essay was a lengthy dissertation on the subject proposed, and can only be referred to briefly here.[144] Knox asserted that "the two great leading objects" of education ought to be "*the improvement of the mind, and the attainment of those arts on which the welfare, prosperity and happiness of society depend.*"[145] In this scheme, both the useful and the ornamental studies ought to receive equal attention. The classics, modern literature, social studies, mathematics, sciences, and such ornamental subjects as drawing, painting, fencing, and music would be included in the curriculum of "the public seminaries."[146] Public education, he said, ought to comprise all schools from the elementary to the highest class in the university.[147] Every parish should have its public school "endowed with a few acres of land and a proper house sufficiently large to accommodate the teacher and the taught."[148] Above these elementary schools should be established "county schools or academies endowed also, and furnished as the parish schools, but on a much more extensive plan."[149] Above these, in each state, there should be established a state college, while the whole system would be crowned by a national university.[150] All of these institutions ought to be adequately endowed. Text-books ought to be selected, printed and distributed by the public authorities, who would also, by their control of texts, determine the program of studies to be pursued in the various schools of the system.[151]

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[141] Egle: *Notes and Queries.* Third Series, II, 224.

[142] *Supra,* 22, 171, 176, 297 *f.*

[143] Knox: *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Ed.,* 45.

[144] For a fuller analysis of both plans see Hansen: *Liberalism and American Ed.,* 110–67.

[145] *Op. cit.,* 73.

[146] *Ibid.,* 76–7.

[147] *Ibid.,* 82.

[148] *Ibid.,* 83.

[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.*

The schools, however, were not to be free. Knox suggested that "at least three promising boys" should be educated in the elementary schools at the expense of the parish or township, provided their parents would consent to their becoming teachers. Similarly a few of those who had "distinguished themselves on public examination" in the elementary schools and county academies should be given scholarships in the colleges and university, so that the schools of the State might always be supplied with well qualified teachers.[152] Students intending to enter the academy should leave the elementary school at the age of twelve; otherwise they ought to be required to remain until they had reached the age of fourteen, when their education would be considered complete.[153] Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, English, ancient history, were suggested as proper studies for those preparing for college, while those, whose education was to end with the work of the academy, "should be made thoroughly acquainted with all the practical branches; the use of the globes, geography, and as much of astronomy at least as is connected with that science."[154] The complete course in the academy should cover a period of three years,[155] and that of the college an additional period of three years, thus permitting the student to finish his college work at the close of his eighteenth year.[156] The control of the entire system would be vested in a "Board of Education," which should have its subordinate officials in the various states, through whom its various educational duties would be discharged.[157]

The plan proposed by Smith resembled that of Knox so closely that a detailed exposition of it is not necessary. Imbued with a firm belief in the doctrine of the perfectibility of man and human institutions, and seeing in the progress of democracy in America the possibility of creating here the first Utopia in history, the writer suggested a scheme of education which would hasten the realization of an ideal commonwealth. "The two great objects of education," he said, "are to make men virtuous and wise."[158] He then proceeded to a philosophical discussion of the relation between wisdom, virtue and universal happiness.[159] With regard to public education, he postulated the following principle which he assumed to be sound: "Society must establish the right to educate, and acknowledge the duty of having educated, all children. A circumstance, so momentously important, must not be left to the negligence of individuals."[160] This education ought to be, in the highest sense, liberal, free from all traces of superstition and from all attempts to indoctrinate youth in any way. "The first great object of a liberal system of education should be," he said, "the admission into the young mind of such ideas only as are either absolutely true, or in the highest degree probable; and the cautious exclusion of all error."[161] Thus alone could an ideal state be established and preserved. He thus laid more stress than did Knox on the importance of a study of the sciences.[162] He concluded by drawing a number of conclusions from the principles which he enunciated. Among these were the following: (1) That education ought to be public, and provided for every male child between the ages of five and eighteen years; (2) that parents ought to be compelled by law to educate their children; (3) that citizens should be taxed for the support of public schools in proportion to the amount of property they possessed; (4) that there should be, in the public school system, primary schools, colleges, and a university; (5) that the primary schools should include two classes, the first for pupils between the ages of five and ten, and the second for pupils between ten and eighteen years of age; (6) that the curriculum in this second class should include arithmetic, English language and composition, general history, United States history, geography, and the laws of nature; (7) that talented boys should be promoted from these primary schools, and educated in the colleges at public expense; (8) and that one student in every ten should be annually chosen by the professors in the colleges for promotion to the university, there to be educated at "public cost."[163]

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[151] *Ibid.*, 90 *ff.*

[152] *Ibid.*, 111–12.

[153] *Ibid.*, 115.

[154] *Ibid.*, 125.

[155] *Ibid.*, 130.

[156] *Ibid.*, 139.

[157] *Ibid.*, 126–7, 137.

The long and intimate association between the American Philosophical Society and life in the State brings added significance to the theories expounded in these essays. The idea of public schools providing education beyond the elementary studies was, thus, not new in Pennsylvania, and, as we shall see elsewhere,[164] the public high school began to evolve almost immediately after the establishment of the State school system, in 1834.

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[158] *Remarks on Education,* 10.

[159] *Ibid.,* 10 *ff.*

[160] *Ibid.,* 39.

[161] *Ibid.,* 42.

[162] *Ibid.,* 42 *ff.*

[163] *Ibid.,* 67–70.

IV. *Religious Aspects*

The most significant change in the religious scene in the nineteenth century was the great increase in the number of Roman Catholics.[165] The number of adherents of the various beliefs is impossible to determine with accuracy.[166] The following table will show the increase in the number of churches of the greater denominations between 1850 and 1870.

Increase in Number of Churches

Denomination	*1850*	*1870*
Baptist	320	630
Episcopal	136	238
German Reformed	209	712
Lutheran	498	904
Methodist	889	1,286
Presbyterian	775	1,028
Roman Catholic	139	362[167]

The increase in the number of Roman Catholics was much greater than the increase in the number of churches would seem to indicate.[168] It is not necessary in this study to examine the arguments advanced by certain religious groups in the State against a public or secularized educational system. Many documents exist which throw light on this phase of the struggle for free public schools,[169] which the reader will find easily accessible. With the exception of those of Roman Catholics, the secondary schools of the religious denominations[170] have not only not shown a tendency to increase in number but most of them have passed from the scene. Since the passing of the compulsory school law, in 1895,[171] and its amendments,[172] there has been a notable increase in the number of Catholic secondary schools, many of which are designated by the name of "high school."[173] The present writer, after careful search, has found but a few such "high schools" in existence prior to 1900.[174] Compulsory education laws, the increasing demand among Catholic youths for an increasingly higher education, and the apparent sense of obligation, on the part of the officials of the Church, that these youths ought to be brought up, as much as possible, under denominational supervision, probably explain the phenomenal growth of Roman Catholic secondary schools in the State during the past two decades of the present century. The influence of various denominations has been sufficiently dealt with in preceding chapters, and further reference to their educational activities is not necessary here.

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[164] *Infra*, 475 *ff.*

[165] Channing: *Hist. of U. S.*, V, 219 *ff.*; Fish: *Rise of the Com. Man*, 190–1.

[166] Channing: *Op. cit.*, 219–20.

[167] *The Seventh Census of the U. S.*, 200 *ff.*; *Ninth Census*, The Statistics of the Population of U. S., 552.

[168] Channing: *Op. cit.*, 220.

[169] *Supra*, 164. Education and the Church. [Editorial. *P. S. J.*, I, 355–7]; Schneider: State and Denominational Schools. [*Ibid.*, 367–73]; The Free School at Blubb B'rk. [*Ibid.*, XX, 315–6.]

[170] *Supra*, 230, 232, 246 *ff.*, 262, 306.

V. *Idealistic Aspects*

As in other sections of the United States, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there developed[175] a feeling among Pennsylvanians that the destiny of America was to create a perfect social, political, economic, moral and intellectual Utopia. With this feeling went the desire to make this ideal a reality. While New England was the cradle of Unitarianism, with its doctrine of the perfectibility of the individual man and the goodness of human nature, and its offshoot transcendentalism, that saw God living in the individual and the world his celestial home,[176] Pennsylvania felt the influence of this idealism, and attempted to realize it. While the struggle for the rights of the common man, for equalitarianism, for individualism, for moral, social, and political reforms, antedate the formulation of the transcendentalist philosophy in America,[177] that struggle found in this new philosophy its intellectual and moral justification.

Crime was no longer looked upon as an expression of divine displeasure, but as a social disease, the causes of which might be found in social conditions, and eliminated. Thus the temperance reform movement, the beginnings of which might be traced far back into the eighteenth century,[178] became one of State-wide interest in the eighteen-thirties, and temperance societies were organized in all parts of the State, and conducted a militant campaign against a recognized social disease.[179] A writer describing the movement, in 1837, says: ''In Pennsylvania alone there were at one period, 3,334 distilleries, which manufactured 6,553,248 gallons of ardent spirits. Of the 200,000 paupers, in the United States, four-fifths are reduced to pauperism by intemperance. . . . That the cause of temperance is progressing in Pennsylvania, there is the most unequivocal evidence. This is evident from the numerous Temperance Societies and Temperance Hotels, . . . from the stillness, regularity, and order that prevail in large public houses. . . .

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[171] *Laws of Pa.*, 1895, Act No. 53.

[172] Schaeffer: *The Common School Laws of Pa.*, 36 *ff.*

[173] *List of Accredited Private Secondary Schools*, Bulletin No. 46, Dept. Pub. Inst., 1930, 8 *ff.*

[174] *Supra*, 247.

[175] Fish: *Op. cit.*, 256–84.

[176] Parrington: *The Romantic Revolution in America*, 317–27, 379 *ff.*

[177] *E.g.*, Lippincott: *Early Phila.*, 321–3; John Woolman's *Journal*, 42.

''The Pennsylvania State Temperance Society has gone on increasing in number, respectability, and influence.''[180] The eighteen-forties saw this movement undiminished in vigor,[181] and, in the eighteen-seventies and later, liquor control became a question of much legislative interest.[182]

The idealism of the early high school period found expression also in the abolitionist movement in the State. As early as 1688, the Mennonites and Quakers of Germantown entered the first protest in America against slavery.[183] John Woolman denounced the practice, in 1757[184] and, in 1774, there was organized the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,[185] which later undertook to establish schools for Negroes.[186] This Society was conducting, in 1835, a ''High School for the Instruction of Colored Boys in the higher branches of Education.''[187]

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[178] Martin: Temperance Movement Prior to Civil War. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XLIX, 200.]

[179] Temperance Convention. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, VIII, 170–1]; *Minutes of Bucks Co. Temp. Soc.*, 1836–49, 1.

[180] Eaton: *A Geog. of Pa.*, 275 *ff*.

[181] Temperance Reform. [*Niles Register*, LVIII, 343]; The Am. Temperance Union. [*Ibid.*, LXXII, 255.]

[182] Jenkins: *Pa. Col. and Fed.*, II, 485.

[183] Turner: The First Abolition Soc. in U. S. [*Pa. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, XXXVI, 92–4.]

[184] John Woolman's *Journal*, 42.

[185] Turner: *Loc. cit.*, 94.

[186] *Constitution and Act of Incorp. of the Pa. Soc. for Prom. the Abol. of Slavery*, 1789.

[187] *Poulson's Am. Dly. Adv.*, Aug. 17, 1835, 3.

In comparison with the neighboring states of New York and New Jersey, Pennsylvania had, at any time, but a small number of slaves, probably because of the early Quaker opposition to the practice. This small number, moreover, decreased from 3,737,[188] in 1790, to 64, in 1840.[189] Governor Snyder, in 1811, was the first governor in the State to denounce the few cases of slavery, under his rule, as a blot on the fair character of Pennsylvania.[190] Laws were passed for the protection of fugitive slaves,[191] and the people occasionally interfered with the seizure of fugitive slaves by their owners.[192] In 1849, the senate of Pennsylvania recommended to the American Congress the abolition of slavery in all newly acquired territories. The document embodying these recommendations read in part: "The period of compromises with, and concessions to, the demands of slavery has passed, and the cherished principles of freedom, the spirit of the age, and of an enlightened policy, and the dictates of patriotism and philanthropy alike forbid any farther enlargement of the area of human bondage."[193]

Yet with all this growing sentiment against slavery, there was evident, in some sections of the State, considerable opposition to the emancipation of slaves. A traveller, in 1842, said: "There is probably no city in the known world, where dislike, amounting to hatred of the coloured population, prevails more than in the city of brotherly love."[194] He cited the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall by mobs opposed to abolition, because anti-slavery societies were permitted to hold their meetings in it.[195] Philadelphia witnessed serious riots between whites and Negroes, in 1842, but these seem to have been instigated by labor problems rather than by any feeling on the question of abolition.[196] In the early sixties, the abolition movement was being attacked by apparently certain political interests in the State, but the great weight of public sentiment at this time was evidently against slavery.[197]

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[188] Probably the high water mark for Pennsylvania.

[189] *Compendium of Ninth Census.* Cited by Swank: *Progressive Pa.,* 64.

[190] Jenkins: *Op. cit.,* II, 213.

[191] Supreme Court—Md. vs. Pa. [*Niles Register,* LXII, 16]; Pa.—Legislation in Relation to Fug. Slaves. [*Ibid.,* LXXII, 35.]

[192] Fugitive Slave Case. [*Ibid.,* LXXIII, 129.]

[193] Pa.: Legislative. [*Ibid.,* LXXV, 239.]

[194] Sturge: *A Visit to the U. S.,* 40.

[195] *Ibid.*

[196] Pa.—Riots in Phila. [*Niles Reg.,* LXII, 356.]

With regard to the treatment of criminals, while the horrible punishments inflicted on all classes of offenders in colonial days were abolished entirely, or mitigated, in the decades following the Revolution,[198] the chief reform, in the early nineteenth century, had to do with juvenile delinquents. The conviction that such offenders should be reformed by "training and education rather than by punishment" was embodied in the practices of the Philadelphia Refuge, a house of detention for white youths, guilty of crime, and the experiment interested foreign visitors to the city.[199] The results, in 1841, were said to be decidedly encouraging.[200] But, for adult prisoners, the plan of solitary confinement, "emphatically called the system of Pennsylvania" was followed throughout this early period of idealism and reform,[201] and was vigorously assailed by Dickens, in 1842, as brutal,[202] while "many Philadelphians" were ready to defend it.[203] Wardens of prisons, and educators were convinced they saw a close relationship between illiteracy and crime, and that the tendency to commit crime decreased in direct proportion to the amount of schooling provided for individuals.[204] This feeling of the relationship between education and crime, which had become a conviction of educators and criminologists from the thirties on, was expressed by Clay in 1784,[205] and a few years later by Rush.[206] Its wide acceptance, in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century is, however, noteworthy. Nor did this motive lose its force easily. In 1885, a writer justified the industrial training movement thus: "It is better to teach the child than to hang the man, easier to find the vagrant orphan a home and teach him a trade, than to watch him as a rogue and punish him as a thief; nobler to warn than to doom, more God-like to lift up than to crush down.''[207]

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[197] *Norristown Reg. & Montg. Watchman,* April 17, 1860, 3; Mass Meeting. [*Democrat* and *Sentinel* (Ebensburg), Aug. 31, 1864, 2.]

[198] McMaster: *The Acquisition of Pol. Soc. and Ind. Rights of Man in Am.,* 48–9.

[199] Sturge: *Op. cit.,* 70–1.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] Gordon: *A Gazetteer of Pa.,* Part I, 59–61.

[202] Nevins: *Am. Soc. Hist.,* 124.

[203] *Ibid.*

[204] Education and Crime. [*Am. Annals of Ed.,* IV, 434]; Absenteeism and Its Correction. [*P. S. J.,* XVIII, 104–6]; Editorial Dept. [*Ibid.,* XXVIII, 147.]

[205] *An Essay Delivered in a Competition of the Students of the College of New Jersey,* 10.

[206] *Supra,* 462.

In addition to the reform movements just described, idealism in the State in the first half of the century found expression in various philanthropic enterprises and attempts at social improvement. The movement for the improvement of the condition of women has been already sufficiently described.[208] That movement is but another phase of the idealism and attempts at reform characteristic of the period under consideration. The movement for alleviating the sufferings imposed on children employed in factories was well under way in the twenties.[209] In 1831, the Philadelphia Institute ''for the moral, intellectual, and religious improvement of young mechanics'' was established.[210] In 1850, the Free Reading Room of Spring Garden for Young Men and Mechanics opened. Its object was ''to furnish comfortable apartments, supplied with all necessary appendages, where young men and apprentices may spend their leisure hours, in literary pursuits, without cost to themselves.''[211] And its promoters expressed their conviction that ''debasing vices and immoral amusements are generally the offspring of uncultivated minds. . . . Hence, it is alleged that not a single pupil, among the many thousands that have been educated at the Philadelphia High School has ever been convicted of crime. What a lesson is this for statesmen and philanthropists! How much better, then, even as a police regulation, to expend our money in the diffusion of knowledge, as a preventative of crime in protecting the community from the combined effects of ignorance and vice.''[212]

Great interest in the establishment of evening schools for the betterment of the laboring classes was also shown at this time.

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[207] Riddle: Industrial Feature of Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIV, 95] Criminologists of the present day are calling attention to the close relationship between education and crime, just as our leaders of nearly a century ago did. Most of our criminals of to-day, it is revealed by the U. S. Census returns, ''lack the formal education of a twelve-year-old child,'' and many others are almost entirely illiterate. [MacCormick: Ed. in the Prisons of Tomorrow—*The Annals Am. Academy Pol. and Social Science*, Vol. 157, Sept. 1931, 72–3.]

[208] *Supra*, 387 *ff*.

[209] *Rept. of Controllers of Phila. Pub. Schools*, 1822, 5–6; *Ibid.*, 1826, 6–7; Children in Factories. [*Niles Register*, LI, 384.]

[210] Intelligence. [*Am. Annals of Ed.*, I, 176.]

[211] *Free Reading-Room of Spring Garden*, 4.

[212] *Ibid.*

In 1849, certain ''public-spirited citizens'' called a meeting to devise ways of improving the condition, morals, and character of ''the young men and children of the city and county'' of Philadelphia.[213] Special concern was expressed regarding the betterment of young workmen and apprentices. At the same time, ''benevolent individuals, in different parts of the city and districts, undertook to establish, for the benefit of this class of our population, Evening Schools and Lectures. Their efforts were soon seconded by the enlightened action of the Controllers of the Public Schools who . . . directed that . . . nine of their buildings should be opened for the same purpose.''[214] The arguments advanced in favor of evening schools at this time were: (a) the prevention of crime, (b) the need of providing, for youths who could not attend day schools, instruction in such subjects as geography, geometry, mensuration, designing, drawing, elementary chemistry, mechanics, engineering and history; (c) the value of such schools as an aid in policing the city.[215] The society, now organized to establish evening schools, proposed to erect six buildings for the purpose in the various parts of Philadelphia.[216]

In the thirties, the ''lyceum'' movement had spread throughout the State. The name ''lyceum'' was used to designate a society that applied to the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1797, for permission to use a room in the college for its meetings.[217] In 1835, the lyceum movement had evolved into a State-wide organization, whose ''chief object'' was ''the advancement of Education throughout the State, especially through the medium of Schools and Lyceums.''[218] The following announcement, in 1835, regarding the York County Lyceum may be regarded as typical of the ideals and practices of the movement:

> The undersigned being convinced that the cultivation of the human intellect, and the improvement of our moral condition are objects of paramount duty, and believing that voluntary associations for mutual instruction are admirably adapted for

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[213] *Evening Schools and District Libraries*, 23.

[214] *Ibid.*, 3.

[215] *Ibid.*, 5–16.

[216] *Ibid.*, 16–19.

[217] *T. U. P. M.*, V, 156.

[218] Constitution of the Pa. Lyceum. [Hazard: *Register of Pa.*, XVI, 143.]

the diffusion of knowledge, and by animating our sympathies, exciting a laudable ambition for excellence, and enlarging the circle of our social duties, qualify us in a higher degree for the more important purposes of life, to promote these objects, to give them effect and for our better government, do ordain and establish the following as our Constitution. . . .

Art. 2. Sec. 1. The design and object of this society are the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge; the encouragement of arts and sciences and the promotion of literature; to the attainment of which a library shall be established, philosophical, chemical and astronomical apparatus procured, together with such building and appurtenances as may be found necessary. . . .

Sec. 2. The further exercises of the society shall consist of lectures upon scientific and literary subjects of the discussion of such questions as may from time to time be proposed in the manner hereafter specified, criticism, composition by the reading or recitation of original essays, poems and such other literary productions as may tend to render the exercises of the institution as useful and interesting as possible.[219]

The public high school in Pennsylvania appeared upon the crest of a wave of industrial, political, social, moral, economic, and intellectual activity and reform. It came at a time when the laboring classes in society were demanding for their children that equality of opportunity which, they felt, was implied in the democracy of the State. It came at a time of political changes, which were but the expression of a growing consciousness of a new meaning of democracy. It came at a time of great economic expansion and increase of the material things of the State. It came in the midst of a wave of idealism that centered around the common man, and proclaimed him to be an object of dignity, nobility, and perfectibility, and endowed him with rights and capacities which the representatives of God and men must begin to recognize. All these forces contributed to the formulation of the following philosophy which, after the middle of the century, had received definite form and acceptance: "The aim of our Public School system is to level society. There is no system of political economy in existence, nor was there ever one devised so efficient in destroying caste, and abolishing grades in the community. All systems that preceded it were artificial, and perished; this one is natural and must prevail. It does not promote its aims by lowering the hills to the level of the valleys, but by filling the valleys to the height of the hill-tops, thereby producing the broad, grand plain, where the chances are equal in the great battle of life.''[220]

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[219] Constitution of the York County Lyceum. [*Ibid.*, XVI, 136.]

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[220] *First Annual Rept. of Supt. of Pittsburgh Pub. Schools,* 1869, 13.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT

I. *Legal Basis of Public Secondary Education*

Elsewhere, it has been noted that the provision for education in the Constitution of 1838 remained the same as in that of 1790.[1] The Constitution of 1873, however, established a clearer and firmer foundation for the public high school. That instrument read in part: ''The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of public schools, wherein all the children of the Commonwealth above the age of six years may be educated, and shall appropriate at least one million dollars each year for that purpose.''[2] While this may be considered the first satisfactory constitutional provision for public secondary education, yet, on the basis of the Constitution of 1790, a public school system had been legally established and, by a liberal interpretation of the laws, public high schools had been gradually evolving in different parts of the State.

The legal basis of the public school system was gradually laid in the act of 1818, creating Philadelphia the first school district in the State;[3] in a similar act passed for Lancaster, in 1822;[4] in the abortive general education act of 1824;[5] in the act of 1831 creating a common school fund;[6] in the permissive act of 1834 which established a general system of education for the whole State;[7] in the act of 1836 which removed some of the defects in that of 1834;[8] and finally in the act of 1849 which abolished the permissive features of these two preceding acts, and required every district in the State to establish public schools.[9] The constitutionality of the act of 1849 was tested in the courts. It was argued against the law that it compelled districts to make provisions for education beyond those contemplated in the Constitution, which demanded that only the poor be taught gratis in schools established throughout the State.[10] The court ruled that

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[1] *Supra*, 162 *f.*, 218 *ff*.

[2] Art. X, Sec. 1.

[3] *Laws of Pa.*, 1817–18, Ch. LXVI.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1821–2, Ch. LXXXVIII.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1823–4, Ch. LXXXVIII.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1830–1, Act No. 181.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1833–4, Act No. 102.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1835–6, Act No. 166.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1849, Act No. 316.

[10] *Supra*, 218 *f*.

"The error consists in supposing this to define the *maximum* of the legislative power, while in truth it only fixes the *minimum*. It enjoins them to do thus much, but does not forbid them to do more."[11]

While the earlier Constitutions, then, gave the legislature wide powers, no definite and explicit provision, of a general nature, for the establishment of high schools was made until 1887.[12] In the meantime high schools were established, some by special acts of the legislature; others by school directors without special legislation. The legality of the former is implied in the ruling of the court, upholding the constitutionality of the act of 1849, while that of the latter may be asserted on the grounds that powers not explicitly denied directors by the laws were implicitly granted.[13] Moreover, the legal provisions regarding the age of students who might attend the public schools bear evidence of the liberality of the legislature and seem to imply the right of directors to provide, in their districts, such educational facilities as they might desire. In the law of 1834, the ages of school children were not mentioned; in that of 1836, directors were required to provide for all children above the age of four years;[14] while, in that of 1849, it was provided that "They shall establish a sufficient number of common schools for the education of every individual between the ages of five and twenty-one years in the districts, who may apply for admission and instruction, either in person or by parent, guardian or next friend."[15] Not a single mention of the subjects of study for the public schools is to be found in these earlier laws, the intention evidently being to leave the directors in the several districts free to prescribe whatever studies they considered desirable.

A more definite and explicit legal basis of public secondary education is found in the act of 1854,[16] which gave to directors the "power to establish schools of different grades,"[17] and authorized them to provide instruction in "Orthography, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, as well as such other branches"[18] as they may require. While there is no specific mention of high schools in this act, the very general and discretionary powers accorded to directors leave little doubt regarding its intent. Why the legislature declined for so many years to make specific provision for the establishment of high schools must remain largely a matter for conjecture. Certain facts, however, have a bearing upon the question. Prominent among these was the pronounced opposition in many sections of the State to the public school system itself. This phase of the question cannot be discussed in detail here. It will be sufficient to note that the legislature received 31,988 petitions for the repeal of the law of 1834, 2,084 for its modification, and 2,575 against its repeal.[19] Much of the opposition came from the German sections of the State, the committee examining the petitions reporting that "not more than five names out of every hundred are written in English."[20] The law was opposed chiefly as an undue and undemocratic interference with the rights of families in the education of children, and an unjustifiable burden upon the taxpayers of the State.[21] Similar opposition, and probably more pronounced, might be expected against any attempt at expansion of the system upward, and the increased cost to the taxpayer. Nor did that opposition easily give way, for not until 1874 had all the districts accepted the public school system.[22] Coupled with this popular antagonism in many districts, the academy, with its vested interests, its many eloquent advocates, and with a long record of service to communities and the State, claimed to be recognized as the only legitimate secondary school in the educational system.[23] The growth, moreover, of the academies and private secondary schools through the greater part of the century seems to indicate strong popular opposition to the establishment of the public high school. The policy of the legislature under these conditions would appear to have been the very democratic one of legalizing whatever improvements in the schools the directors in the several districts felt themselves free to make, without positively requiring such improvements. It was a policy of removing all legal barriers to the growth of the public schools, and thus permitting them to grow as public sentiment became more enlightened and opposition less threatening.

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[11] Commonwealth vs. Hartman. [*Pa. State Repts.*, XVII, 118–20.]

[12] *Laws of Pa.*, 1887, Act No. 51.

[13] Wickersham says: "There never was a time under the common school system when school directors had not power to grade their schools, and consequently to establish one or more schools of a higher grade than the others. This power was not expressly given in the laws of 1834, 1836 or 1849; but it was clearly implied in them all."—*Hist. of Ed. in Pa.*, 371.

[14] Art. I, Sec. VIII.

[15] Art. I, Sec. XVI.

[16] *Laws of Pa.*, 1854, Act No. 610.

[17] Sec. 23, IX.

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[18] Sec. 38.

[19] Educational System. [*Hazard's Reg.*, XV, 205.]

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Petition of inhabitants of Erie Co. [State Archives]; Petition of citizens of Fayette Co. [State Archives]; Common Schools. [*Berks and Schuylkill Jour.*, Sept. 20, 1834, 3]; *Bedford Gaz.*, Oct. 7, 1836, 2.

[22] For full account see Wickersham: *Op. cit.*, 370, 562–3.

[23] *Supra*, 302, 304 *f.*

While, to-day, there is little doubt regarding the power of directors under the earlier laws to establish high schools, in a few instances such schools were established by special acts. This was apparently due to a doubt on the part of directors concerning their legal powers in certain circumstances. Thus, the Philadelphia controllers appointed, in 1836, a committee for the purpose of securing "the passage of an Act of Assembly . . . to obtain power to establish one Central High School for the full education of such pupils of the Public Schools as may have the requisite time and qualifications for the purpose."[24] The power was granted,[25] and the Central High School became the first thus established by a special law in the State. Others followed: Pittsburgh in 1849,[26] Easton in 1850,[27] Erie in 1856,[28] Hollidaysburg in 1857,[29] Harrisburg in 1866,[30] Tioga in 1869,[31] and Knoxville in 1871.[32] From all of these acts it appears that the power granted was not one of establishing high schools but of establishing a central high school in cities or boroughs divided into wards, each with its own board of directors, or of admitting students from other districts into high schools, or of charging tuition. The need for special legislation in such cases led to the enactment of the general law of 1887 legalizing the establishment of high schools and other practices in such districts.[33] In other districts, high schools were provided for in acts authorizing the transfer of academy property to the directors of public schools. In these cases, charter rights and duties made imperative the preservation of the essential features of the academy in the new institution which succeeded it. Thus the Reading High School originated in 1845,[34] and the transfer of the property of the Norristown

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[24] *Min. Bd. of Control*, V, 219–20.

[25] *Laws of Pa.*, 1835–6, Act No. 166, Sec. 23.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1849, Act No. 355.

[27] *Ibid.*, 1850, Act No. 261.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1856, Act No. 557.

[29] *Ibid.*, 1857, Act No. 535.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1866, Act No. 687.

[31] *Ibid.*, 1869, Act No. 1115.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1871, Act No. 770.

[33] *Ibid.*, 1887, Act No. 51; *Infra*, 480.

[34] *Laws of Pa.*, 1845, Act. No. 185.

Academy to the school district was similarly authorized, in the same year,[35] and, in 1848, further approved with provision for a high school,[36] although the Norristown High School was actually established in 1836.[37] Somerset High School likewise arose as a result of the imperative nature of the charter of the Somerset Academy, whose property the directors accepted.[38] Brookville High School may be said to have had a similar beginning,[39] as had also those at Coudersport[40] and Lewisville,[41] a "classical" school being required in the first instance, "a common or graded school" in the second, and "a good graded school of at least three grades" in the third. The legislature probably intended in establishing these "graded" schools to give the districts something similar to the academies which had thus come to an end.[42]

In addition to these schools, other high schools arose or were brought to greater perfection as a result of the academy act of 1862.[43] Thus arose, or were improved, the high schools in Greensburg,[44] Meadville,[45] Erie,[46] Warren,[47] and Waterford.[48] A few other high schools arose, or were aided, as a result of State laws or agreements approved by the local courts. Thus "graded schools" were established at Clearfield[49] and Athens,[50] and Chambersburg High School undertook, in return for academy property, to meet the needs of the community and the entrance requirements to any college in Pennsylvania forever.[51]

After the law of 1854 was passed, the term "graded" schools frequently appeared in legal documents. From some of these it would appear that, legally interpreted, graded schools were schools that might offer instruction in secondary school subjects.

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[35] *Ibid.*, 1845, Act No. 344.

[36] *Ibid.*, 1848, Act No. 164.

[37] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 26, 1836.

[38] *Laws of Pa.*, 1862, Act No. 507; *Ibid.*, 1856, Act No. 473; *Ibid.*, 1869, Act No. 642.

[39] *Ibid.*, 1867, Act No. 180.

[40] *Ibid.*, 1869, Act No. 916.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1873, Act No. 724.

[42] For facts regarding connection of other high schools and academies, see *Supra*, 254 *f.*

[43] *Supra*, 223.

[44] *Deed Book*, XLVII, 371–2. [Westmoreland Co.]

[45] *Crawford Democrat*, April 8, 1862, 3; *Deed Book*, T, III, 452. [Crawford Co.]

[46] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 23, 1874; Sept. 2, 1875.

[47] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 11, June 6, 1898.

[48] *W. A. M.*, June 8, 15, 23, 1899; Sept. 24, 1900; *Deed Book*, CXXIX, 86. [Erie Co.]

[49] *Deed Book*, XII, 273–4. [Clearfield Co.]; *Laws of Pa.*, 1871, Act No. 43. Directors were authorized to charge tuition for higher studies.

[50] *A. A. M.*, March 14, 1872; March 18, April 14, 1873.

[51] *Record Deed Book*, CL, 333. [Franklin Co.]

Thus the Clearfield "graded schools" were authorized by law to teach "the higher branches, and the classics and languages,"[52] and the directors of schools in the several districts of Delaware county, in 1873, were authorized, in conformity with the law of 1854, to establish "one or more high schools within their county limits."[53] This act may be looked upon as an official interpretation of the term "graded" schools.[54] In later acts the term "high school" came to be generally employed.

In 1887, there was enacted a law permitting directors in "cities and boroughs divided into wards for school purposes" to establish high schools. By this law directors were required to admit into the high school all duly qualified children of the district under twenty-one years of age; to "exercise supervision" over the school; to appoint and dismiss teachers; to arrange the curriculum and select all books to be used; to fix the length of the school term which must not exceed ten months in each year; and to require the city or borough council to levy a "Public high school building tax" of not more than one mill each year.[55] This law provided only for certain districts in the State but, in 1893, its provisions were extended to "boroughs not divided into wards for school purposes having a population of five thousand or over."[56] Directors in these boroughs were authorized to "levy and collect" a high school tax "without the intervention of the borough council."[57] Two years later, provision was made for the public high school in every district of the State by a law which, for the first time, undertook to define a high school and standardize its work. In addition to authorizing directors of "any school district" to establish a high school, it also gave power to directors of "two or more townships or school districts" to establish "joint high schools." The law further required the State superintendent "to prescribe a uniform course of instruction which shall be taught in the high schools in each grade." With regard to the classification of high schools it stipulated that: "A high school maintaining four years of study beyond the branches of learning prescribed to be taught in the common schools . . . shall be known as a high school of the first grade; a high school maintaining three years course of study beyond the

[52] *Laws of Pa.*, 1871, Act No. 431.

[53] *Ibid.*, 1873, Act No. 598.

[54] See its wording.

[55] *Laws of Pa.*, 1887, Act No. 51.

[56] *Ibid.*, 1893, Act No. 95.

[57] *Ibid.*

common branches . . . a high school of the second grade; a high school maintaining two years of study beyond the common branches . . . a high school of the third grade.'' Provision was also made for the participation of each of these high schools in the distribution of State school appropriations, while the qualification of teachers and the courses of study were also regulated.[58] In the same year, a law was passed authorizing the consolidation of sub-school districts in cities of the second class, and requiring the directors in such cities to maintain at least one high school.[59] This was the first law that substituted the imperative for the permissive principle in regulating the attitude of directors toward the establishment of high schools.

One of the most important acts, in the early years of the present century, was that of 1901 which authorized the centralization of township schools, the establishment of township high schools, and the transportation of pupils to these central schools.[60] Appropriations to the township high schools rose from $50,000 in 1901,[61] to $275,000 in 1907.[62]

Thus in a very general way developed high school laws in the nineteenth and the opening years of the present century. To those already mentioned may be added the law of 1883, providing for the establishment of evening high schools in any district of the State,[63] the law 1885, authorizing cities of the second class to establish and maintain schools for ''instruction in the mechanic arts and kindred subjects,''[64] and the law of 1901 authorizing the establishment of mechanical arts schools, not only in cities of the second class, but also ''in every borough and township of the first class.''[65]

The development of law in the present century.—So enormous has been the growth of laws relative to secondary education, and so extensive the developments of public high schools since 1900, that this period and its achievements can be touched upon only very briefly in this study. Herein lies an important field for study, to which adequate justice cannot be done in anything less than a special volume. It is to be hoped that some other student may be inspired to examine the records of the present century and complete the story, of which the merest outlines since 1900 are suggested here. The past thirty years have been years of remarkable activity. The period has been one of organization and reorganization; a period in which high school standards were established, and in which control over local systems has been more definitely centralized in the State Department. The results, as regards secondary education, have been attained mainly through law and a gradually increasing State appropriation to high schools, participation in which was made to depend upon the adoption of certain fixed standards by the various schools. In 1909, the State appropriated $15,000,000 for school purposes. With regard to high schools it was provided as follows:

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[58] *Ibid.*, 1895, Act No. 293. A maximum grant of $800 yearly was provided for high schools of the first grade, and of $600 and $400 for high schools of second and third grades.

[59] *Ibid.*, Act No. 453, Sec. 9.

[60] *Ibid.*, 1901, Act No. 77.

[61] *Ibid.*, Act No. 541.

[62] *Ibid.*, 1907, Act No. 673, Sec. 8.

[63] *Ibid.*, 1883, Act No. 29.

[64] *Ibid.*, 1885, Act No. 145.

[65] *Ibid.*, 1901, Act No. 7.

> Out of this amount, . . . there shall be set apart the sum of one hundred thousand dollars . . . to aid in paying the tuition of pupils who attend high schools outside of their own district; and the sum of four hundred and fifty thousand dollars . . . for the encouragement and support of Township and Borough High Schools, including joint high schools maintained by two or more townships, or by a borough and one or more townships; but no high school shall receive appropriation as a high school of the first grade, unless it has at least three teachers who devote their entire time to high school work during a term of nine months; and no high school shall receive appropriation as a high school of the second grade, unless it has two teachers who devote their entire time to high school work during a period of eight months; nor shall any high school receive appropriation unless it has a regular attendance of twelve pupils doing high school work.[66]

In 1911, the school laws of the State were codified.[67] This act, at the time, cleared up the field of educational law, by bringing many scattered laws together, eliminating those that had been repealed, and presenting the legal status of the public school system in an organized and inclusive form. Article XVII of this code dealt with high schools, their classification, the number of teachers to be employed, the admission of students, the program of studies, the duties of directors and supervisors, and the rights of pupils to attend certain high schools. Article XVIII conferred the right on school directors of two or more adjoining districts to establish joint high schools, and regulated all affairs relative to such schools. Article XIX provided for the establishment of free evening schools, general, vocational, or special in character.

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[66] *Laws of Pa.*, 1909, Act No. 659, Sec. 7.

[67] *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 309–401.

In 1915, there was established, in the State Department, a Bureau of Professional Education, among the duties of which were the following: "The determination and publication of a standard high school course, and the compilation of a list of high schools and other secondary schools of this state conforming to said standard; and the exercising of such power as may be within the right of the Department of Public Instruction upon the high schools and secondary schools of the state to raise the standard of secondary education."[68]

In 1921, there were introduced a few important changes in the Code of 1911. The new act, in its definition of a high school, recognized the junior high school as a part of the secondary school scheme of the State. Section 1701 of the Code, as now amended, read:

> The term elementary school or elementary course shall apply to all grades not included among those recognized as high school grades in the classification of the Department of Public Instruction. A high school is an organization of grades seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve, in cases where such grades or any of them are organized as part of a junior high school, a senior high school, or a six-year high school, and are so recognized by the State Board of Education; but where such grades are not so organized, grades seven and eight shall be classified as elementary grades. A complete high school course is one requiring four years beyond an elementary course of eight years or six years beyond an elementary course of six years. The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall make such regulations as shall be necessary to insure proper standards for the various grades of the twelve years of the public school course.[69]

Section 1704, as amended, read:

> Except in school districts of the first class, the board of school directors of every school district shall employ for its high school, during the entire term, a sufficient number of teachers for the teaching of any of the subjects included in the program of studies of the State Board of Education for which there shall be an application by fifteen pupils belonging to the grade in which such subject is specified in the said program of studies: Pro-

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[68] *Ibid.*, 1915, pp. 1045–1046.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1921, Act No. 374.

vided, That no pupil shall be counted among the applicants for such subject unless, in the judgment of the principal of the schools, he is both qualified and entitled to take such a subject in the curriculum he is pursuing.[70]

In 1925, provision was made for consolidated junior high schools as follows:

> The Commonwealth, in order to [aid in] *encourage* the establishment and maintenance of *approved consolidated elementary schools or approved consolidated junior high schools* [local] *or approved* joint consolidated schools, shall, as provided in this act, pay annually, from the treasury to school districts and unions of school districts maintaining or transporting pupils to and from, such [school] *schools* an amount [equal one half] *determined by* [a] the true valuation per teacher per district as provided by law and [b] a given per centum of the sum . . . for transporting pupils of said schools to and from said schools.[71]

In the same year, the State further broadened the opportunities for high school education by a special provision for the establishment of evening schools,[72] and for "the equalization of educational opportunity and the encouragement of the study of citizenship by recognition of extension education, for boys and girls who are employed and for adults, as a function of the public schools of this Commonwealth."[73] This latter act authorized evening schools to provide elementary, secondary, or special instruction in public school buildings, but at such times as to prevent conflict with the regular school work. All work done in these evening schools was to be credited as work done in the day schools, and the schools themselves were to be a part of the public school system of the State.[74]

A law defining very carefully and minutely the standards to which high schools must conform was also enacted in 1925. The definition of elementary and secondary education as adopted in 1921[75] was retained, and the following clauses and amendments were added:

> *Any high school giving work for the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of not less than one hundred and eighty days in each year, and conforming to the regulations established by the Department of Public Instruction, and having*

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[70] *Ibid.*, 1921, Act No. 374.

[71] *Ibid.*, 1925, Act No. 341.

[72] *Ibid.*, 1925, Act No. 117.

[73] *Ibid.*, 1925, Act No. 266.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Supra*, 483.

at least five properly qualified teachers shall be designated a six-year high school.

[All] *Any* high [school maintaining four or more years courses of study] *school giving work for the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of not less than one hundred and eighty days in each year, and conforming to the regulations established by the Department of Public Instruction, and employing at least three qualified teachers* [shall be high schools of the first class] *shall be designated a four-year high school.*

[All] *Any* high [schools maintaining three years' course of study of not less than eight months in each year] *school giving work for the ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of not less than one hundred and eighty days in each year, and conforming to the regulations established by the Department of Public Instruction, and employing at least two properly qualified teachers* [shall be high schools of the second class] *shall be designated a three-year high school.*

[All] *Any* high [schools maintaining two years courses of study shall be high schools of the third class. The class to which any high school belongs shall be determined by the length of its shortest course for graduation: Provided, That hereafter] *school giving work for the ninth and tenth years of not less than one hundred and eighty days in each year, and conforming to the regulations established by the Department of Public Instruction, and employing one or more properly qualified teachers shall be designated a two-year high school.*

Any school giving work for the seventh, eighth, and ninth years, or for the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth years of not less than one hundred and eighty days in each year, and conforming to the regulations established by the Department of Public Instruction, and having properly qualified teachers, shall be designated a junior high school [Provided, That hereafter no new high school or junior high school shall be established in a school district of the fourth class without the consent of the State Board of Education and of the superintendent of schools in the county in which such district is located].

In order to establish a new high school or to add a year of work to the program of a high school or junior high school already in operation in a school district of the fourth class the approval of the Department of Public Instruction and of the county superintendent of schools in which the district is located shall be secured in advance of the opening of such school or of making such change in program.[76]

A considerable amount of legislation during the past thirty years had to do with vocational education. In 1911, it was enacted that trustees of academies in transferring their property to school districts might stipulate that it "be devoted to the establishment and maintenance of an industrial school."[77] The year 1913 was marked by special vocational legislation. At this time, there was approved an act which defined vocational education, and provided for the establishment and regulation of vocational schools, and for State aid to them. The act, in part, read:

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[76] *Ibid.*, 1925, Act No. 120.

> Section 2. The State Board of Education is hereby authorized and directed to investigate, and to aid in the introduction of, industrial, agricultural, and household arts education; to assist in the establishment of schools and departments for the aforesaid forms of education, and to inspect and approve such schools or departments as are hereinafter provided. . . .
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> Section 3. In order that instruction in the principles and practices of arts may go on together, industrial, agricultural, and household arts schools or departments may offer instruction in day, part-time and evening classes. Attendance upon such day, evening, or part-time classes shall be restricted to those over fourteen.
>
> Section 4. Any school district may, through its board of school directors, establish and maintain industrial, agricultural, and household arts schools or departments.
>
> Section 5. Two or more districts may, . . . through a joint school committee, establish and maintain industrial, agricultural, or household arts schools or departments, to be known as joint vocational schools or departments.[78]

Other sections of this act provided for the instruction of nonresident pupils in such schools, and for the support of these schools themselves. In 1915, a Bureau of Vocational Education was established, whose duties were thus described:

> . . . Section 5. The duties of the bureau shall be to investigate the need for aid in the establishment of, supervise, inspect, and approve for the purpose of reimbursement on the part of the state, schools, departments, and courses of manual training, domestic science, household arts, agricultural, industrial and commercial education, as well as general continuation schools when maintained as a part of the public school system of the Commonwealth.[79]

In 1917, this bureau was made responsible for carrying out the provision of the act of Congress for the promotion of vocational education.[80]

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[77] *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 259.

[78] *Ibid.*, 1913, Act No. 92.

[79] *Ibid.*, 1915, Act No. 162.

[80] *Ibid.*, 1917, Act No. 281.

In 1925, another important act was passed, in which the definition of the terms, as adopted in the act of 1913, was changed. Vocational education, as now defined, is "any form of education of less than college grade, given in school or elsewhere, the purpose of which is to fit an individual to pursue effectively a recognized profitable employment, whether pursued for wages or otherwise."[81] This act further defined such terms as continuation school, vocational industrial education, vocational commercial education, vocational evening class, vocational home economics, and other like terms. It provided for the establishment of such schools in the several districts, and the reimbursement of the districts by the State for establishing and maintaining such schools.

Definite attempts have been made to improve the high school through raising the teaching requirements. In 1893, it was enacted as follows:

> The State Superintendent of Public Instruction be empowered to and shall grant, without examination, permanent State teachers' certificates to all applicants therefor, who are graduates of recognized literary or scientific colleges legally empowered to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Arts (B.A.), Master of Arts (M.A.), Bachelor of Science (B.S.), Master of Science and Bachelor of Philosophy (Ph.B.), and whose course of study embraces not less than four collegiate years: Provided Said applicants are at least twenty-one years of age and have taught at least three annual terms in the public schools of the Commonwealth: Provided further, That such applicant shall produce to the said State Superintendent of Public Instruction a certificate from the school board or boards, countersigned by the County Superintendent of the same county where he or she last taught, showing that the said applicant is a person of good moral character; and has been successful as a teacher in the public schools during the said term. . . .[82]

The law of 1911, however, required two hundred college or university hours of work in pedagogical studies for a provisional college certificate, and, in addition to this, an actual teaching experience of three years' duration was required for a permanent college certificate.[83] An amendment to these provisions was authorized by a law of 1921. This instrument required for the obtaining of a provisional certificate "such work in education as may be approved by the State Council of Education."[84]

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[81] *Ibid.*, 1925, Act No. 250.

[82] *Ibid.*, 1893, Act No. 36.

[83] *Ibid.*, 1911, 378 *f.*

Thus the school system, established in 1834, has been gradually developing. The tendency in administration has been toward an increasing degree of central control, and the State Department, while encouraging local authorities to more ambitious undertakings, has, at the same time, left less and less to the initiative of the several school districts of the State.

II. *First Public High Schools*

An examination of the *Proprietors Books* of the towns of the Wyoming Valley, established by settlers from Connecticut, from the years immediately preceding the Revolution until the establishment of the State system, in 1834, has failed to disclose any conclusive evidence of the existence of a public secondary school in this period. Schools were provided at public expense for children, and the age limits of five to fourteen years were fixed in Hanover Town, in 1800,[85] while, in 1832, the upper age limit was fixed in another town at eighteen years.[86] Although little evidence exists regarding the internal aspects of these public schools of the Connecticut settlers, Miner states that, in 1777, a student was sent from Wyoming to Yale College.[87] How or where this student was prepared for college cannot be determined. Whether or not the raising of the upper age limit to eighteen, in 1832, indicates an intention to provide instruction in subjects higher than the elementary must remain unanswered, for there is no evidence to be found to throw light on the problem. We must consequently look elsewhere for the beginnings of public secondary education.

The only evidence that has been found to suggest the possibility that higher than elementary studies were pursued in the public schools of Philadelphia, under the act of 1818,[88] is the fact that, in 1830, the controllers appointed a committee to study the propriety of introducing "Johnson's First Lessons in Geometry . . . into the higher classes of the schools under the direction of this Board."[89] No record of this committee's report has been found, nor evidence that geometry was introduced into the Lancasterian schools of Philadelphia. Nor is it more than possible that any education which could deserve to be called secondary was provided at public expense until after the general system was established in the State.

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[84] *Ibid.*, 1921, Act No. 376.

[85] *Proprietors Book of Hanover Town*, 41–2.

[86] *Salem Town Book.* [Not paged.]

[87] *Hist. of Wyoming*, 197.

[88] *Supra*, 475.

[89] *Min. Bd. of Control*, Feb. 16, 1830.

The first evidence of the beginning of public secondary education found by the present investigator comes from Honesdale, in Wayne county. Here it was reported to the directors on January 23, 1836, that three students were studying "the higher branches."[90] These branches were probably among those which were being taught in December of the same year, namely, reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, philosophy, rhetoric, surveying, algebra, geometry and history.[91] In the same year, the directors of Carlisle and Norristown organized their "high" schools. In Carlisle on July 4, 1836, the board "Resolved That it is expedient in addition to the schools where the elementary branches are taught to have a High or Principal School for the more advanced Studies."[92] Six weeks later the organization and curriculum of the public schools were adopted. There were established, at this time, a high school for boys, and another for girls, each having one "class," and below these high schools four "grades," two of them called "primary," and two "secondary."[93] The studies adopted for the boys' high school were "Kirkham's Grammar, Irving's Columbus Abridged, Pollock's Course of Time, Smith's Geography, Smith's Arithmetic, Titler's History, Colburn's Algebra, Blair's Lectures, and Marches Book-keeping."[94] The studies for the girls' high school were the same, with the omission of algebra and book-keeping.[95] Later in the same year, the schools were apparently opened.[96] In 1837, public announcements of these high schools appeared.[97] In 1839, the directors said of the plan adopted in 1836:

> The system determined on was a *series of schools,* advancing progressively in the branches taught from the Alphabet to the higher studies of an English education. The children were ad-

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[90] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*

[91] *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1836.

[92] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*

[93] *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1836.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 22, 29, 1836; *Regulations, Studies, and System of the Com. Schools of Carlisle*, 1–3.

[97] *Am. Volunteer*, Aug. 3, 1837, 1; Sept. 21, 1837, 3.

vanced as they made attainments from one grade of school to another, until they reached the high schools, where it was intended they should complete an education so far as was essential to the ordinary avocations of life, and which should fit such as might contemplate devoting themselves to the duties of Instructors in the common schools of the State: and here it may be remarked, that if this system existed in any other place, or had been previously suggested, it was unknown at the time to the Board of Directors; the plan with them was *original.*[98]

In 1837, additions had been made to the studies of 1836[99] and, in 1839, the studies fixed for the boys' high school were orthography, elocution, grammar, geography, history, natural philosophy, natural history, antiquities, chemistry, and mathematics, this last including algebra, geometry, mensuration, surveying and arithmetic.[100] The studies ordered for the girls' high school at the same time were orthography, elocution, composition, rhetoric, grammar, geography, arithmetic, history, natural philosophy, astronomy, antiquities, chemistry, botany, drawing, and ornamental needle-work.[101] From the beginning, students were admitted into the high schools on the results of examinations which, in 1841, covered reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and the history of the United States before the Revolution. They were also required to be at least twelve years of age.[102] In 1840, there were twenty boys and seventeen girls enrolled in the high schools. A writer describing the public examination of the boys' high school, in 1842, remarked: "I have heard it said by those competent to judge, that the students of Dickinson College never passed a superior examination."[103]

Almost exactly at the same time when the Carlisle High School was established, that of Norristown[104] was organized. As in Carlisle, separate high schools for boys and girls were provided. Below these were the secondary and primary schools, and students were not to be admitted to the high schools until they were "sufficiently well acquainted" with the subjects taught in these lower schools. The studies fixed for the boys' high school were

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[98] *Regulations, Studies, and System of the Com. Schools of Carlisle*, 3.

[99] *Am. Volunteer*, Aug. 3, 1837, 1.

[100] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 2, 1839.

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Am. Volunteer*, Sept. 20, 1837, 3; Aug. 12, 1841, 3; *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 2, 1839; *Regulations, Studies, and System of the Common Schools of Carlisle*, 1 *ff.*

[103] X: School Examinations. [*Am. Volunteer*, Aug. 4, 1842, 3.]

[104] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 26, 1836.

English grammar, reading, geography, writing, drawing maps, use of globes, vulgar arithmetic finished, book-keeping, history, elements of natural and mechanical philosophy, mensuration, the first book of Euclid, trigonometry, surveying, algebra, and the elements of astronomy and chemistry.[105] For the girls' school, the studies were reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, geography, English grammar, history, the elements of natural philosophy and chemistry, plain and ornamental needle-work, and "such other branches as the Board of School Directors shall Designate."[106]

These are the earliest examples of public secondary education of which the writer, after an extended search through the State, has found reliable evidence. Harrisburg is said to have established high schools "about 1836,"[107] but no reliable document exists to-day to support the tradition.[108] Evidence of other early public secondary schools exists. Uniontown, in 1837, was reported to have had "8 male and 1 female High School."[109] In 1838, it was said that "secondary or 'high' schools are in existence in many of the larger towns, as Carlisle, Washington, Lewistown, etc.," and the Carlisle plan was designated "admirable."[110] In 1840, it was announced that "surveying, mensuration, algebra, natural philosophy, history, and astronomy" were taught in a "goodly" number of schools,[111] and two years later the number of schools reporting the use of textbooks in these subjects was published.[112] This list is evidently very incomplete, for it shows only twenty schools teaching surveying; ten, mensuration; forty-one, philosophy; two, astronomy; one, geometry; and one, algebra. Lancaster in this year established a "secondary department" of two grades with studies almost identical with those of Carlisle and Norristown,[113] and soon after the term "high" was applied to the highest schools for girls and boys.[114]

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[105] *Ibid.*

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] *Annual Rept. of the Public Schools of Harrisburg*, 1895–6, 33–6.

[108] The *Minutes* for the South Ward prior to 1848, and of the North Ward prior to 1854, and other records are, according to the secretary of the board, [1930] not in existence.

[109] Harris *Pitt. and Western Bus. Directory*, 1837, 196.

[110] *Fourth Annual Rept. of State Supt.*, 37. There are no documents in Washington or Lewistown today to confirm this statement.

[111] *Sixth Annual Rept. of State Supt.*, 13.

[112] *Eighth Annual Rept. of State Supt.*, 33–5.

[113] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 10, Sept. 12, 1838.

[114] *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1839; July 13, 1841.

York, in 1840, had a "High School," in which were prescribed to be taught "Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, Algebra, Mensuration, Surveying, Elements of Geometry, Analytical Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, History, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry."[115]

Thus, within six years after the establishment of the public school system, the high school had begun to emerge. It was not, as it thus appeared, the result of any preconceived plan of legislators or State educational officials, but rather the product of an evolution hastened by the needs, progressiveness, and probably the idealism of a few forward-looking and enlightened communities. Some of these schools had appeared before Thomas Burrowes, in the capacity of State superintendent, saw the drift of events and announced:

> In the deep and broad foundation of the *Primary Common School,* are also found the bases of the more elevated *Secondary School,* the *Practical Institute* for the teacher and man of business. . . . In creating these *Practical Institutes* . . . we are fortunately clear of embarrassments from old arrangements and prejudices. . . . They should be the head of the school system proper, and though they will become the main avenue to academical and collegiate instruction, yet they should with the *Primary* and *Secondary Schools,* comprise a course perfect in itself, and be qualified to send forth both the common school Teacher and the practical man of business.[116]

Burrowes thus proclaims, in the form of a prophecy and philosophy, what had already become a practice in Carlisle, Norristown, and some other districts of the State. The public school growth, as he conceived it, and probably as the directors of Carlisle, Norristown, Honesdale, and of other early progressive districts conceived it, must end where the academy for the classical student begins.[117] A glance at the curriculum of the earliest high schools shows that, in not a single instance, was there a mention of instruction in the classics or foreign languages. A régime fit to gladden the heart of a Franklin would seem to have been begun, and in the adopted city of the great advocate of an English and practical education there was to appear a public high school with three departments,—the English, the classical, and the mathematical,[118] much after the manner of the old Academy of Philadelphia.[119] Because of its more elaborate provisions and probable influence in the State, the new Philadelphia school calls for more than a passing reference.

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[115] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, North Ward, Nov. 4, 1840.

[116] *Fourth Annual Rept. of State Supt.*, 10–2.

[117] *Ibid.*, 15–6.

III. *The Central High School of Philadelphia*

We have noted earlier the law establishing the Central High School of Philadelphia.[120] Early in 1836, a committee of the board of controllers was appointed to visit Boston and New York "to examine the public schools of those cities."[121] This group examined the high school, the old Public Latin School and many of the grammar schools of Boston,[122] and the schools of New York.[123] They were lavish in their praise of the Boston system, the most suitable features of which they proposed to adopt for Philadelphia.[124] Plans for an elaborate building and observatory were soon laid.[125] The high school committee reported as follows:

> The front of the school is to be of blue marble; with an Ionic portico of white marble, and pilasters from the first story of the same material, the sides to be of brick, painted and sanded. The building is to be forty-five feet broad by sixty-five feet deep, and of three stories, each about twelve feet high in the clear. . . . In the rear of the lot the Observatory will be placed, to be built of brick, sixteen feet square, and about sixty feet high. The contract price for the School, exclusive of the marble work is the sum of 11,750 dollars, and for the Observatory 2,000 dollars. The marble work is not to exceed 8,000 dollars.[126]

The building was erected on "the East of Penn Square,"[127] and was opened in the autumn of 1838.[128] The following are the first "Regulations of the High School of Philadelphia:"

> 1st. There shall be three Departments of Instruction in the School, each independent of the control of the others. . . . The

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[118] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, June 12, 1838.

[119] *Supra*, 189 *ff*.

[120] *Supra*, 478.

[121] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, April 11, 1837.

[122] *Ibid.*

[123] *Nineteenth Annual Rept. of Controllers*, 6–7.

[124] *Ibid.* For description of the high school in Boston see Grizzell: *Origin and Development of the High School in N. England Before 1865*, 41 *ff*.

[125] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Sept. 12, Nov. 14, 1837.

[126] *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1837.

[127] *Twenty-First Rept. of Controllers*, 8.

[128] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, June 12, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1838.

Department of Languages; the Department of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, with the charge of Observatory; and the Department of English Belles Lettres.

2d. The Studies in the Department of Languages shall embrace the Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and German languages.

3d. The Studies in the Department of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences shall embrace the Mathematics, with their application to Astronomy, Surveying, Navigation and Civil Engineering; also Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, Geography, Writing, and drawing.

4th. The Studies of the English Belles Lettres shall embrace elocution, English Grammar, History, Rhetoric, Composition, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Political Economy.

5th. The regular course of study shall extend to four years, and no scholar shall be permitted to continue beyond that term.

6th. In addition to those of the books, now used in the Public Schools . . . such books shall be used in the three Departments as shall be ordered from time to time by the Board of Control.

7th. The hours of Attendance shall be from 9 o'clock A. M. to 3 o'clock P. M. throughout the year. . . .

11th. The text-books and stationary for the use of the school shall be furnished at the public expense, or at the expense of the parents or guardians of the pupils; Provided that the Committee in charge of the School shall have power, when they deem it expedient, to require any parent or guardian to furnish the same at his own cost.[129]

12th. For admission to the High School, pupils must produce a certificate from the teachers of enrollment in one of the public schools of the First School District . . . and must pass a satisfactory examination before the Professors of the High School in Elocution, Orthography, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. . . .

14th. All pupils by their parents or guardians shall be required at admission to designate the department or departments (all or either) to which their studies are to be confined or extended.[130]

This early document indicates a rather vague grasp of the problems involved in the moulding of the new school. In 1839, Alexander Dallas Bache, president of Girard College, suggested to the controllers a reorganization of the school which would embody the purposes of the secondary schools in the German system, which he had studied during a visit to Europe at the time when the High School was being organized.[131] Henceforth, the Central High School was to embody the purposes of the German *Gymnasium* and *Realschule,* preparing some for college and others for life activities, but the purpose embodied in the *Realschule* was particularly stressed.[132] Bache said: "The arrangement of the recitations was according to the plan herewith submitted. It is founded upon the time which experience in similar schools, especially in those called 'Real Schools' in Germany, has shown to be necessary for the full development of the system modified, however, by the peculiar circumstances of the school."[133] There seems to be little doubt that it was German influence, rather than that of Boston or New York, that determined the curricular arrangement in the early Central High School. Three curricula—the principal, the classical, and the elementary—were arranged by Bache and adopted by the board.[134] The first two required four years, the last, two years, for completion. In the principal course, the following studies were required: English language, French, Spanish, geography, history, mathematics, mechanical and natural philosophy, natural history, morals and evidences of Christianity, writing and drawing. The studies in the classical course were Latin, Greek, English Belles Lettres, French, geography, history, mathematics, elements of mechanics and natural philosophy, natural history, moral lessons, writing and drawing. In the elementary course were included English language, geography, history, mathematics, elements of mechanics and natural philosophy, natural history, moral lessons, writing and drawing.[135] Of 147 students in the school, in 1840, 94 were enrolled in the principal course, 26 in the classical, and 21 in the elementary.[136] A summary of the enrollment in the different courses, in the period 1838–1846, shows that, of the 1,128 students who entered the school, fifty-eight per cent. took the principal, twenty-six, the classical, and sixteen, the elementary or English course.[137] This demand for a practical preparation for life confirmed Bache's earlier plan and, in 1842, he wrote: "The object of the High School being especially to provide a liberal education for those intended for business life, the measure of its success must be sought in the tendencies which it gives. In different reports, I have called the attention of the Board to the necessity of so directing the studies and other means of education, as to prepare our pupils for, not to remove them from, business life."[138] And he further remarked that, of the first class of twenty-seven students, about to graduate, eight intended to be mechanics, eight merchants, and ten teachers. Figures compiled, in 1844, show that this characteristic of the earlier students had not changed[139] but, in 1846, there was evident a decided drift toward the classical course, which satisfied the principal, because it relieved the "Professor of Modern Languages" from the almost impossible burden of instructing the great numbers in the principal course.[140]

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[129] Students were required, in 1840, to buy their textbooks—*Min. Bd. of Control.*, Jan. 14, 1840.

[130] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Sept. 11, 1838.

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[131] Edmonds: *Hist. of Central High*, 43 *ff.;* Bache: *Rept. of Ed. in Europe*, 451 *ff.; Twenty-Fourth Rept. of Controllers*, 24–5.

[132] *Twenty-Fourth Rept. of Controllers*, 24.

[133] *Ibid.*

[134] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Dec. 19, 1839.

[135] *Ibid.* For course printed in full see Edmonds: *Op. cit.*, 62–3.

[136] *Twenty-Second Rept. of Controllers*, 18 *f.*

[137] *Twenty-Eighth Rept. of Controllers*, 100.

There is much evidence of the democratic nature and purpose of the Central High School in its earlier years. It was reported, in 1842, regarding the occupation of the parents of students, "that . . . of 389, 211 follow mechanical occupations, 137 are in business, and only 21 in the professions . . . or in the navy, and 16 are widows."[141] It was, probably, in part this democratic character of the institution, as well as the added expense to certain taxpayers, that created a wave of opposition to the High School, in 1842. The board, in alarm, appointed a committee to study the question because, they stated, "efforts have been made and are now making for the purpose of destroying the system of High School education . . . and it is proper that this Board as the guardians of the interests of the High School should declare to the public its views of the efficiency of the School, and its economy."[142] A few months later came the following voice from the directors of the fourth section:

> Resolved that while the High School is conducted on its present economical and efficient plan we deprecate any and every at-

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[138] *Twenty-Fourth Rept. of Controllers*, 25.

[139] *Twenty-Sixth Rept. of Controllers*, 80.

[140] *Twenty-Eighth Rept. of Controllers*, 100.

[141] *Twenty-Fourth Rept. of Controllers*, 26.

[142] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Feb. 8, 1842.

> tempt to impair its usefulness and efficiency under the disguise of economy. . . .
>
> Resolved that the Controllers of the Public Schools deserve the thanks of the Community for establishing this *Poor Man's College* the Keystone of the Public School System. That we will sustain their efforts to increase its efficiency and extend its benefits regardless of the opposition of those who measuring intelligence by the length of the *purse* would reserve good education for those only who by *lucky chance* can *pay for it.*[143]

Later in the same year, Bache resigned, declaring his faith that the education necessary for the preservation of ''republican institutions . . . must not only be general, but liberal, limited in extent only by the abilities of those who receive it.''[144] This earlier storm from without, the Central High School successfully weathered. Another soon arose from within the system itself. This one developed out of the failure of the school to meet the educational needs of the city.

For admission to the High School, in 1839, students were required to be twelve years of age,[145] and pass a satisfactory examination in reading, writing, spelling, English language, and the rules of arithmetic to proportions.[146] The age for admission was raised to thirteen years in 1852,[147] and, as a result of demands of sectional directors,[148] a knowledge of the history of the United States, and of the geography of Pennsylvania, was added to the earlier entrance requirements.[149] This was the first evidence of discontent with the curriculum fixed for the grammar schools of the city. Suddenly, a deluge of protests against the treatment accorded the masses of pupils in the grammar schools, and against the undemocratic nature of the High School broke over the board of controllers. The directors of the fifth section, in 1847, declared that the laws of the State would provide the masses with a practical education; that their people were engaged in farming, mechanical pursuits, manufactures, and business, rather than in the professions; and that the controllers ought to require that algebra, practical geometry and surveying, navigation, bookkeeping, linear drawing, mechanics, summary of history, chemistry as applied to arts and manufactures, geology of the United States, physiology, philosophy, elements of astronomy, principles of law, grammar, etymology, rhetoric and logic, be taught "in the Grammar and other schools of this section."[150] Soon after, the controllers gave permission to sectional boards to provide instruction in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration and surveying.[151] From the sixth section came the complaint that the salaries paid their teachers by the controllers, were so low that their children were being unjustly treated, in comparison with those in the centre of the city; that their children could not attend the High School because the cost of conveyance was prohibitive, only fifteen having gone to that school during ten years while seven hundred and fifty-two from the first section had entered it in the same period; and that, consequently, they should be given the best possible teachers and their grammar school be made perfect.[152] From the fourth section came a similar complaint, and parents whose children were preparing to enter the High School were requested to have them continue their higher studies in the grammar schools.[153] The controllers almost immediately authorized the elevation of "the grade of the Grammar Schools so as to embrace a portion of what is now taught in the High School." At the same time, they added the Constitution of the United States, with the elements of algebra and mensuration to the requirements for admission to the High School.[154]

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[143] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Fourth Section, May 27, 1842.

[144] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Sept. 13, 1842.

[145] A student was refused admission, in 1841, because ''he wanted Three Weeks of being Twelve Years of Age''—*Min. Bd. of Control.*, Aug. 10, 1841.

[146] *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1839; Edmonds: *Op. cit.*, 64.

[147] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Fifth Section, March 29, 1852. In 1865, a student was refused admission because he was ''15 days too young''—*Min. Bd. of Control.*, Sept. 12, 1865.

[148] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, First Section, Dec. 29, 1846.

[149] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Feb. 9, 1847.

It would seem that, from the growing discontent with certain aspects of the High School, and the desire to extend educational opportunities for the common people, there resulted, for a time, an expansion of the grammar schools resembling in many ways the higher elementary schools in the French system.[155] Thus, in the grammar schools of the sixth section, in 1852, instruction was required in etymology, reading, spelling, defining, dictation, composition, grammar, geography, arithmetic, history, writing, Constitution of the United States, algebra, and mensuration, while natural philosophy, geometry, trigonometry, and surveying might be taught, if the "Visiting Directors" so determined.[156] But this growth of the grammar schools was soon to be checked. In 1861, the controllers ruled that algebra and higher arithmetic be no longer taught in schools below the High School[157] and, in 1865, they further outlawed the practice of re-admitting high school students into the grammar schools, or teaching in these schools "more advanced studies" than those authorized by them.[158] In the seventies, however, in spite of efforts to limit the work of the lower schools, scholarships in the Towne Scientific School of the University of Pennsylvania were granted students from "the Senior Department of the Grammar Schools," on the result of an examination in "Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Ancient and Modern Geography, English Grammar and French,"[159] and the grammar schools thus became, in a sense, college preparatory schools. Yet, by this time, it is evident, the system was taking the shape which it presents to-day, rather than that which some desired it to take.

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[150] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Fifth Section, Nov. 29, 1847.

[151] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, June 13, 1848.

[152] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sixth Section, Nov. 21, 1848.

[153] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 23, June 14, 1849.

[154] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, April 10, Sept. 11, 1849.

[155] Sandiford: *Comparative Ed.*, 324 *ff.*

From the twenties on, the idea of a city college was entertained by certain citizens of Philadelphia.[160] From the days of Franklin there had been a college here but, like other colleges at the time, it was not a "Poor Man's College." The demand for an educational system which would provide, for the children of the poor, the same educational opportunities which had been traditionally the privilege of the rich, was being made with not a little force in the twenties,[161] and continued to be heard throughout the remainder of the century.[162] Very soon, the Central High School came to be considered the *"Poor Man's College,"* an institution that would not "reserve good education for those only who by *lucky chance* can *pay for it,"*[163] and, in 1849, the legislature conferred upon the controllers the power to confer "academical degrees in the arts upon graduates of the Central High School . . . and like power to confer degrees, honorary and otherwise, which is now possessed by the University of Pennsylvania.''[164] The demands of sectional directors for the elevation of the grammar schools preceded this bestowal of collegiate privileges upon the High School, and these demands, as we have seen, were satisfied at about the same time.[165] The classics, however, were never taught in the lower schools of the public system, and the new ''Poor Man's College,'' while it conferred degrees upon its graduates,[166] never actually attained the standing of a college, although, for some decades, its work would compare favorably with the arts course in the University.[167] This was due chiefly to the opposition from outlying sections of the city, which has already been described, an echo of which was heard in the legislature when collegiate powers were bestowed on the controllers;[168] to political bickerings;[169] and probably, to some extent, to the fear that the University of Pennsylvania would suffer a loss by the presence of a free public college in the city.[170]

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[156] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 22, 1852.

[157] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Jan. 8, 1861.

[158] *Ibid.*, June 13, 1865.

[159] *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1879; Edmonds: *Op. cit.*, 225.

[160] Edmonds: *Op. cit.*, 31–2, 130–1, 287.

[161] *Supra*, 448 *ff.*

[162] *Supra*, 312 *f.*, 473 *f.*

[163] *Supra*, 497.

This first elaborately organized public secondary school in the State was not the result of any gradual and accidental expansion of an elementary school or schools, but rather of a preconceived plan, which was itself the reflection of the idealism, the philanthropy, the demands of labor, and the new democracy of the common man which had influenced the thought-life of the time. Practices in Boston[171] and in Germany had a definite influence on the plan as it matured, while forces in the city itself frustrated every attempt at expansion of the institution, and the ''Poor Man's College'' remained a secondary school.

IV. *Expansion of the High School Movement*

The earliest collection of statistical data, preserved in the State Department, which presents a fairly representative picture of the high schools of the State, is that for the year 1898. It contains information regarding two hundred and twenty-six high schools in fifty-nine counties. This information was furnished by the principals of high schools on forms supplied by the State

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[164] *Laws of Pa.*, 1849, Act No. 354, Sec. 17.

[165] *Supra*, 498.

[166] *Min. Committee on C. H. S.*, Dec. 4, 1871; Jan. 31, 1889.

[167] Edmonds: *Op. cit.*, 166.

[168] *Ibid.*, 131.

[169] *Ibid.*, 144 *ff.*

[170] *Ibid.*, 45–6.

[171] The Central High School was to a degree a combination of the English Classical School and the Public Latin School of Boston. See Grizzell: *Op. cit.*, 11–13, 277 *ff.*, 290–1.

Department. Facts regarding the development of the high school before this year may be found in the annual reports of the State superintendents, in reports of county and district superintendents, embodied in the State Reports, in Reports of the United States commissioners of education, in educational journals, and in a variety of other printed sources, but the information thus obtained is, as a rule, vague or incomplete. Yet, frequently, these sources supply the only information available today regarding the high schools of the past in certain districts of the State. In probably less than one-half of the school districts have the manuscript records or other official documents of the schools, prior to 1900, been preserved. A search for these records in more than three hundred districts, has resulted in the discovery that in only one hundred and ten of these do such records exist.[172] In many districts, where later records have been preserved, the earlier ones have been lost, or destroyed by fire.[173]

From these local sources, nearly exclusively the manuscript records of public schools, it appears that schools or departments, almost universally called "high schools," and offering instruction in such subjects as were taught in the early high schools of Honesdale, Carlisle, and Norristown,[174] with, sometimes, the addition of the foreign languages and other studies, were established, or existed in the following districts at the dates indicated: Bellefonte, 1843;[175] Meadville, 1846;[176] Columbia, 1847;[177] South Ward, York, 1848;[178] Gettysburg,[179] and the South Ward, Harrisburg,[180] 1850; Reading,[181] and Lebanon,[182] 1851; Bloomsburg,[183] and Easton,[184] 1853; New Castle,[185] Wells township,[186]

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[172] In a few districts, where records probably exist, permission to search for, or examine them was refused.

[173] The writer expresses the hope that in the future there may be developed or maintained, among public school officials, a sense of the value of local records, keener than in the past, and suggests the desirability of providing a fireproof depository in each district where such records may be preserved in safety.

[174] *Supra*, 489 *ff*.

[175] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, I, 23–4.

[176] *Crawford Democrat*, June 2, 3.

[177] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 26, 1847; Aug. 15, 1854.

[178] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, S. W., Sept. 25, 1848; Sept. 7, 1850.

[179] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 23.

[180] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 30.

[181] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 24.

[182] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct.

[183] *Semi-Annual Exhibition Program*, 1853. [B. Public Library.]

[184] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 19.

[185] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, I, 18.

[186] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 11.

Danville,[187] Upper Darby,[188] and Monongahela City,[189] 1854; Chambersburg,[190] Pittsburgh,[191] Mauch Chunk,[192] and North Ward, Harrisburg,[193] 1855; Washington, 1856;[194] Shamokin,[195] and Athens,[196] 1857; Scranton,[197] Hanover,[198] and Erie,[199] 1858; New Milford,[200] West Pittston,[201] Latrobe[202] and Chester,[203] 1859; Greenville,[204] and Millersburg,[205] 1861; Middletown,[206] and Sewickley,[207] 1862; Hamburg,[208] and Montrose,[209] 1863; Milton,[210] and Johnstown,[211] 1864; Allentown, 1866;[212] Altoona, 1867;[213] Butler,[214] and Allegheny,[215] 1868; Titusville,[216] Tioga,[217] Williamsport,[218] and Phoenixville,[219] 1869; Harford, 1870;[220] Wellsboro,[221] Troy,[222] Wilkes-Barre,[223] Lock Haven,[224] and Warren,[225] 1871; Sharon,[226] 1872; South Bethlehem,[227] Hazleton,[228] Mount Carmel,[229] and Waynesboro,[230] 1874; Pleasantville,[231]

[187] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 23.

[188] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, 9 mo., 19th.

[189] *Monongahela Republican,* Sept. 1, 1854, 3; Sept. 9, 1858, 3.

[190] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 17, 1855; March 29, 1856.

[191] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, I, 18, 24, 34–5.

[192] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 20.

[193] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, N. W., Feb. 16.

[194] *Washington Examiner,* July 26, 3.

[195] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 5, 1857; Oct. 3, 1860.

[196] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 10.

[197] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 7.

[198] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, II, 56, 58.

[199] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 2, Dec. 3, 1858; Sept. 2, 1859.

[200] *Montrose Democrat,* Sept. 1, 1859, 3; Aug. 8, 1856, 3.

[201] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 7.

[202] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 15.

[203] *Directory of the Borough of Chester*, 1859–60, 96.

[204] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, I, 17.

[205] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 11, 1861; Aug. 1, 1873.

[206] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 6, Sept. 2.

[207] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, I, 155.

[208] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 9.

[209] *Montrose Democrat,* Aug. 8, 1865, 3.

[210] *Northumberland Democrat*, Dec. 23, 2.

[211] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 13, 26, 1865.

[212] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July.

[213] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 6.

[214] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 17, 1868; July 8, 1869.

[215] *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Committees of the Board of Controllers*, 1868, 15. In their Thirty-Fourth Report, p. 56, it is said that the third and fourth wards established a joint high school in 1840, but contemporary documents which might confirm this statement have not been found by the writer.

[216] Announcement of *Second Annual Commencement*, 1872; *Student Record Book*, 1875–84.

[217] *Wellsboro Agitator,* Aug. 11, 2.

[218] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 6, 13.

[219] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 23.

[220] *Montrose Democrat,* Aug. 31, 3.

[221] *Wellsboro Agitator,* Aug. 16, 3.

[222] *Catalogue and Circular,* 1883, 4.

[223] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Third District, June 12.

[224] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 8.

[225] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 7.

[226] *Scrap Book,* n. p. [School Archives.]

[227] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 23, 1874; June 13, 1876.

[228] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 1.

[229] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 14.

[230] *Waynesboro Village Record,* Aug. 6, 1874, 2.

[231] *Venango Spectator,* Aug. 19, 2.

Monroeton,[232] Canton,[233] Hollidaysburg,[234] and Mahanoy City,[235] 1884; Mifflinburg,[236] Beaver Falls,[237] Bradford,[238] and North East,[239] 1878; Beaver,[240] Montoursville,[241] and Mount Union,[242] 1880; West Middlesex, 1881;[243] Catawissa,[244] Steelton,[245] and Wrightsville,[246] 1882; Huntingdon,[247] and Dubois,[248] 1883; the first district of Wilkes-Barre, 1884;[249] Blairsville,[250] and the second district of Wilkes-Barre,[251] 1885; Centre Hall, 1886;[252] Berwick,[253] the third district of Wilkes-Barre,[254] Philipsburg,[255] Lansford,[256] and Dalton,[257] 1887; Tidioute, 1888;[258] Wilkinsburg,[259] Orbisonia,[260] and East Stroudsburg,[261] 1889; Lawrenceville,[262] Mount Jewett,[263] Berlin,[264] and Everett,[265] 1890; Clearfield,[266] and Bedford,[267] 1891; Youngsville,[268] Dorranceton,[269]

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[232] *Bradford Reporter*, July 29, 3.

[233] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 20.

[234] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 23, 1875; Nov. 13, 1876.

[235] List of Graduates of High School. [School Archives]. An *Examination Record Book*, beginning 1883, shows that a ''high school'' of three grades existed in that year. Earlier official records are lost, and the list of graduates for years before 1883, while probably compiled with care, is open to error and throws little light on the nature of the school.

[236] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 15, Aug. 12.

[237] *Annual Rept. of Beaver Falls Pub. Schools*, 1878.

[238] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 1, 11.

[239] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 9.

[240] *Annual Catalogue of the Beaver Pub. and H. Schools*, 1894–5, 4.

[241] *General School Register*, 1880–1910, 16.

[242] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 8.

[243] *Alumni Register* in *The Oracle of W. Middlesex High School*, XI, 74.

[244] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 25.

[245] *First Annual Rept. of the Pub. Schools of Steelton*, 1882, 7 *ff*.

[246] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 12.

[247] *Semi-Weekly News*, May 14, 4.

[248] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 14, 1882; May 2, 11, 1883.

[249] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, First Dist., Nov. 14.

[250] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 11.

[251] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Second District, Feb. 2.

[252] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 16.

[253] *Exam. Record of B. H. School*, 1887–9.

[254] *Fifth Annual Rept. of the Pub. Schools, Third Dist.*, 1887–8.

[255] *Final Exam. Record*, 1892, 1. The earlier date has been established by local investigation, as in Mahanoy City.

[256] *Student Record Book*, 1893, with list of graduates for earlier years compiled as in Mahanoy City.

[257] *Teachers' Monthly Repts.*, 1887.

[258] *Promotion Record of T. Union Sch.*, 1888–1905, 15–6.

[259] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sterrett Twp., May 16.

[260] *The Semi-Wkly. News*, Feb. 14, 4.

[261] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 10, Nov. 5, 1889. For beginnings of ''Graded School'' in 1871, about which no information could be found, see *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1871.

[262] Diploma of C. P. Darling, 1891.

[263] *Scroll of M. J. H. Sch. Alumni* from 1892. See note regarding Lansford.

[264] Diploma of Mrs. C. W. Krissinger.

[265] *First Annual Rept. of Supt. of Bedford County*, 1891, 16–7.

[266] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 16, 1891. This school probably existed earlier, but records were reported lost. District received academy property for graded schools in 1876, [*Deed Book*, XII, 273–4. Clearfield Co.] and James T. Leonard made a gift of

Kingston,[270] Lansdowne,[271] Uniontown,[272] and Greensburg,[273] 1892; Lewistown,[274] Matamoras,[275] and Tunkhannock,[276] 1894; Towanda, 1895;[277] Cross Creek,[278] and Darby,[279] 1896; Wyalusing,[280] and Lewisburg,[281] 1898; and Grove City, 1899.[282]

There are one hundred and six schools on this list. When those in Honesdale, Carlisle, Norristown, Philadelphia and Lancaster are added to these there will appear a total of one hundred and eleven schools, which, at the time referred to, were, in a few instances, well organized high schools, or, as was generally the case, but an addition to the elementary schools of a grade or two, in which algebra, geometry, Latin and such subjects were taught, the directors usually designating the new addition the "high school." Wherever records for the period before 1900 were found, there existed, almost universally, some evidence of the emergence of the high school before the close of the nineteenth century. If records had been discovered in all of the districts it is reasonably certain that this almost universal condition would be found to have prevailed throughout the State. While a fuller description of the early high school will be given in the succeeding chapter, two typical examples of high school beginnings may be presented here. In 1865, it was recommended by a committee of the board that Harrisburg high schools begin with the fifth grade,[283] a plan which seems to have been adopted.[284] The following appears in Blairsville records of 1885:

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land, in 1873, "to advance the cause of education in the Borough." [*Deed Book*, IV, 153. Clearfield Co.]

[267] *First Annual Rept. of Supt. of Bedford County*, 1891, 21–2.

[268] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 19.

[269] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 9.

[270] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 6.

[271] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Upper Darby, Oct. 2.

[272] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Jan. 1.

[273] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June, 1892. Probably existed much earlier, academy property going to school district in 1862—*Supra*, 223 *f.*, 254.

[274] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 12.

[275] *Teachers' Monthly Record Book*, 1894–9.

[276] *Student Permanent Record Book*, 1894–9.

[277] *Annual Commencement Program*, 1895. [Brad. County Hist. Museum.]

[278] *Record Book of C. C. District*, Sch. No. 3.

[279] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, 7–21–1896.

[280] *Student Exam. Record*, 1898–1918. Entries for years before 1902 were made in that year.

[281] *General Grade Book of L. Pub. Schools*, 1898–9.

[282] *Grade Record Book*, 1899–1906.

[283] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 3.

[284] *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1867.

> Resolved that we add another grade to be known as the 7th grade. Motion carried. . . .
>
> On motion the following studies were adopted and directed to be taught in this grade, namely: Anderson's General History, Houston's [?] Physical Geography, Brook's Geometry and Trigonometry, Young's Science of Government, Steele's Philosophy, Brook's Algebra, and Latin.
>
> On motion Resolved That the 7th or high-school grade be opened on the second month of this term in October.[285]

The date, in each case, on the above list, is that of the earliest reference to the beginning of the high school that has been found in the records referred to. Many of these, from humble beginnings, had evolved into two, three, or four-year high schools by the close of the century.[286] It should be noted also that, while the silence of the records points to the conclusion that most of these "high" schools were coeducational, separate "high" schools for girls were established in the following districts, but are not included on the list: Lancaster,[287] 1839; Bellefonte,[288] 1843; the south ward, of York,[289] 1848; Gettysburg,[290] 1850; Columbia,[291] 1854; Reading,[292] 1857; Hanover,[293] 1858; Easton,[294] and Philadelphia,[295] 1859; Chambersburg,[296] 1860; Allentown,[297] 1866; the north ward, Harrisburg,[298] 1867; and Lebanon,[299] 1876. This was probably the practice also in some other localities. In some few districts, there is evidence that the early high schools were coeducational, as in Erie, 1866,[300] and Pittsburgh, 1869.[301]

We have stated that wherever school records of districts before 1900 have been examined there has been found, almost universally, evidence of the emergence of a high school. From other sources, less reliable and less informative, one finds evidence of the gradual and widespread expansion upward of the public elementary school. In the State, as a whole, the high school arose out of an effort to establish "graded schools," or "union" schools, the latter sometimes being referred to as "union graded schools."[302] Before the law legalizing the grading of schools was passed, in 1854,[303] much interest had been shown in the subject. The State superintendent proposed such a plan, in 1839.[304] It was strongly advocated for Lancaster county, in 1852,[305] and many resolutions were passed by educational associations to the same effect.[306] Some of the earlier advocates of graded schools did not contemplate a high school as a part of a graded system,[307] while others would have three grades, "Primary, Secondary, and High Schools," embodied in such a scheme,[308] and the latter arrangement continued for many years to be advocated as an ideal.[309] The following description, of 1863, may be assumed to apply to graded schools in theory and sometimes in practice:

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[285] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 11, 1885.

[286] *Infra*, 563 *ff.*

[287] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 4.

[288] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 13.

[289] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 25.

[290] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug., 23.

[291] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 15.

[292] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 13.

[293] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 25.

[294] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 18.

[295] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, June 28. Bache, in 1840, recommended a high school department for girls at the Model School, [*Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1840] and after much delay and discussion the Girls' Normal School was opened in 1848, [*Thirtieth Rept. of Controllers*, 119] the high school feature being added in 1859.

[296] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 19.

[297] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July.

[298] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 23.

[299] *Manuscript of Exams. in Some Studies of the Female High School. . . .* 1876.

[300] *Annual Rept. of the Supt.*, 1866–7, 8–9, 27–32.

[301] *First Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1869, 51–2.

> There are . . . graded schools, a term applicable to all those of a district, in which each separate school or class of schools has assigned to it certain studies or parts of studies, beyond which the pupils are not to proceed in their school or class of schools, but from which they are to be transferred into higher schools when duly qualified. These schools—Primary, Secondary, or High, are mostly in separate buildings, and each in charge of one or more Teachers. Still each of these is not, properly speaking, a graded school, but one of a graded series of schools; yet to such the term "graded school" is not unfrequently applied.[310]

A "union school" was described, at the same time, as "a full series of graded schools, in the same building, taught by the requisite number of Teachers, and superintended by one Principal."[311]

In the *Pennsylvania School Journal,* and in the annual *Reports* of the State superintendents, one finds recorded the establishment of increasing numbers of graded schools, especially after the year 1854. Thus, in 1862, nine were reported for Jefferson county,[312] six for Mercer county,[313] ten for Westmoreland county,[314] and four for Wayne county,[315] while similar reports came from other counties in the same year. The information furnished by the county superintendents, in whose reports these statements are found, is often very limited. Thus, from Delaware county came the following, in 1880: "We have in the county one graded school of seven rooms, one of six rooms, three of five rooms, one of four rooms, one of three rooms, and eighteen of two rooms each, making in all seventy-one graded schools."[316] There is nothing here, nor in many reports of other superintendents, to indicate what these schools were actually accomplishing or how they were organized, but it would appear that the high school, as we know it to-day, was in a very crude stage of its development in Delaware county at this time, and indeed in the State as a whole, outside of the larger cities. Other superintendents and writers, however, reported, from time to time, the existence of high schools as units in graded systems. Among schools thus mentioned, for the period ending with 1890, and for which documents have not been found are the following: Pottsville, Minersville,[317] Catasauqua,[318] Derry,[319] Mahoning,[320] 1862; New Brighton,[321] 1863; Franklin,[322] 1868; Harbor Creek,[323] Milesburg,[324] and West Chester,[325] 1869; Marietta,[326] 1871; Hyde Park,[327] and Carbondale,[328] 1872; Corry[329] and Ceres,[330] 1875; Shenandoah,[331] 1876; Smethport,[332] West Bethlehem,[333] Slatington,[334] Coplay,[335] 1878; Huntingdon,[336] 1880; McKeesport,[337] and

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[302] Resolutions of Luzerne County Teachers Institute, 1858. [*P. S. J.*, VII, July, 1858, 12.]

[303] *Supra*, 476 *f.*

[304] *Annual Rept.*, 18 *ff.*

[305] Gram. Schools. [*P. S. J.*, I, Jan., 1852, 6–7.]

[306] Educational Assn. of Northern Pa., 1853 [*Ibid.*, II, Nov., 1853, 136]; Rept. of Executive Com. P. S. T. Assn. [*Ibid.*, Jan., 1854, 223]; State Convention of County Supts., 1854. [*Ibid.*, III, Aug., 1854, 38.]

[307] Gram. Schools. [*Ibid.*, I, Jan., 1852, 6–7.]

[308] State Convention of County Supts. [*P. S. J.*, III, Aug., 1854, 38.]

[309] Proceedings of the Convention [of city and borough supts.], 1871. [*Ibid.*, XX, July, 1871, 17–20.]

[310] Graded Schools. [Editorial, *Ibid.*, XII, July, 1863, 36.]

[311] *Ibid.*, 37.

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[312] *State Supt. Rept.*, 99.

[313] *Ibid.*, 121.

[314] *Ibid.*, 165.

[315] *Ibid.*, 163.

[316] *Ibid.*, 1880, 68–9.

[317] *Ibid.*, 1862, 272; Supt. Roudabush has informed me that no records of Minersville schools, prior to 1900, have been preserved.

[318] *Ibid.*, 111.

[319] *Ibid.*, 129.

[320] *Ibid.*

[321] Humanitas: The Union Schools of Western Pa. [*P. S. J.*, XII, Aug., 1863, 43–4.]

[322] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1868, 242.

[323] *Ibid.*, 1869, 102.

[324] *Ibid.*, 50.

[325] *Ibid.*, 58.

[326] *Ibid.*, 1871, 112–3.

[327] *Ibid.*, 1872, 223.

[328] *Ibid.*, 207.

[329] *Ibid.*, 1875, 178.

[330] *Ibid.*, 103.

[331] *Ibid.*, 1876, 206.

[332] *Ibid.*, 1878, 114.

[333] *Ibid.*, 104.

[334] *Ibid.*, 106.

[335] *Ibid.*

[336] *Ibid.*, 1880, 85.

[337] *Ibid.*, 1882, 231.

Oil City,[338] 1882; Weatherly,[339] East Mauch Chunk,[340] Lehighton,[341] and Hokendauqua,[342] 1884; Port Clinton,[343] 1885; Hummelstown,[344] Nanticoke,[345] and Ashland,[346] 1886; Dunmore,[347] 1887; Gilberton,[348] Millerstown, Liverpool, Newport, Marysville,[349] Curwensville, Osceola, Lumber City, Jonesville,[350] Lykens, Oberlin,[351] and Quakertown,[352] 1888; Audenreid, Summit Hill, Perryville, Newville, Mechanicsburg, and Mount Holly,[353] 1889; Sunbury, Watsontown, Northumberland, and Purdytown,[354] 1890. We shall note, elsewhere in this chapter, that there were, at the close of the century, probably three hundred schools, designated high schools, in the State.

One must be careful about concluding that all of these were well organized high schools. We hear, for instance, that the high schools in Northumberland county, in 1862, were defective, because unqualified students were promoted into them in order to relieve congestion in the lower grades, and because the number of eligible students was too small to justify the existence of the high schools.[355] A similar criticism of conditions in the State generally was made in 1864.[356] Twenty years later, conditions had not changed very much. In 1884, the superintendent of Carbon county remarked: "There are but few schools in the county that can with any propriety be called high schools, yet a number that are properly grammar schools bear that name in the community."[357] The high school, as thus observed by eyewitnesses of the last century, was generally but the upper school in a graded system, often probably, as in the case of Blairsville and Harrisburg,[358] not extending beyond the sixth or seventh grade, but offering instruction in a few subjects beyond those required by the law of 1854.[359] Thus we hear from Clinton county, in 1866, that "In addition to the branches required by law, algebra, geometry, Latin, history, astronomy, natural philosophy, book-keeping, physiology, analysis and physical geography, are taught in quite a number of the schools."[360] From Allegheny county, in the same year, came the report that "Two hundred and ten schools have, in addition to the branches enumerated in the provisional certificate, had one or more of the following branches taught in them, viz.: Constitution and History of the United States, Physiology, Philosophy, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Book-keeping, Declamation and Composition."[361] The State superintendent, in 1867, commenting on the fact that only eleven high schools reported to the Department in that year, remarked: "This is but a small portion of the whole number in the State, as there are now 2,147 graded schools, and every system of graded schools must, in some sense, have high schools."[362] In 1872, it was reported that there were 1,356 schools "in which higher branches are taught."[363] It must not be concluded, however, that all of these schools were high schools. Of Carbondale we hear, in 1873:

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[338] *Ibid.*, 238–9.

[339] *Ibid.*, 1884, 40.

[340] *Ibid.*

[341] *Ibid.*

[342] *Ibid.*, 108.

[343] Items from Repts. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIII, Jan., 1885, 294.]

[344] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, July, 1886, 495. Report of sixth annual commencement.

[345] *Ibid.*, Jan., 1886, 301.

[346] *Ibid.*, XXXV, July, 1886, 36.

[347] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1887, 129.

[348] *Ibid.*, 1888, 100–1.

[349] *Ibid.*, 94–5.

[350] *Ibid.*, 29.

[351] *Ibid.*, 42.

[352] Fifteenth anniversary reported in Items from Repts. [*P. S. J.*, XXXVII, 146.]

[353] Items from Repts. [*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 38.]

[354] Items from Repts. [*Ibid.*, XXXIX, 40.]

[355] Bates: School Visitation in Northumberland Co. [*Ibid.*, XI, Feb., 1863, 236–7.]

[356] Bates: Rept. of the Travelling Agent. [*Ibid.*, XII, Jan., 1864, 222–4.]

[357] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1884, 40; see also Montgomery County report. [*Ibid.*, 124.]

[358] *Supra*, 504 *f.*

> One of the chief impediments to progress is a degree of independence that exists in each school building, the principal of each being at liberty to teach any or all of the branches that are usually taught in the high school. This the teacher does; for, having a just regard for his reputation as a scholar, . . . he will not refuse admittance to advanced pupils, notwithstanding that their attendance breaks in upon the time assigned to the regular classes.[364]

What has been said of graded schools is also applicable to "union" schools. From Bridgeport, in 1853, it was announced:

> We have different grades common to Union Schools. In the first three, the pupils will become acquainted with Spelling, Reading, Writing, Geography, and the elements of Arithmetic, Grammar and History; in the Academy, they will complete the studies commenced in the Lower Departments, and take the course in Higher English and classical studies of ordinary Acad-

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[359] *Supra*, 476 *f*.

[360] *State Supt. Rept.*, 96.

[361] *Ibid.*, 39.

[362] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1867, p. XXVII.

[363] *Ibid.*, 1872, p. XIII.

[364] *Ibid.*, 1873, 187.

emies. The studies already commenced are Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Watts on the Mind, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geography of the Heavens, and Latin. . . . The directors are making appropriate efforts to obtain valuable accessions to their library and school apparatus.[365]

The early high schools in Washington,[366] Troy,[367] New Castle,[368] Bedford,[369] and Lewistown[370] were the higher grades of schools which, in these places, were called "union" schools. But all so-called union schools did not include grades that could deservedly be called high schools, although they probably offered instruction in the "higher branches" referred to by the State superintendent. Thus, from Erie county we hear, in 1870, that "The schools of Corry city . . . have been systematically graded, while those of Waterford, Girard, Fairview, Wellsburg, Albion, Belle Valley, are merely union schools, without a thorough system of grades."[371] Thus there is nothing in the designation "union," as such, to indicate that a school was anything but elementary.

V. *Early Township High Schools*

Most of the high schools already referred to were established in cities or boroughs. The need, however, for central township high schools was felt far back in the century. Thus, the Lawrence County Teachers' Institute, in 1856, adopted the resolution "That in our opinion the best interests of the Common Schools demand, that a Central High School be established in every township of the County and State for the better training of the more advanced pupils."[372] A similar opinion was expressed by the superintendent of Cumberland county, in 1870,[373] and the cause continued to be urged. Yet, not until 1895 and 1901 were such schools expressly authorized by law, and encouraged by appropriations.[374] As early as 1854, in Wells township, Fulton county, the following textbooks were being used: "Davies Series

[365] Parker: Union School, Bridgeport, Fayette Co. [*P. S. J.*, II, Nov., 1853, 165.]

[366] Ed. Events in Pa. [*Ibid.*, XII, May, 1864, 356.]

[367] Union Graded Schools—Example. [*Ibid.*, XX, May, 1872, 339–41.]

[368] *State Teachers' Assn. of Pa.* [*Ibid.*, II, Sept., 1853, 75.]

[369] Bedford Schools. [*Ibid.*, VIII, May, 1860, 341–2.]

[370] S: A Union School in Lewistown. [*Ibid.*, IX, March, 1861, 283.]

[371] *State Supt. Rept.*, 96.

[372] Lawrence Co. Teachers' Institute. [*P. S. J.*, V, 192.]

[373] *State Supt. Rept.*, 84.

[374] *Supra*, 481.

of Mathematics, Bullion's Grammar, Mitchell's Geography, Olmsted's Philosophy, Olney's Astronomy,''[375] and the same books continued to be read for a few years at least.[376] While there is no evidence of anything like a well organized high school here, this expansion of the elementary curriculum marked an approach to that goal. In the Civil War period, there was a decided retreat from this advanced position of the fifties.[377] In 1859, it was stated that advanced pupils of Washingtonville, Montour county, are sent to a central township high school.[378] A similar institution was reported under construction, at a cost of $2,000, in Summit district, Somerset county, in 1861.[379] Rumors have been heard of the establishment of such schools in Union[380] and Rahn[381] townships, Schuylkill county, the former reported for 1870, the latter apparently for 1871. County Superintendent Newlin referred to both of these as township high schools.[382] Elsewhere, however, he is reported as saying that, in Rahn, the pupils study ''all the branches named on the provisional certificate'' and, in Union, ''all the common branches.''[383] The subjects named on the provisional certificate at this time were orthography, reading, writing, geography, English grammar, mental and written arithmetic, and history of the United States.[384] These high schools, in Schuylkill county, were evidently such only in name. The writer has failed to find preserved any records of the past century in these townships. They were at their establishment, and probably remained until the close of the century, or later, central township schools of elementary grade. In 1873, it was reported that Miles township, in Centre county, had a high school for several years, and Gregg township had established a similar school.[385] Investigation failed to unearth any district records which would throw light on the nature of these schools. Two similar schools were reported for Lebanon county, in 1874,[386] and a like development was taking place in Crawford county, in 1878.[387] From the western part of the State, in 1882, the superintendent of Lawrence county announced:

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[375] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 11, 1854.

[376] *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1855.

[377] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1862, 92; *Ibid.*, 1869, 115.

[378] *Ibid.*, 1859, 20.

[379] Extracts from Jan. Repts. of Co. Supts. [*P. S. J.*, IX, Feb., 1861, 240.]

[380] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1873, 145.

[381] *Ibid.*, 1872, 163–4.

[382] *Ibid.*

[383] High Schools in Rural Districts. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XX, June, 1872, 388–9.]

[384] *Laws of Pa.*, 1867, Act No. 35.

[385] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1873, 45.

[386] *Ibid.*, 1874, 93.

> The plan of establishing a Central School in each township . . . is now fairly started. The North Beaver School, at Mt. Jackson, opened last December, has been a notable success. Thirty-six pupils of the highest grade, from six or seven sub-districts adjacent to the village, composed the school . . . other localities have adopted this plan, and effort is being made to establish the system throughout the county.[388]

The writer failed to find, any documents which would throw further light on the nature of this township school.

The origin of the Cheltenham township high school is established by existing documents, although these leave the early history of the school somewhat obscure. In 1884, the directors authorized "a class in advance of any at present existing in the schools."[389] In the following year, the Ashbourne school, which probably housed this new class, was "known as the High School."[390] For 1894, it is recorded that an additional year was added to the school, and a course of study adopted which would meet the entrance requirements of colleges.[391] In 1896, the school was a three-year high school, offering two curricula, the classical and the English. Below this were the township elementary schools of nine grades,[392] a plan of organization which continued for some years thereafter.[393]

Thus, by the end of the century the township high school movement was under way, and the advantages of public secondary education which, throughout the greater part of the century, were confined to cities and boroughs had begun to be extended to rural districts. It has been noted elsewhere that one of the common arguments for the existence and support of academies was that it would be for a long time impossible to establish and maintain rural high schools,[394] but the rural academy was being gradually supplanted by the public school in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The rapid development of the rural high school has been one of the significant achievements of the present century.

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[387] *Ibid.*, 1878, 52–3.

[388] Items from Repts. [*P. S. J.*, XXXI, July, 1882, 39–40.]

[389] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 1.

[390] *Ibid.*, Sept. 2.

[391] *Ibid.*, June 4.

[392] *The Cheltenham District School News*, May, 1896, 2.

[393] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Jan., 1901.

[394] *Supra*, 302.

VI. *Arguments For and Against the High School*

The arguments urged against the academy, and which have been elsewhere examined,[395] were arguments in favor of the public high school, and those in defense of the academy[396] were at the same time a condemnation of the public institution. Among the arguments most frequently advanced in favor of high schools were the following:

1. They provide equality of educational opportunity for the poor and rich alike.[397]

2. They keep youths at home, under the influence of parental guardianship, and away from the temptations of boarding schools.[398]

3. They tend to uplift the whole educational system and inspire pupils to remain in school.[399]

4. They stand as a barrier against communism and socialism. "I regard the high school," said one philosopher, "next to the church, as the chief barrier against communistic and socialistic inroads from the howling sea of an ignorant and unprincipled population."[400]

5. The well-being of the State itself calls for the establishment of high schools.[401]

As against the high school the following arguments were often urged:

1. They cost too much, and prevent the improvement of lower schools by diverting funds from them. It was pointed out by men opposed to the Central High School of Philadelphia, in

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[395] *Supra,* 311 *ff*.

[396] *Supra,* 302 *ff*.

[397] J. J. R.: The Higher Branches in Com. Schools. [*P. S. J.*, IV, Feb., 1856, 264–5]; Lindsey: The Branches of Study. [*Ibid.*, XX, Aug., 1871, 49–50]; Norton: The High School. [*Ibid.*, XXIII, Sept., 1874, 101–4]; *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, of Reading, 1876–7, 16, 35–7.

[398] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1868, 240; Selection of an Academy. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XVI, 309]; Graded Schools. [Editorial, *Ibid.*, XXII, March, 1874, 281–3.]

[399] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1846, 10; Graded Schools. [*P. S. J.*, XXII, March, 1874, 283]; *State Supt. Rept.*, 1875, 186–7.

[400] Joseph Cook on High Schools. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XXVII, May, 1879, 382–3.]

[401] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, XIV; Convention of Supts. [*P. S. J.*, XXVIII, 473–4]; Durling: The High School Question. [*Ibid.*, XXX, Sept., 1881, 106–10.] For other arguments see *Supra,* 311 *ff*.

1842, that education in the lower schools cost $3.50, while the cost in the high school was $45.00, per pupil, per annum.[402] There was strong opposition to the school for that reason.[403] In 1884, the Bradford High School was violently opposed because it was a very costly addition to the district system, the cost per pupil for ''tuition alone'' being $4.10 annually, while the figure for the elementary schools stood at $1.60.[404] This was one of the arguments that school officials were forced to refute continually.[405]

2. They benefit the rich at the expense of the poor, because only the rich can afford to keep their children in school. An observer, in 1859, said of the Lancaster schools:

> It is an established fact that ninety-seven per cent. of all our children drop out of school either before or very soon after entering our high schools; and as it is an equally well-established fact that the other three per cent., or those who graduate from our high schools, are the children of parents whose financial condition is such that they can well afford to send their children to a seminary, academy or college, how would it do to abolish our high schools altogether?[406]

The same reason was offered by men who attempted to abolish the Reading High School in 1876–77.[407] The same objection was advanced in Bradford, in 1884, where a committee reported:

> . . . These facts led . . . to a conclusion that but a very small part of all the children who enter the public schools continue therein to the end of the thirteen year course, and examination in another direction led to the conclusion that that small part comprised only the children of the well-to-do and wealthy—to the conclusion in other words, that, while the poor contributed to the expense of maintaining the high school they shared very sparingly in the benefits to be derived from it.[408]

This again was an objection that frequently called for official refutation.[409]

3. High school education makes the children, especially of the poor, idle, useless and discontented. This argument in various

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[402] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, First Section, April 26, 1842.

[403] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1842.

[404] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 30.

[405] *E.g.*, *State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, XIII–XV.

[406] From a letter to a member of the Lancaster School Board, quoted by Riddle: *School Hist. of Lancaster*, 212.

[407] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, 1876–7, 35–7.

[408] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June, 20.

[409] *E.g.*, *State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, XIII–XV.

forms had long been heard in Pennsylvania.[410] Throughout the nineteenth century, it was frequently stated that high school education unfitted boys for the farm and for manual labor, and destroyed their usefulness,[411] and the objection would not easily be silenced.[412]

4. Common schools were never intended to take the place of academies. An ex-county superintendent, as editor of the *Greensburg Herald,* is reported to have urged this objection strongly, in 1876,[413] and, in the following year, the State superintendent answered it.[414] Even as late as 1893, the following view was expressed in the Catalogue of Pittsburgh Academy:

> While it is still an open question as to whether the founders of the public school system ever intended that the system should be extended farther than to provide facilities for an elementary education, and whether making provision for a higher education at the public expense is *just,* we are perfectly willing to put our work into competition with that done in the high schools and abide by the result.[415]

Thus, the verbal controversy continued until the end of the century, but by that time the success of the public school was assured, and objections to it less frequently heard. It was difficult for the academy to compete with an institution which, from 1887, continued to be the object of increasingly generous State benevolence.

General expansion since 1900.—It has been noted, elsewhere, that, in 1898, there was reported to the State Department the existence of two hundred and twenty-six high schools in fifty-nine counties of the State.[416] In the succeeding chapter further reference shall be made to the curriculum and organization of these schools. While the Department made a determined effort to secure the facts regarding high schools, at that time,[417] it would appear, from the fact that no returns from the seven missing counties have been preserved,[418] that this enumeration of high schools is incomplete. It ought to be noted, however, that the replies from the fifty-nine counties, as they are to-day, show every mark of careful handling and of concern for their preservation. On the assumption that the returns from these counties are fairly complete, it would seem that there were probably about three hundred high schools in the State at the close of the century. Some of these were high schools only in name. The following table based upon the United States census reports, and data collected by the State Department, and "compiled by Attendance Bureau, Department of Public Instruction," will show the increase of enrollment in our high schools, as well as other related facts, for the period 1899–1928.

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[410] *Supra,* 18, 312.

[411] Crumbaugh: Communism in High Schools. [*P. S. J.,* I, Sept., 1852, 175–7]; Reynolds: The Public High School and its Benign Influence. [*Ibid.,* XXVIII, Aug., 1879, 33–4.]

[412] Remarks of A. B. Miller at State Teachers Meeting, 1884. [*Ibid.,* XXXIII, Sept., 1884, 104–6]; White: The Question of the Hour. [*Ibid.,* XXXIV, Sept., 1885, 100–1.]

[413] High Schools. [*Ibid.,* XXIV, 381.]

[414] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1877, XIII.

[415] *Loc. cit.,* 18.

[416] *Supra,* 500 *f.*

[417] Some of the returns in the archives of the State Department show that second notices and communications had been sent to high school principals who delayed in replying.

TABLE V.—*Increase in population, total school enrollment, high school enrollment, 1899–1928*[419]

Year ending	Total population	Increase over 1900		Total public school enrollment	Increase over 1900		Enrollment grades 9–12	Increase	
		Number	Per cent.		Number	Per cent.		Number	Per cent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1900	6,302,115	....	...	1,151,880	......	...	27,412	......	....
1910	7,665,111	1,362,996	21.6	1,282,965	131,085	11.8	43,140	15,728	57.4
1920	8,720,017	2,417,902	38.3	1,592,501	400,621	38.2	148,240	120,828	440.7
1928	9,854,000	3,551,885	56.3	1,883,423	731,543	63.5	270,152	242,740	855.5

The phenomenal increase in the high school population of the State, as shown by this table, represents probably the most significant phase of educational development during the past thirty years. It is to be hoped that another student will examine the factors determining this development, and compile a well-documented account of secondary education in this period. The actual number of schools did not increase in the same proportion as the enrollment itself. The tendency to increase the size of high school buildings, and the practice of transporting pupils from a distance to large central schools[420] explain, at least in

[418] It is possible that they have been misplaced in filing.

[419] *State Supt. Rept.*, for two-year period ending May 31, 1930, 21.

[420] *Supra*, 481.

part, this phase of the development. The following table will show the number and types of secondary schools in the State for the years 1927–1930.

TABLE VI.—*Number of classified secondary schools in each group by years*[421]

Type of classification	1927–1928	1928–1929	1929–1930
1	2	3	4
Four-year high schools	612	589	574
Three-year high schools	136	130	117
Two-year high schools	120	100	90
Junior-senior high schools	98	133	155
Senior high schools	33	33	36
Junior high schools	113	143	154
Vocational schools	51	51	63
Not classified	10	8	7
Total	1,173	1,187	1,196

Certain trends in organization appear on an examination of this table, notably the increase in the number of junior high schools, and of junior-senior high schools, with a noticeable drop in the number of two-year and three-year high schools. Further references will be made to the early phases of this reorganization movement in the succeeding chapter.

[421] *State Supt. Rept.*, for two-year period ending May 31, 1930, 20.

CHAPTER XV

CURRICULUM, ORGANIZATION AND METHOD

I. *Factors Affecting Curriculum*

Purpose.—In 1839, Alexander D. Bache, in his recommendations to the controllers regarding the reorganization of the Central High School of Philadelphia, stated that the purposes of the American high school, as he saw it, were: "*First,* to afford a higher elementary instruction than can be had in the other public schools: *Second,* to furnish an education preparatory to the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, and the useful arts: *Third,* as supplementary to the former two objects, the school is expected to prepare youths from the public schools, whose parents may desire a classical course for them, for the entrance into college, or even, perhaps, in certain cases, to carry them further."[1] Thus briefly the high school was to prepare its students for life and for higher institutions.

The question of purpose, however, was not thus easily settled and, in one form or another, it continued to be debated throughout the century. There was never any question raised about the need of preparing students for life, but this was not the case with regard to the purpose of preparing them for college. To the State superintendent, in 1843, the Central High School, of Philadelphia, which did prepare for college, and the High School of Carlisle, which did not,[2] were equally admirable.[3] The high schools of Lancaster, 1852,[4] of Easton, 1854,[5] of Williamsport, 1870,[6] of Erie, 1875,[7] of York, 1876,[8] of Corry, 1880,[9] of Wellsboro, 1881,[10] of Beaver, 1894,[11] and of many other places, combined both purposes, and emphasized both alike. Others like

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[1] Bache: *Report to the Controllers . . . on the Reorganization of C. H. School,* 16.

[2] *Supra,* 489 *f.* See curriculum.

[3] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1843, 22.

[4] Lancaster Common School Commencement. [*P. S. J.,* II, Aug., 1853, 38.]

[5] *Catalogue,* 1854, 14.

[6] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1870, 251.

[7] *Ibid.,* 1875, 184.

[8] *Ibid.,* 1876, 217.

[9] *Ibid.,* 1880, 205.

[10] *Annual Circular of Wellsboro Public Schools,* 1881–2. [Printed, and inserted in *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* June 24, 1881.]

[11] *Annual Catalogue of Beaver Public Schools,* 1894–5, 3–4.

Carlisle[12] and Norristown,[13] in the early years of their existence, did not offer instruction in the classics, and were in no sense college preparatory schools.[14] An examination of the curriculum of many schools, called high schools, leads to the conclusion that college preparation was not one of their purposes, in the early years of their development.[15] The first two purposes of the American high school, as Bache saw it, were very evidently the only ones embodied in most of our "high" schools for three or four decades after the movement began. In these decades, the academy was the recognized preparatory school of the State, and its advocates warmly defended its right to that position.[16] In 1862, a committee of schoolmen submitted a report on a "Course of Studies in High Schools, Academies and Seminaries," to the State Educational Convention. Greek was not included in the curriculum proposed for the high school, but Caesar and Virgil were among the studies recommended.[17] The proposed course was objected to because it did not prepare for college, but one of the committee replied that Greek might be added where no academy existed.[18] Dr. Johnson, of Dickinson College, expressed, during the discussion, his belief that the academy ought to prepare for college, and the high school for business life.[19] In the seventies, the question of college preparation by high schools began to receive considerable attention. It was discussed at Teachers' Institutes.[20] In 1871, State Superintendent Wickersham remarked that the academies were declining, and that "the colleges have as yet formed no close connection with the more vigorous public high schools,"[21] which in future must supply them with students. In 1873, appeared a report of a committee appointed by the State Teachers' Association to study the question of State aid for high schools. This committee recommended that, to receive such aid, a high school should offer three courses prescribed by the State superintendent, one of them being a college preparatory course.[22] Many similar expressions of opinion appeared at this time.[23]

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[12] *Supra*, 489 *f*.

[13] *Supra*, 490 *f*.

[14] See development of college entrance requirements, *Supra*, 323 *ff*., and high school curriculum, *Infra*, 540 *ff*.

[15] *Infra*, 540 *ff*.

[16] *Supra*, 296 *ff*.

[17] *P. S. J.*, XI, Sept., 1862, 89–90.

[18] *Ibid.*, 74–5.

[19] *Ibid.*, 74.

[20] *Northumberland County Democrat*, Dec. 16, 1870, 1.

[21] State Teachers' Assn. [*P. S. J.*, XX, Sept., 1871, 86.]

[22] Norton: Rept. on H. Schools. [*Ibid.*, XXII, Nov., 1873, 153–4.]

[23] High Schools and Colleges. [*Ibid.*, 132]; State Teachers' Assn. [*Ibid.*, 99.]

In 1878, Wickersham gave his impressions of European secondary education, as he had recently observed it. "Secondary education," he remarked, "as understood in Europe, embraces the education that lies between the university on the one side and the elementary school on the other. . . . The gymnasia in the German speaking nations, and similar institutions under other names elsewhere, are preparatory schools to the universities. . . . Nowhere is our system of public instruction more weak than in the matter of secondary instruction. While the most enlightened nations of the Old World spare no effort or expense to fill up the gap between their elementary schools and their universities, with a body of secondary schools sufficient in number, and admirably adapted to the purpose, there are those among us who would lay violent hands on our high schools, and limit the work of public instruction to the mere teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic."[24] In the eighties, public school officials generally accepted the principle that the high school ought to prepare students for higher institutions.[25] In 1886, the State superintendent felt justified in remarking:

> We mean by secondary education that intermediate instruction by which the young are advanced either to the higher fields of study . . . which our colleges and universities have in view, or to that practical knowledge and skill demanded by the trades and industries. . . . Secondary education is, therefore, two-fold. Our high schools and academies are attending to one part of this work with a good measure of success. Indeed, no State has advanced its high-school academic work beyond that of our Commonwealth. The other part of secondary education, however, by which our common schools should be supplemented in the way of industrial and art training has been too much neglected.[26]

The question of the relation of the high school to the college was not finally solved in the eighties. It continued to be debated[27] until the end of the century, when sentiment strongly favored a close bond between the two institutions.[28]

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[24] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1878, pp. XX–XXI.

[25] *E. g.*, *Ibid.*, 1880, 234; Address of Dr. Higbee. [*P. S. J.*, XXX, Sept., 1881, 122–3]; Gow: Mistakes of our Present Schools. [*Ibid.*, 113–7]; *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Carlisle, Aug. 2, Sept. 1, 1880.

[26] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1886, pp. XVI–XVII.

[27] *Ibid.*, 1892, p. IX; Dr. Schaeffer's Address. [*P. S. J.*, XLII, 396–8.]

[28] Convention of Supts. [*P. S. J.*, XLV, 1897, 561–2.]

Fear, however, was frequently expressed that the high school tended to give too much attention to the needs of the student preparing for college, and was losing sight of the needs of the great majority who were not so preparing themselves. In 1875, Superintendent Cottingham, of Easton, regretted this tendency in his high school. "The fact," he said, "that a large majority of the pupils admitted to the male department of this school leave at the expiration of two years, is attributable, in a great measure, to a rule that makes the study of the dead languages imperative. Impressed with the idea that a knowledge of defunct languages can subserve no available purpose in the sphere of business, they withdraw from school with the view of making a more profitable investment of time and energy. The originators of the high school never intended that this institution should merely perform the function of a college preparatory school."[29] In the same year, State Superintendent Wickersham called attention to the great struggle among the nations for industrial supremacy, and the need for more practical education. He recommended the establishment of technical departments in public high schools, to train skilled workmen for factories and workshops.[30] The professions, he stated, were overcrowded, and too many were preparing themselves for business.[31] Public school officials were thus coming to feel the importance of a more practical goal for many high school students. The Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, bringing, as it did, the practical work of foreign schools, to the attention of American educators, brought a wave of emphasis on the realistic and practical ideal. A writer, in 1878, declared that twenty times more students were studying the classics than had any need for them; that they had no disciplinary value; that the most successful business men had never studied them; that parents make a mistake in keeping their children in high schools, when they could be better educated in the fields of business and industry; and that these schools ought to become modern and scientific.[32] There was evidently developing at this time a public demand for an education that would bring an immediate return in dollars, and the high schools set out to meet that demand. In the *Pennsylvania School Journal* we find the following note, for 1886: "Let any reader take ten high school graduates who graduated, say, a dozen years ago, and compare their incomes with those of the boys who left school in the grammar grades. The writer recently tried this experiment. . . . He found that all but one were making . . . more than $1,200 a year, and that two or three were doubling or trebling this."[33] A few years later, the city superintendent of Scranton remarked: "There is somewhat of a commercial spirit, perhaps to too large an extent, permeating the high school graduate."[34] A writer, at the end of the century, throws light on the problem of purpose as it then existed: "Of the 21,903 pupils in our Pennsylvania high schools during the year 1895–6, only 1,771, or eight per cent., were preparing for college. . . . While from these statistics it appears that the Pennsylvania high schools are not preparing their fair proportion of pupils for college, it is also established most conclusively that no high school can devote itself to the single purpose of a college-preparatory school without sacrificing the interests of the majority of its pupils and seriously restricting its own usefulness."[35]

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[29] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1875, 181–2.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1875, pp. XXIV–XXVI.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Myers: The Classics in the Common Schools. [*P. S. J.*, XXVI, 312–3.]

Prominent among the purposes of our high schools, in the nineteenth century, was that of preparing teachers for the elementary schools. A normal department was suggested for the Central High School of Philadelphia, in 1839.[36] In 1843, the State superintendent, after praising the high schools of Philadelphia, Carlisle, Hollidaysburg, "and other places in the state," remarked: "If every county, town, borough, and densely populated township, and even those sparsely populated, would have their schools organized upon this system, within a very few years they could educate good teachers enough to supply every school district in the State."[37] Pittsburgh High School had a normal department in the decades following its establishment.[38] Elsewhere, generally, throughout the State the same practice prevailed, as, for instance, in Latrobe,[39] and Catasauqua,[40] 1868;

[33] Money Value of Ed. [*Loc. cit.*, XXXV, 183–4.]

[34] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1889, 149.

[35] Kelchner: The Function of the High School in the Public School System. [*P. S. J.*, XLVII, 85–8.]

[36] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Feb. 19, 1839.

[37] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1843, 22–3.

[38] *First Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1869, 69–70.

[39] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 24.

[40] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1868, 159.

Scranton[41] and Williamsport,[42] 1870; Reading,[43] 1871; Titusville,[44] 1878; Wellsboro,[45] 1881; New Castle,[46] 1882; Meadville,[47] 1887; South Bethlehem,[48] 1889; and Phoenixville,[49] 1891. Of fifty teachers in the Easton public schools, in 1882, thirty-two were reported to be graduates of the Easton High School,[50] and of two hundred and thirty-seven teachers in the Scranton public schools, in 1884, fifty-two were said to be graduates of Scranton High School, and sixty-three others were "educated at high schools."[51] In this respect, the high school had taken the place of the academy and private school, and a fruitful source of revenue passed to the new public institution, thus hastening the end of the academies and private schools of Pennsylvania.

How well the public high schools of the nineteenth century attained these goals cannot be determined with much certainty. The college entrance requirements, which have been examined elsewhere,[52] were fixed and well defined, and probably but a small portion of our public high schools could meet their requirements. A considerable number of the high schools reporting to the State Department, as late as 1898, were but one- or two-year schools, frequently having only one teacher, and offering work far below that required for college entrance.[53] Figures collected by the United States Commissioner of Education, for 1897–1898, show that Pennsylvania was the lowest of all the states, in the North Atlantic Division, in the number of secondary students to each 1,000 of population, and only New Jersey had fewer students in college on the same population basis. While Massachusetts, for instance, had 4.19 college students to every 1,000 inhabitants, Pennsylvania had only 1.83.[54] Yet, many high schools sent their students to college, the colleges sometimes providing scholarships for graduates of local high schools. Such an arrangement existed, for instance, in Gettysburg, in 1860;[55] in Easton, in 1868;[56] and in Lancaster, in 1871.[57] Haverford College offered two scholarships to graduates of the Manual Training School in Philadelphia, in 1891.[58] Other high schools, too, we hear of that were successful in their college preparatory work, such as Reading, in 1874,[59] Erie, in 1875,[60] and York, in 1880.[61] The work of graduates of Allentown High School at Muhlenberg College had been so satisfactory that, in 1887, the College authorities decided to admit, without examination, all graduates of the school to the freshman class.[62] In 1891, it was said of Titusville High School that ''our students can now meet successfully the examinations of the best American colleges without going to a preparatory school. Seven young ladies enter Wellesley College in September on certificate; another enters Vassar on examination; one young man enters Brown University on certificate; and three have lately passed the examination of Princeton College . . . one of the three having just completed the studies of the high school middle class.''[63] The high schools of which we thus have favorable reports were nearly always in cities or larger boroughs, and one must avoid the conclusion that these were typical of conditions in the State as a whole. In 1856, the trustees of Washington College abolished their preparatory department, and entrusted its work to the Washington Union School.[64] The *Pennsylvania School Journal* applauded the change.[65] The union school undertook the work[66] but, after a year's trial, the trustees of the College restored the preparatory department, apparently because of the failure of the union school to prepare students adequately for college.[67] What was true of this school, in 1856, remained true of most of the high schools in the nineteenth century.[68]

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[41] *Ibid.*, 1870, 244.

[42] *Ibid.*, 251.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1871, 25.

[44] *Ibid.*, 1878, 224–5.

[45] *Annual Circular of W. Pub. Schools*, 1881–2.

[46] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1882, 234.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1887, 145–6.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1889, 154.

[49] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 12, 1891.

[50] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1882, 209.

[51] *Ibid.*, 1884, 245–6.

[52] *Supra*, 323 *ff.*

[53] *Infra*, 566.

[54] *U. S. Comm. of Ed. Rept.*, 1897–8, II, 2097.

[55] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 23, 1860.

[56] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1868, 277–8.

[57] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 1, 1871.

Nor is it true that the high school was always a satisfactory teacher training institution. A special normal class was added to the work of the senior year of the York High School, in 1875.[69] A similar step was taken in Chester, in 1878, because high school graduates were said to have forgotten the elementary branches, and were so lacking in teaching ability that, during their apprenticeship in the lower schools, the pupils were inadequately provided for.[70] A writer, in 1881, declared: "It is a mistake to graduate girls from a high school at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and then to invest them with the responsibilities of teachers in the public schools"[71] and, in the same year, the school superintendents of the State, met in convention, adopted the resolution "That graduates of our High Schools, desiring to teach in the public schools of the State, be encouraged to attend a State Normal School for at least six months."[72] The practice, however, continued,[73] and schoolmen kept on declaiming it. "Mere graduation from any city High School," said a speaker in 1888, "does not convey a sufficient testimony of ability to teach a public school, and so long as inexperienced graduates of these schools, who lack professional training, receive certificates and are appointed to positions of the greatest responsibility in Primary schools, so long will the very foundation stones of our educational structure be insecurely laid."[74]

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[58] *Min. Com. on Man. Train. Sch.*, Feb. 9, 1891.

[59] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1874, 203.

[60] *Ibid.*, 1875, 184.

[61] *Ibid.*, 1880, 248.

[62] *Ibid.*, 1887, 115.

[63] *Ibid.*, 1891, 176.

[64] *Min. Trustees W. College*, June 17, 1856.

[65] A Right ''Preparatory'' Movement. [*P. S. J.*, IV, June, 1856, 353–4.]

[66] *Washington Examiner*, July 26, 1856, 3.

[67] *Min. Trustees W. College*, Jan. 2, 1856; Sept. 15, 1857.

[68] *Infra*, 540 *ff.*, 563 *ff.*

[69] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1875, 212.

How well the high school prepared for life can only be conjectured. In 1874, a speaker, who used statistics and replies to a questionnaire to prove his case, defended the thesis that common-school, high-school, and college education brought a return in dollars and cents. He concluded from his study that "a common-school education adds from 10 to 50 per cent. to a man's money making power. . . . A higher degree of education adds in almost the same proportion."[75] If one may justly interpret preparation for life in an industrial society in terms of earning ability, then it may be said that some high schools were achieving one of their purposes.

With regard to the first purpose of the high school, as Bache saw it, that of affording "a higher elementary instruction than can be had in other public schools," it would seem that all of our nineteenth century high schools fulfilled at least that promise. In some of them we find but a continuation of the work of the elementary school, to which was added instruction in one or more mathematical, scientific, or linguistic studies, while others, more elaborate in their organization and curricular offerings, led to higher goals.[76]

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[70] *Ibid.*, 1878, 183.

[71] Gow: Mistakes of Our Present Schools. [*P. S. J.*, XXX, Sept., 1881, 117.]

[72] *Ibid.*, 351.

[73] *Supra*, 522 *f.*

[74] Shelley: Selection and Transfer of Teachers. [*P. S. J.*, XXXVI, May, 1883, 404.]

[75] Hays: Money Value of Ed. [*Ibid.*, XXIII, Sept., 1874, 93.]

The formal disciplinary conception of education.—This theory continued to be stressed by many schoolmen throughout the entire century.[77] Many of its advocates defended the teaching of the classics and mathematics for the purpose of developing the mind.[78] James P. Wickersham, principal of the first State Normal School at Millersville, editor, for ten years, of the *Pennsylvania School Journal,* State superintendent from 1866 to 1881, and author of pedagogical works,[79] once remarked: "A blacksmith's arm and the mind of a Bacon grew virtually by the same process. We learn to remember by remembering . . . and in no other way."[80] In the examination of teachers, questions were asked regarding the development of faculties. Superintendent Gregory, of Clearfield county, asked the following questions, in 1876: "What is a faculty? How many and what are the classes of intellectual faculties? . . . To which of these classes does memory belong? Reason? Judgment? Imagination? . . . What faculties are the earliest developed in the child?"[81] As late as 1892, the disciplinary theory of education had its advocates: "Substitution of science for the classics," said one of these, "was tried, and Germany—foremost in science then as now—through the united faculties of her great universities, told the world that they would not receive graduates from the *realschulen,* from which the classics were excluded. After practical experiment extending over years, they decided that the best development of mind comes from training in Latin and Greek and the stiffer mathematics. This is the food for grasp—grip—grit."[82]

Yet, this theory soon came to be questioned, especially by advocates of the utilitarian philosophy of education, who became numerous from 1860 on. Those who defended the classics almost invariably fell back upon the disciplinary argument as a sufficient justification of their views.[83] When Spencer's *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical,* in 1861, reached Thomas Burrowes, long a leader in public school activities in the State,[84] it was severely criticized by him. This new apostle of utilitarianism, and declaimer of dogmatism in teaching, he proclaimed a most dangerous and heretical philosopher. Experiment should not be substituted, he said, for "certain knowledge" in cultivating the "Mind and Morals . . . Sympathies and Habits" of human beings.[85] While he condemned Spencer for his dogmatism, he himself spoke with all the assuredness of a mediaeval realist. Spencer's philosophy, however, soon found many followers, who, in advocating utilitarianism, condemned or modified, at the same time, the whole notion of discipline. Horace Greeley, whose philosophy was summed up in the prayer, "Give us our daily bread,"[86] remarked, even before Spencer's work appeared, in an address at Wyoming Seminary, in Kingston: "I would affirm that the mind is disciplined best by its own proper work; and not by making this discipline the great end. I would say to the farmer's son, poring over Greek verbs and Hebrew roots and accents; to the damsel of sixteen, wasting her sweetness on algebra and geometry, what do you propose to do with this, when you have mastered it. . . . If you propose to turn it to some practical account, very well; but if you only acquire it with an eye to mental discipline, then I protest against it as a waste of time and energy."[87] The editor of the *School Journal* later denounced Greeley's philosophy as he had done Spencer's.[88] Now, he insists that the purpose of education is "to improve the mind,"[89] and remarks that Greeley's article, The Educational Problem, "is one of those ill-considered, loosely expressed, reckless articles which are volunteered in such large quantities and unstinted confidence, for the instruction of the educationist, by men without practical knowledge on the subject."[90] Soon, it became customary to denounce the disciplinary theory, or modify it, as a justification of more practical and realistic curricular tendencies and practices. One school superintendent, in 1878, pronounced the whole theory fallacious.[91] Another, ten years later, announced: "We may be wrong, but we think that a course of study from our high school, in its character purely English, may be formed, which will tax all the energies of our boys and girls, and afford such ample means of mental discipline as to lift the school to an honorable position among the high schools of the State."[92] Still another would confine all disciplinary instruction to the elementary grades, believing that "the high school . . . should be more practical" and "give greater attention to the utility side of education."[93] The validity of the disciplinary theory was thus being questioned with increasing frequency, as new needs in society and new popular demands called for a curriculum more closely conforming with the needs of life.

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[76] *Infra,* 563 *ff.*

[77] *Supra,* 319 *ff.*

[78] Woodward: Address. [*P. S. J.,* I, Sept., 1852, 186–92.]

[79] Monroe: *Cyclopedia of Ed.,* V, 772.

[80] Ed. Aphorisms. [*P. S. J.,* II, March, 1854, 275.]

[81] Exam. Questions. [*Ibid.,* XXIV, Jan., 1876, 235–6.]

[82] Jeffers: The Place of the High School. [*Ibid.,* XLII, 394.]

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[83] *E.g.*, last citation.

[84] See Wickersham: *Hist. of Ed. in Pa.*, 346, *passim.*

[85] Spencer on Ed. [*P. S. J.*, IX, Jan., 1861, 197.]

[86] Greeley: The Ed. Problem. [*Ibid.*, XII, 311. Reprint from *New York Independent.*]

[87] Ed.: Its Motives, Methods and Ends. [*Ibid.*, VI, Nov., 1857, 158–9.]

[88] Horace Greeley on Ed. [*Ibid.*, XII, April, 1864, 291–4.]

[89] *Ibid.*, 292.

[90] *Ibid.*, 291.

Industrial developments.—The rapid and extensive industrial expansion in the State in the nineteenth century has been described elsewhere.[94] That expansion called for a new type of education, the practical and vocational. But, there was another factor which hastened the acceptance of the new educational philosophy. That factor was the growing competition for industrial supremacy between the nations. Superintendent Wickersham, after attempting to show that crime in the United States was occasioned largely by our neglect to give youths a trade, remarked: "But technical education concerns us in another view. We will find in the near future that, if we are to keep pace with other nations, technical education must receive more attention."[95] He expressed a similar conviction, in 1874,[96] and 1875.[96a] Educators complained that skilled workmen had to be imported from abroad. A writer, in 1875, pointed out that our manfacturers had to import their designers from foreign countries, and pay them from $1,500 to $10,000 per year. "In our tour through the East," he said, ". . . we did not find, in any manufacturing establishment visited, a single native-born American designer."[97] To employ Americans, he remarked, would put our manufactures out of the market. Similar findings and complaints against the imperfections of our schools appeared in later years.[98] The industrialization of the State, coupled with increasing trade rivalry between the nations, led to new educational theories and curricular practices.

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[91] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1878, 4–5.

[92] *Ibid.*, 1889, 115.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1889, 68.

[94] *Supra*, 145 *ff.*, 439 *ff.*

[95] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1872, pp. XXIX–XXX.

[96] *Ibid.*, 1874, p. XXVII.

[96a] *Supra*, 521.

[97] Montgomery: Industrial Drawing. [*P. S. J.*, XXIV, Sept., 1875, 86.]

Out of the new needs of our changing civilization grew a renewal of the centuries-old controversy between the advocates of a liberal and the advocates of a utilitarian education. That controversy can be reviewed but briefly here. In 1835, a speaker addressing the Lyceum of Newtown, in Bucks county, on the *Kind and Extent of Education,* foreshadowed in many ways Spencer's approach to the problem, thirty years later. ''What instruments,'' he remarked, ''are necessary for accomplishing the various objects of human pursuit? The answer I would give most emphatically, and which I am sure every one present will respond to, is *Knowledge*—general and particular *Knowledge.* . . . Does not every one have to learn how to do the most simple things? The very first necessaries of life cannot be procured without knowledge—knowledge that is acquired. . . . I have already said, *some* knowledge is indispensable in every department of human labor and pursuit. In many kinds of business, a considerable degree of *scientific* knowledge is almost indispensable; and in nearly all, a knowledge of some of the sciences, is of the utmost importance. . . . An acquaintance with science, (which . . . is but another name for knowledge,) not only fits men for *particular kinds* of business, but qualifies them for business in general.''[99] Another speaker, addressing the legislature, in 1838, on behalf of a School of Arts, remarked that a scientific age demanded a practical education; that it was needed to make more skilled mechanics; and that the necessities of trade, manufactures and mining made attention to such education imperative.[100] Another, in 1842, said the professions were filled and that parents ought to direct their sons into the field of mechanic arts.[101] Soon, Horace Greeley's cry, of ''Give us our daily bread,'' was heard through Pennsylvania,[102] and Spencer's utilitarian philosophy threatened the citadel of humanism, where the idea of a liberal education was still firmly enthroned. We have referred elsewhere to Thomas Burrowes' denunciation of Spencer's philosophy, because it was evidently not in harmony with the disciplinary theory of education. He denounced it, however, more violently on other grounds. After ridiculing his use of such unheard-of terms as "sociology," "consensus," "utilized," and "curriculum," he said of the last: "And what a 'curriculum'! After many pages given to the consideration of those 'activities' which are made to constitute human life, one 'activity' being 'subordinated' to another, that to the next in order upward, and so on, till 'those activities which directly minister to self-preservation' are placed at the head, 'in the true order of subordination'—the author takes in earnest to his 'curriculum.' Dogmatically rejecting the study of 'language' as mere memory work and as leading to 'submission to Dogmatic Teaching,' and barely tolerating the 'mathematics,'—Science is to be the whole 'curriculum.' "[103] He particularly denounced Spencer's views on moral training,[104] and referred to the entire work as "the materialistic speculations of a metaphysical transcendentalist of no very high order, in all wherein it purports to depart from commonly received views; while on those points in which it condescends to accept established theories, it is neither remarkable for satisfactory fullness nor superior arrangement."[105] Similar attacks, later, were made by others on Spencer's philosophy, because of its emphasis upon the importance of the physical sciences, and its rationalistic approach to moral education.[106] This earlier attitude of our schoolmen is interesting to-day in light of the fact that, in 1918, Spencer's view of what knowledge is of most worth received the approval of the National Education Association.[107]

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[98] *E.g.,* Manual Instruction. [Editorial, *Ibid.,* XXXIII, Dec., 1884, 248.]

[99] Parsons: *An Inquiry into the Kind and Extent of Education,* 3 *ff.*

[100] Dillingham: *Speech . . . in Favor of the Bill to Establish a School of Arts,* 3–14.

[101] Watson: *Annals,* II, 584.

[102] *Supra,* 527.

In the midst of all this agitation for the introduction of the scientific and utilitarian element into education, men were asking the question: shall we abandon the classics and the cultural studies in our public schools and other institutions? The earlier replies to the question, based on the acceptance of faculty psychology and the disciplinary theory, emphasized the distinction between special and general education, the former needed by every one, the latter only by special groups or individuals.[108] These respondents to the question would exclude special training from public schools, academies and colleges, because their purpose was one of mental development, and because special training in them would create partiality toward individuals or groups. Others defended the idea of a liberal education much more definitely. We hear, in 1854, that people who object to the classics are ignorant of the laws of mental growth; that there is no high-speed railroad to mental power and culture; that we cannot understand English without the classics, and that those who would substitute English for Latin and Greek suffer from the worst form of mental blindness; and that, finally, a liberal education makes a mechanic a better man and a more efficient mechanic.[109] The *School Journal,* in 1861, threw the weight of its influence on the side of the humanities: "The study of other languages than our own," it said editorially, "is an invaluable means of mental improvement, and gives a degree of power and pleasure to the mind, attainable by no other means. . . . In a utilitarian point of view, no kind of knowledge is more valuable, than the possession of other languages."[110] A few years later, a writer denounced the utilitarians, and asserted that, to train the mind, and to make Miltons and Humes, we must retain the classics, and all high schools should, therefore, teach Latin and Greek.[111] The sciences ought to be taught, he said, in special schools, but all general schools ought to teach the classics.[112] Thomas Burrowes may be said to have closed the theoretical struggle, which had been waged with much animation for two decades, when he addressed the State Teachers' Association, in 1869. He blamed inefficient teachers for the wave of antagonism against the "old studies," which were so poorly taught that the "working world is loud in its demand for what are called the 'bread and butter sciences,' and generally though ignorantly denounces others which are in their nature, the most useful and practical.''[113] He went on to say that ''a mathematician is generally but another name for one ridiculously ignorant of all the common affairs of life,'' and that it was the greatest possible error to consider the classics and philology worthless studies.[114]

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[103] Spencer on Ed. [*P. S. J.*, IX, Jan., 1861, 198.]

[104] *Ibid.*, 199.

[105] *Ibid.*, 197.

[106] Brooks: The Spiritual Element in Education. [*Ibid.*, XVII, Oct., 1868, 108–13.]

[107] Grizzell: *Education: Principles and Practices*, 9–10.

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[108] Andrews: Relation of Schools and Colleges. [*P. S. J.*, I, 156–60]; Wickersham: Education—Its True End. [*Ibid.*, I, 53–4.]

[109] Hamlin: On Fastness. [*Ibid.*, II, March, 1854, 295–8.]

[110] *Ibid.*, IX, March, 1861, 260.

[111] Burns: Must the Classics Be Abandoned? [*Ibid.*, XVIII, Oct., 1869, 106–8.]

[112] *Ibid.*

Between the extreme utilitarians and the extreme humanists, there gradually emerged a group of moderate thinkers, who propounded a philosophy embodying both ideals, and which did not lean noticeably toward any one extreme view. A committee reporting at the State Educational Convention, in 1862, on a course of study for secondary schools stated, as principles, that such a course should provide for the discipline of the mind, be adapted to the comprehension of the pupil, and have in view his probable future vocation and avocations.[115] In 1868, Edward Brooks, a prominent schoolman, head of the Millersville Normal School from 1866 to 1883, and author of mathematical textbooks and pedagogical works,[116] defended, in a lengthy article in the *School Journal,* the idea of a curriculum embodying both the utilitarian and the humanistic philosophy.[117] During the two decades before 1876, when the leading actors in this controversy held the centre of the stage, the high school curriculum almost universally had not changed in answer to industrial demands. Pittsburgh High School had a department of technical instruction, in 1873,[118] and mechanical drawing was often advocated, and sometimes introduced into public high schools.[119] The high schools of Erie, Chester and Pittsburgh sent exhibits of mechanical drawing to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, in 1876,[120] but these, even in respect to mechanical drawing, were pioneers. Foreign influence eventually provided the stimulus which brought industrial education prominently before educators, and which led to new practices in our public high schools.

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[113] State Teachers' Assn. [*Ibid.*, XVIII, 87–8.]

[114] *Ibid.*

[115] Course of Studies in H. Schools, Acads., and Sems. [*Ibid.*, XI, Sept., 1862, 89–90.]

[116] Wickersham: *Hist. of Ed. in Pa.*, 623–5.

[117] The Spiritual Element in Ed. [*Loc. cit.*, XVII, Oct., 1868, 108–13.]

[118] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1873, p. XXX.

[119] Allegheny City. [*P. S. J.*, XX, May, 1872, 357]; *State Supt. Rept.*, 1875, XXIV *ff.*

[120] Further Concerning Our Centennial Exhibition. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XXV, Feb., 1877, 306.]

The Centennial Exhibition and the manual training movement.—We have seen that instruction in trades had been advocated for many years.[121] The foreign educational exhibits in Philadelphia, in 1876, however, added a new ardor and a new motive for the work that had been already begun. The *School Journal* remarked immediately: "It is enough to say now that Europe is greatly in advance of America in the matter of technical and industrial education, and we should hasten to profit by her experience."[122] From now on, industrial education became one of the leading topics of discussion for almost two decades.[123] In 1889, a commission, appointed by the Governor to study the problem of industrial education, reported in favor of the introduction of manual training into the public schools of the State.[124] The commission included some of our prominent schoolmen.[125] Its members studied practices at home and abroad, one of them visiting England, France and Belgium for the purpose.[126] Special mention was given in the report to the St. Louis[127] and Philadelphia[128] manual training schools. The writer has not found a single reference to manual training, as its advocates interpreted it, prior to the Centennial Exhibition, and it would seem to be a well-established truth, that, before this time, the idea of manual training had not come to the attention of Pennsylvania schoolmen.[129]

While the idea of manual training, and its introduction into some of our high schools, satisfied, for a decade or more, the most ardent advocates of industrial training, the leaders in the movement disclaimed all intention of specially preparing students for the various trades. State Superintendent Wickersham, in his *Report* of 1877, described the industrial schools of Europe, but recommended one type for Pennsylvania, namely, the *"workshop schools,"* where "pupils study the ordinary branches of learning part of the time, and are employed in the shops or working-rooms the remaining part of it."[130] He further remarked: "The work done by pupils, in the industrial departments of our schools, must be mainly disciplinary and artistic. The aim should be to form habits of industry, to create a taste for work and the ambition to excel in it, and to impart a degree of skill that may be turned to practical account. . . . Provided with proper materials and tools, the pupils would commence and follow out a series of well-graded, logical steps, toward the end desired to be reached. All the elementary operations, essential in the working of wood, stone, iron, brass, etc., can thus be taught. This kind of work is an education in itself."[131] This disciplinary idea, thus stressed at the close of the Exhibition, remained the essential philosophy embodied in manual training practice. The commission, of 1889, just referred to, expressed very clearly that philosophy: "Manual training does not mean simply the use of the hand, nor does it mean simply the training of the hand for the sake of the hand, or for the sake of the productive skill which that training gives. It is a training of the hand for the purpose of securing at the same time and primarily, the training of the mind, through the senses of touch and perception. The hand cannot be trained to accurate methods without at the same time holding the eye to accurate observation; and hand and eye cannot be trained to accurate observation and manipulation without at the same time exercising the mental faculties of attention, comparison, reflection and judgment. The use of tools upon material substances develops this entire circle of faculties; develops them in such mutual relation that each supports and is supported by the others."[132] This purpose of manual training continued to be accepted. It was announced by the North East Manual Training School of Philadelphia, in 1895, that "The object of a manual training school is the education of all the faculties, and not the training of any special group. It must be borne in mind that such an institution is not a trade school.''[133] Here and there a homely philosopher sneered. Superintendent Ditchburn, of Tamaqua, reported to the State Department, in 1889: ''We have as yet had no attack of manual training, kindergarten, cooking school or any other of the education fads. Psychology and pedagogics in a mild kind of form we have had, but it was nothing serious, not sufficient to interfere with the general health of the system.''[134]

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[121] *Supra*, 25, 115, 296 *f.*, 528 *f.*

[122] *Loc. cit.*, XXV, Aug., 1876, 84.

[123] See Industrial Ed. at the National Assn. [*P. S. J.*, XXVI, Nov., 1877, 161]; Jackson: Ind. Ed. [*Ibid.*, XXV, Jan., 1877, 251]; *State Supt. Rept.*, 1877, pp. XVII–XX; Streeter: How Can Ind. Arts Be Introduced into Our Pub. Schools? [*P. S. J.*, XXXII, Aug., 1883, 65–70]; Fetterolf: Manual Training. [*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 112–5.]

[124] *Rept. of Com. on Ind. Ed.*, 1889, 1–25.

[125] *Ibid.*, 1.

[126] *Ibid.*, 3.

[127] *Ibid.*, 10.

[128] *Ibid.*, 274–6.

[129] For the history of the manual training movement the reader is referred to general histories of education and other sources—*e.g.*, *Rept. of Com. on Ind. Ed.*, 244–5; for an excellent brief account of the movement see "Manual Training as a Propaganda." [*Rept. of U. S. Com. of Ed.*, 1887–8, 826–909.]

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[130] *Loc. cit.*, p. XVIII.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. XX.

[132] *Rept. of Com. on Ind. Ed.*, 1889, 9.

The Centennial Exhibition, then, brought to us manual training instruction. An attempt, in 1880, to convert the Central High School of Philadelphia into a ''technical or scientific'' school,[135] and another, in 1881, to give instruction in the ''use of tools and sewing in the public schools,'' failed. Public demand, however, and an appropriation by the City Council,[136] led to the establishment and opening of the Philadelphia Manual Training School, in 1885.[137] The school offered a three-year course, and was open to boys who had ''finished the Twelfth Grade, or any higher grade of the Grammar School Course.''[138] Candidates for admission had to be fourteen years of age, and pass an examination in reading, spelling, grammar, composition, penmanship, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and drawing.[139] The course in the Manual Training School, in addition to arithmetic, algebra, English language and classics, history of the United States, civil government, physiology, physical geography, geometry, physics, trigonometry, mensuration, social science, bookkeeping and chemistry, offered instruction in free-hand and mechanical drawing, carpentry, joinery, woodcarving, wood-turning, pattern-making, use and care of tools, designing, forging, welding, tempering, soldering, brazing, molding, casting, mechanics, architectural drawing, bench-work and fitting, turning, drilling, planing, screw-cutting, care of steam-engines and boilers, stone-work, masonry, principles of textile and fictile arts, with instruction throughout the course in the properties of wood, iron, brass, clay, stone, wool, and cotton.[140] This school was so much in demand that another, the North East

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[133] *Catalogue,* 1895–6, 6.

[134] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1889, 158.

[135] *Min. Bd. of Control.,* April 13, 1880.

[136] *Ibid.,* Jan. 13, 1885.

[137] *Ibid.,* April 14, July 1, 1885.

[138] *Rules and Course of Instruction and Training for the Man. Training School,* 1.

[139] *Ibid.,* 3–4.

[140] *Ibid.,* 4.

Manual Training School, was opened in 1890.[141] The conditions for admission were practically the same as in the school of 1885, except that boys, in 1895, were admitted at the age of thirteen years.[142] Modern foreign languages, however, were added to the course for the benefit of those planning to enter college.[143]

By this time manual training had been introduced into some public schools of the State. New Brighton began to experiment with the work, in 1887.[144] Tidioute Union School offered instruction in ''manual training and industrial work,'' in 1888.[145] The Chester High School offered similar work, in 1890.[146] The city superintendent of Pittsburgh, in 1891, announced that arrangements had been completed for the introduction of the ''Sloyd or Swedish system of industrial school work.''[147] The word, Sloyd, has been said to be equivalent to the English expression ''manual dexterity,''[148] and the Sloyd plan was said to include ''the elements of manual training that aim, precisely as we aim, at manual training rather than industrial education proper.''[149] The State normal schools, at West Chester,[150] Indiana,[151] and California[152] gave instruction in manual training, in 1889.

It was in the midst of this enthusiasm for manual training that speakers and writers called attention to the special needs for practical training existing among girls. One recommended, in 1885, that girls ought to be taught such subjects as wood-carving, design, embroidery, painting, drawing, cooking, needlework, and mixing of colors.[153] The girls in Indiana Normal School, in 1889, engaged in manual training work,[154] and a lady who had ''passed through the celebrated slojd schools of Sweden'' was put in charge of this training in California Normal School in the same year.[155]

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[141] *Catalogue*, 1895–6, 5.

[142] *Ibid.*, 5.

[143] *Ibid.*, 8 *f.*

[144] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1887, 7. Manual Training as a Propaganda. [*U. S. Comm. of Ed. Rept.*, 1887–8, 871.]

[145] Trip to Tidioute. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XXXVI, April, 1888, 375–6.]

[146] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1890, 126.

[147] *Ibid.*, 1891, 159.

[148] Manual Training as a Propaganda. [*U. S. Comm. of Ed. Rept.*, 1887–8, 829.]

[149] *Ibid.*, 827.

[150] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1889, 166.

[151] *Ibid.*, 173–4.

[152] *Ibid.*, 175.

[153] Riddle: Ind. Feature of Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIV, 95–8.]

[154] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1889, 173.

[155] *Ibid.*, 175.

Manual training, however, was being questioned almost from its inception. The whole new education was attacked as follows in 1884:

> With its devotion to science and to manual training, the new education neglects literature. Its very spirit is materialistic—of the earth, earthly. Grossly utilitarian, it appeals to and seeks to gratify avarice and selfishness. Disdaining the study of the *dead* languages, it neglects the *living*. It knows as little of Milton, Burke, and Webster, as of Homer, Cicero, and Demosthenes. Its chief object is to minister to the merely physical, to animal wants which cannot satisfy the rational soul. Like Bunyan's man with the muck-rake, it too seldom looks up.[156]

Governor Beaver, in his inaugural address in 1887, said that the common schools could only teach the principles underlying the trades, while "the application of these principles to a specific object is better reached through the medium of Trade Schools," which "should be established with reference to the wants of particular localities, by local enterprise, or private charity."[157] In the following year, Isaiah V. Williamson bequeathed $1,596,000 for the purpose of establishing, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, The Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades.[158] The school was designed to be vocational, and to prepare boys, definitely and specially, for the various trades, with a view to the general betterment of society.[159] Not a word was said in this document about manual training, but it was, on the contrary, definitely asserted that one of the purposes of the school was to provide a substitute for the old apprenticeship system.[160]

To what extent our educational leaders, in the years following the Exhibition, were convinced of the soundness of the theory of manual training, in its disciplinary aspects, cannot be determined. There was some popular distrust of the motive back of purely industrial schools, and educators may have found the pedagogical justification for manual training a convenient selling argument. A writer, in 1888, remarked: "An argument used against Industrial Schools by some is that they will be used to teach boys and girls occupations and trades which will make them but slaves to employers on leaving school. Trades should not be taught in schools, but the American youth should be so instructed in hand and brain as to enable him to cope so successfully with the agencies of the world's production as to break the power of the unscrupulous employer and make machinery the slave of man, instead of the hard unrelenting master it is today.''[161]

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[156] Buehrle: The New Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XXXIII, Sept., 1884, 112.]

[157] Governor Beaver on the Ed. Question. [Cited in *Ibid.*, XXXV, 322–4.]

[158] *Foundation Deed*, 6.

[159] *Ibid.*, 1 *ff*.

[160] *Ibid.*, 1, 17.

The result of economic changes in the State, and of four or five decades of controversy, was that we undertook to define anew what men for ages had been accustomed to call a liberal education. State Superintendent Wickersham, in 1878, seems to have been somewhat in sympathy with the European, or preparatory, conception of secondary education, and he recommended that, here, the gap between the elementary school and the university ought to be filled.[162] Eight years later, another State superintendent defined secondary education not merely as intermediate instruction leading to college, but also as instruction preparatory to trades and industries.[163] A writer, in 1894, recommending the establishment of a commercial high school in Philadelphia, may be said to have defined a liberal education and culture, as these terms were coming to be understood in Pennsylvania at that time.[164] Having stated his belief that ''all secondary education should have a liberal tendency,''[165] he pointed out that, for a long time, the classics were deemed the only cultural studies; that, later, the sciences came to be similarly esteemed; that manual training, against opposition, had proved itself a new road to culture; and that, now, the friends of commercial studies urge the same reason for the establishment of commercial high schools.[166] ''Just,'' he said, ''as the study of the classics will accomplish the highest educational result for one type of mind, and that of natural science for another, and that of mechanics and art for another, so that of politics and economics and business will do it for still another.''[167] Culture, according to this philosophy, had at last become not only the birthright, but a birthright easily attainable by every youth in the State.

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[161] Powderly: Ind. Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XXXVII, 110.]

[162] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1878, pp. XX–XXI; *Supra*, 520.

[163] *Ibid.*, 1886, pp. XVI–XVII.

[164] James: *Philadelphia's Need of a Commercial High School*, 7 *ff*.

[165] *Ibid.*, 8.

[166] *Ibid.*

[167] *Ibid.*, 10.

The reorganization movement.—The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the development of intense interest in the curriculum of the high school in Pennsylvania, as generally throughout the United States. The report, in 1893, of the Committee of Ten on Secondary Schools, appointed by the National Education Association,[168] led to much interest and activity among educators here. In 1895, a committee of the State Teachers' Association reported on a plan of secondary education for the State. The report advocated making the transition from the elementary to the high school "easier rather than more difficult," and the "adoption of a course of study somewhat flexible, so as to suit the diverse wants of different sections of the Commonwealth, which should embrace—:"

> 1. The study of civics, including the Constitution of Pennsylvania.
> 2. A daily recitation in elementary science, except in the case of pupils who study Greek and Latin with a view of entering College.
> 3. A review of arithmetic after the elements of algebra and geometry have been studied; a review of geography after the elementary sciences have received attention; and a review of English grammar after rhetoric and possibly the elements of Latin have been studied. Reviews should not exclude the introduction of new matter either during the recitation or during the preparation of the lessons assigned.
> 4. The adoption of the curricula of the Committee of Ten, as ideal courses toward which teachers and pupils may work; but in no case is a curriculum to be followed as if it were to be forced upon the pupils without due regard to their capacities and the requirements of the vocation they are destined to follow.[169]

There was sounded, in this fourth section, a note not entirely in harmony with the recommendation of the Committee of Ten, that all secondary school students should receive the same type of instruction regardless of their future vocations.[170] Others later found cause for discontent. In 1899, the studies recommended by the Committee of Ten were assailed, because they implied that the "useful" is "the chief end," and did not provide definitely enough for college.[171] While college preparation, it was stated, need not be the chief purpose, the secondary school course ought to be so arranged that the student, if he later desired it, could enter college. The argument against college preparation on the ground that not many Pennsylvania youths entered college was said to be fallacious, because "a great many of our high school graduates would enter college if they were prepared to do so."[172] While this nation-wide movement aroused much interest and much discussion, its effect was not felt until the past decades of the twentieth century. Curricular practice in Pennsylvania in the closing decade of the nineteenth century does not show evidence of any changes resulting from that interest.

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[168] For good brief account see Kandel: *Hist. of Sec. Ed.*, 472 *ff.*

[169] *P. S. J.*, XLIV, 56.

[170] Kandel: *Op. cit.*, 473.

[171] Baer: High School Course. [*P. S. J.*, XLVII, 480–2.]

II. *Development of the Curriculum*

The procedure followed in tracing the evolution of the high school curriculum has been the same as that used in the case of academies[173] and female seminaries.[174] The offerings of one hundred and forty schools, between 1836 and 1900, have been tabulated. As a very general rule, these have been taken from the minutes of boards of education. A few have been taken, however, from student examination records, catalogues, annual reports of district superintendents, and, in a few cases, from the reports of district superintendents, as published in the annual reports of the State superintendents. The results are believed to represent adequately the curricular offerings of the high school in the period covered.

As in the case of academies, the high school offered instruction in a wide variety of subjects and subdivisions of subjects. For tabulation purposes, the writer has enumerated one hundred and fifty-five such items of instruction, which were found mentioned separately, and by name, in the sources which he consulted. Thus, under the subject of English have been listed, reading, writing, spelling, orthography, etymology, study of words, grammar, parsing, analysis, composition, dictation, logic, rhetoric, belles lettres, English literature, American literature, elocution and declamation. A similar wide variety of subdivisions were found in the fields of the social sciences, mathematics and Latin. The numbers, however, were much smaller in the case of Greek, French, German, natural sciences, physical sciences, industrial arts, commercial studies, intellectual and moral science, pedagogy and music. A few subjects were mentioned so rarely that, in computing the percentages, in the accompanying table, they have been ignored. With the exception of natural philosophy and physics, subjects which in practice differed probably only in name have been combined. This practice has been followed, for instance, in the case of spelling and orthography, and of etymology and the study of words, but, wherever doubt existed regarding the predominance of common elements in the subjects, the percentages have been computed separately. The tabular method of presenting the facts does not disclose all of the tendencies that appear upon the original chart but, with few exceptions, it reveals accurately and completely the drift of curricular practice. Some of the facts which the table does not reveal are: (1) that mental philosophy disappeared entirely after 1888, and that moral philosophy was mentioned for only two schools after that date; (2) that civics was mentioned as a subject in only two schools before 1885, but became almost universally included in the curriculum between 1890 and 1900; (3) that, while Horace, Tacitus, Livy and Sallust were occasionally read in high schools before 1875, Caesar, Cicero and Virgil were the only Latin authors read in the schools listed after that date; and (4) that, with two exceptions, and these in the earliest part of the period, Homer and Xenophon were the only Greek authors which appeared among the offerings of these high schools. Some subjects were charted but do not appear on the table because of the infrequency of their occurrence. These include ancient, mediaeval, and modern history, the Constitution of Pennsylvania, mineralogy, anatomy, hygiene, biology, navigation, mechanics, civil engineering, practical engineering, architecture, shorthand, typewriting and commercial law. Shorthand, under the name of phonography, was taught in the Philadelphia Central High School, in 1854,[175] and in Honesdale, in 1865.[176] At the end of the century, it appeared again, with typewriting, in two schools. In the high schools, generally, throughout the period, bookkeeping continued to be the chief business subject taught, commercial arithmetic showing signs of vigor toward the end of the century.

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[172] *Ibid.*

[173] *Supra,* 325 *ff.*

[174] *Supra,* 427 *ff.*

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[175] *Thirty-Sixth Rept. of Controllers,* 119–20.

[176] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Sept. 1, 1865.

TABLE VII.—*Per cent. of high schools offering certain subjects*[1]

Subjects	1836–1875 (48 schools)	1836–1900 (140 schools)	1876–1900 (92 schools)
ENGLISH STUDIES			
Reading	52	36	28
Writing	42	18	7
Spelling	48	41	37
Etymology	32	23	18
Grammar	75	77	78
Composition	54	42	47
Logic	17	7	2
Rhetoric	62	73	79
English literature	19	52	71
American literature	6	10	12
Elocution	19	16	15
Declamation	44	22	11
FOREIGN LANGUAGES			
Latin	69	73	75
Greek	48	38	33
French	33	18	11
German	29	38	42
SOCIAL STUDIES			
History (In some form)	94	93	93
United States history	42	43	45
English history	17	23	27
General history	33	42	58
United States Constitution	33	24	20
Political science	27	25	24
Civics	2	30	45
Geography (In some form)	90	82	78
Geography	48	24	12
Physical geography	56	66	72
PHYSICAL SCIENCES			
Physics	0	24	37
Natural philosophy	87	68	58
Chemistry	65	57	53
Astronomy	54	42	36
NATURAL SCIENCES			
Botany	25	39	47
Geology	33	38	40
Zoology	10	11	12
Natural history	12	7	4
Physiology	56	61	64
MATHEMATICS			
Arithmetic	75	78	79
Algebra	92	95	97
Geometry	81	90	95
Trigonometry	48	39	34
Mensuration	23	9	2
Surveying	44	23	12

TABLE VII.—(*Continued*)

Subjects	1836–1875 (48 schools)	1836–1900 (140 schools)	1876–1900 (92 schools)
PRACTICAL AND FINE ARTS			
Mechanical drawing	2	6	9
Drawing	33	36	38
Manual training	0	3	5
Music	12	14	15
COMMERCIAL STUDIES			
Bookkeeping	58	67	72
Commercial arithmetic	4	9	12
Penmanship	23	21	20
PEDAGOGICAL STUDIES			
Mental philosophy	32	20	14
Pedagogical studies	4	6	8
ETHICS			
Moral philosophy	23	14	10[2]

[1] Based upon manuscript tabulation in possession of the author.

[2] In 1887–88, thirty-three high schools reported to the United States Commissioner of Education the following percentage of students pursuing various subjects: English Language and Literature, 57.65; Latin, 42.08; Greek, 2.33; French, 1.21; German, 22.96; Mathematics, 96.90; Physics, 34.66; Chemistry, 16.80; and other sciences, 27.20. [*U. S. Comm. of Ed. Rept.*, 1887–88, 490.]

A comparison of the curricula of the academies and high schools shows that, while the purely elementary studies tended to increase in their frequency of occurrence in the former, there was a very decidedly opposite tendency evident in the latter. Similarly, while moral and mental philosophy increased in frequency in the academies, they were rapidly disappearing from the high schools, after 1875. It also appears that the ancient and modern foreign languages, with the exception of German, never attained in high schools the prominence which they held in the academies. The subjects that received the greatest emphasis in the academies appear from the tabulation[177] to have been Latin, Greek, grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra, geometry and natural philosophy. With the exception of Latin and Greek, all these offerings of the academies received much greater emphasis in the high schools. Moreover, rhetoric, English literature, history and bookkeeping, which did not hold a prominent place in the academies, were elevated to a place of primary importance in the curriculum of the high schools.

[177] *Supra*, 328 *f*.

The vast majority of the high schools of the State, before 1900, offered only one curriculum. Like the academies, they offered many subjects of study, and students probably were given a certain degree of freedom in choosing their studies. The high school courses, however, were, almost universally, carefully and definitely organized, and graduation depended on the successful completion of the course. Thus, for instance, graduation depended on completion of a four-year course in Mauch Chunk, in 1868,[178] and on the completion of a three-year course in Hollidaysburg, in 1876.[179] Students in Hamburg High School, in 1872, were required to take all the subjects of their various classes or be demoted to a lower school.[180] While the vast majority were one-course schools, a goodly number offered two or more curricula. It has been noted that the Central High School of Philadelphia, in its earliest years, offered three curricula.[181] In 1854, these were reduced to two, by the combination of the classical and ''principal'' courses.[182] In the same year, Lancaster High School offered three curricula, ''The English, the Classical and the Modern.''[183] Reading High School, in 1862, offered two curricula, the classical and the English,[184] an arrangement which continued for many years,[185] and York High School, in 1871, offered three, the English, English-modern-language, and the English-classical-modern-language.[186] Erie High School, in 1872, offered a similar number, the classical, the English, and eclectic, the latter a combination of classical, English, and modern-language studies, elected by the students.[187] German and French curricula were proposed at this time.[188] Diplomas differed with the curricula and the quality of the students' work. It was stated: ''Those students who gain an ordinary standing in the studies of the English and Eclectic Courses will receive a 'Diploma.' Those that pass through the same with a good record will receive a 'Diploma of Honor.' Those that pass through the classical course and pass a thorough examination in the same, and those that distinguish themselves in the studies of the English or Eclectic Course will receive a 'Diploma of Distinction.' "[189] Other schools offering more than one curriculum were, for instance, that of Warren, 1874,[190] of New Castle, 1886,[191] of Wilkes-Barre, 1887,[192] of Butler, 1888,[193] of Pittsburgh, 1890,[194] of Bedford, 1892,[195] of Greensburg, 1894,[196] of Beaver, 1894,[197] of North East, 1895,[198] and of Cheltenham, 1896.[199] In all of these cases, except Pittsburgh, in which mention is made of an "academic Department," in addition to others, one of the curricula was called the classical and another was named the "English," the "general," the "practical," the "scientific," or the "literary," the difference being largely one of name. An occasional school offered a commercial curriculum, as did Pittsburgh in 1868,[200] Erie, 1875,[201] Reading, 1884,[202] Wilkes-Barre, 1890,[203] Greensburg, 1894,[204] and Chester, 1900.[205] As a rule, all curricula occupied the same number of years for completion, but there was a tendency to shorten the time of the commercial curriculum. Thus the "classical" and "general" curricula of Erie High School, in 1880, were on a four-year basis, while the time allotted to the commercial course was three years;[206] the "English-Commercial Course" in Wilkes-Barre, in 1890, occupied but two years, while the "Latin Scientific" occupied four;[207] and a similar practice prevailed in Chester in 1900.[208] The growth of commercial education was slow until after the turn of the century.[209]

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[178] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 25.

[179] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 13.

[180] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Jan. 12.

[181] *Supra*, 493 *ff*.

[182] *Thirty-Sixth Rept. of Controllers*, 119–20.

[183] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 21.

[184] *Second Annual Rept. of Bd. of Ed.*, 200–2.

[185] *Ibid.*, 205–6.

[186] *Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools of York*, 1871, 13 *ff*.

[187] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1872–3, 39–43.

[188] *Ibid.*

It has been stated that the high school curriculum, leading to graduation and a diploma, was definitely fixed and carefully organized.[210] This was probably one of its imperfections. The elective principle was gradually finding converts from an early date. Provision was made in Pittsburgh High School, in 1855, for a choice of Latin, or German and French, in the first year; of composition, declamation, and grammar, or German and French, in the second year.[211] Greek was a required subject in the classical course of the Reading High School, until 1862, when students were permitted to substitute French or German for it.[212] Election was not permitted in the classical course of the Erie High School, in 1872, but a choice of botany, or bookkeeping, or business arithmetic was permitted in the English course, while the "Eclectic Course" was apparently entirely elective.[213] Latin was an "optional" study in Lock Haven High School, in 1872,[214] and in Johnstown, in 1881.[215] In Wellsboro, in 1881, all subjects were required in the first year, but bookkeeping, theory of teaching, French, German and Latin were electives in the remaining three years of the course.[216] After 1880, the elective principle appears to have been adopted in all well-organized high schools. The principle was carried to an extreme when a committee, recommending a rather elaborate course for Lebanon High School, in 1884, proposed that all of the studies should be made "elective."[217] The following arrangement in Steelton High School, in the years 1897–1900, may be regarded as a typical culmination of a development that had been in progress for nearly half a century. For the first two years both courses were exactly the same, and all subjects were required. The subjects in the center column, for the third and fourth years, were required in both courses, while election was permitted in each course, during these last two years, as indicated in the first and third columns.

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[189] *Ibid.*, 42.

[190] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 22.

[191] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 4.

[192] *Fifth Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools, Third District, Wilkes-Barre,* 24–5.

[193] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 4.

[194] *Twenty-Second Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools,* 9–10.

[195] *Second Annual Rept. of Supt., Bedford County,* 30.

[196] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 4.

[197] *Annual Catalogue of Beaver Pub. Schools,* 26 *ff.*

[198] *Manual of the Borough Schools,* 29–30.

[199] *The Cheltenham District School News,* May, 1896, 2.

[200] *First Annual Rept. of Supt.,* 1869, 46 *f.*

[201] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 41–2.

[202] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, 1884–5, 60–1.

[203] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 25.

[204] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 4.

[205] *Rept. and Manual of Pub. Schools,* 26–7.

[206] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1878–80, 46–53.

[207] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 25.

[208] *Rept. and Manual of Pub. Schools,* 26 *ff.*

[209] Wagner: Growth of Com. Ed. in High Schs. of Pa. [*P. S. J.*, Dec., 1929, 227.]

FIRST YEAR

Classical		*Scientific*
	Latin, Physical Geography, English Grammar, Algebra, Arithmetic, Drawing, Vocal Music.	

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[210] *Supra*, 544.

[211] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 21.

[212] *Second Annual Rept. of Bd. of Ed.*, 200 *ff*.

[213] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1872–3, 39–43.

[214] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 18.

[215] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 4.

[216] *Annual Circular of Wellsboro Pub. Schools*, 1881–2.

[217] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 21.

SECOND YEAR

Latin, Elements of Physics,
Botany, English Grammar,
Rhetoric, Literature, Algebra,
Geometry, Drawing,
Vocal Music.

THIRD YEAR

Latin, Greek or German or French.	Composition and Rhetoric, Literature, Geometry, General History, Vocal Music, Drawing.	Chemistry—Laboratory, Arithmetic, German or French.

FOURTH YEAR

Latin, Greek or German or French, Arithmetic or Commercial Arithmetic and Bookkeeping.	English Composition and Literature, American History, Civics, Vocal Music, Drawing.	Physics—Laboratory, Geology, Zoology, Solid Geometry or Commercial Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, German or French.[218]

The first legal attempt to fix the curriculum of high schools was made in 1895. An act of this year required that the directors of every district, participating in grants, now provided for high schools, should employ at least one teacher, "legally certified to teach bookkeeping, civics, general history, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, including plane surveying, rhetoric, English literature, Latin, including Caesar, Virgil and Cicero, and the elements of physics, chemistry, including the chemistry of soils, botany, geology and zoology, including entomology."[219] The writer has been unable to find any evidence that the grants provided by this act for high schools were paid. Another writer states that they were not paid.[220] State financial aid was provided for township high schools by the law of 1901,[221] and sixty-four townships met the established requirements and received grants in 1902.[222] No official act, except the law of 1895, with its unfulfilled promise of a reward, contributed to the standardization of the curriculum of high schools before the close of the last century. The hope created by that act, however, had, probably, some effect upon curricular practices, although the offerings of our high schools,

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[218] *Rept. and Manual of Pub. Schools*, 1897–1900, 74.

[219] *Laws of Pa.*, 1895, Act No. 293.

[220] Snyder: *The Legal Status of Rural High Schools in the U. S.*, 58.

[221] *Supra*, 481.

[222] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1902, p. VI.

TABLE VIII.—*Per cent. of 205 high schools, in 1898, having students studying certain subjects*[1]

Subject	Two-year schools (19 schools)	Three-year schools (84 schools)	Four-year schools (102 schools)	All schools (205 schools)
ENGLISH STUDIES				
Reading	5	6	7	6
Writing	5	1	6	4
Spelling	11	4	12	9
Grammar	11	15	22	17
Composition	5	5	11	8
Etymology	42	29	41	36
English literature	89	89	93	91
American literature	89	85	87	88
Rhetoric	74	94	95	92
Elocution	21	31	32	31
SOCIAL STUDIES				
General history	47	79	80	77
Modern history	5	15	25	20
United States history	5	12	17	14
English history	5	30	42	34
Civics	89	90	91	90
Physical geography	89	93	91	92
MATHEMATICS				
Arithmetic	11	7	10	9
Mental arithmetic	11	5	8	7
Higher arithmetic	68	73	74	73
Elementary algebra	95	99	99	98
Higher algebra	32	36	58	46
Plane geometry	84	98	96	95
Solid geometry	0	23	51	35
Trigonometry	5	12	33	22
Surveying	0	1	13	7
Mensuration	63	36	36	38
PHYSICAL SCIENCES				
Physics	74	89	88	87
Astronomy	0	15	28	20
Chemistry	0	20	50	33
NATURAL SCIENCES				
Botany	16	62	68	60
Geology	0	21	32	25
Zoology	5	10	27	18
HEALTH STUDIES				
Physiology	63	75	76	76
Hygiene	63	72	74	72
Physical training	0	1	3	2
PRACTICAL AND FINE ARTS				
Music	42	57	49	51
Drawing	5	14	21	13
Manual training	0	1	5	3

TABLE VIII.—(*Continued*)

Subjects	Two-year schools (19 schools)	Three-year schools (84 schools)	Four-year schools (102 schools)	All schools (205 schools)
COMMERCIAL STUDIES				
Commercial arithmetic	26	24	36	31
Commercial law	0	1	7	4
Penmanship	0	2	9	5
Bookkeeping	16	27	34	30
Stenography	0	1	8	4
Typewriting	0	1	5	3
LATIN				
Lessons	79	96	93	93
Composition	0	1	4	2
Caesar	47	80	85	80
Cicero	0	23	53	36
Virgil	0	18	59	37
Roman history	5	10	30	20
GREEK				
Lessons	0	14	38	25
Composition	0	1	3	2
Xenophon's Anabasis	0	11	30	20
Homer	0	2	19	20
Grecian history	5	8	29	19
MODERN LANGUAGES				
French	0	1	15	8
German	5	20	57	38
PEDAGOGICAL STUDIES				
Pedagogy	5	10	14	11
Psychology	0	10	19	13

[1] Based upon manuscript tabulation compiled by the author from reports of high school principals to the State Department. [Archives of State Dept., Harrisburg.]

at the close of the century, represent, mainly, the further intensification of tendencies that were evident during preceding decades. In order to describe the high school curriculum of 1898, the reports of the principals of two hundred and five of these schools, made to the State Department, in that year, have been studied, and the results reduced to tabular form. The accompanying table, it is felt, furnishes a fairly reliable[223] picture of our high school curriculum of three decades ago. With the exception of a few subjects, such as ancient and mediaeval history, political geography, ethics, and economics, which were taught in a few schools, the table reveals all of the facts disclosed by the chart on which it is based. In a few cases the reports of the principals show that, while a particular subject was offered by a school, no student was pursuing that study. In these instances the subject was not included in the computation of the percentages.

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[223] One must make some allowance for the probability of error in the returns made by principals to the State Department.

While it is not proposed to present a picture, in any sense complete, of the present public secondary school curriculum, the following brief statement will suggest the tendencies and probable practices of the present century. On the question of fixing the curriculum of high schools, the State educational authorities have gradually adopted a policy of suggesting and recommending, in a general way, what ought to be taught, rather than of requiring the local authorities to adopt a definite and stipulated program of studies. The school code of 1911 required that, with the exception of school districts of the first class, all others sharing in State appropriations should employ a sufficient number of teachers ''for the teaching of any of the following branches, namely: Bookkeeping, civil government, general history, algebra, goemetry, rhetoric, English literature, Latin (including Caesar, Virgil, and Cicero), physical geography, and the elements of botany, of zoology, of physics, and of chemistry.''[224] In 1921, this section was amended, and the regulation of the high school program was left in future in the hands of the State Board of Education.[225] It was probably found difficult, and undesirable to regulate the curriculum by law. In 1909, the State Department began to adopt another method of standardizing the work of the high school. In this year, a High School *Manual* was prepared and circulated by the Department, which offered ''suggestions and directions, specifying minimum requirements for admission into high schools, and outlining a course of study for the four years of a high school course.''[226] That policy of offering suggestions has been continued and, in the *Manual* of 1922, there appears the following statement of principles which should govern the making of a program of studies:

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[224] *Laws of Pa.*, 1911, pp. 309–401, Sec. 1704.

[225] *Supra*, 483 *f.*

[226] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1909, p. XII.

1. There must be in all curriculums a common core of required subjects which can be justified because they are an essential part of the education in citizenship of every adolescent and are necessary for the perpetuation of our democratic social order.
2. In addition to this core curriculum, which should be required of all pupils, each school should offer as wide a variety of subjects as possible in order to meet the varying needs of diverse groups of individuals.[227]

Under the first of these principles it was stated that the following subjects, indicated in this general way, were "required":

English	3½ units	Science	1 unit
Social studies, including history	3½ units	Mathematics	1 unit
		Health instruction	2 periods a week[228]

The studies of eight four-year high schools, in the years 1929–1931, are shown in Table IX. The offerings of these schools probably represent, with a fair degree of accuracy, the practices in many borough and township high schools of the present day.

III. *Student Activities*

Literary and debating societies.—Edmonds lists eighteen literary societies for the Central High School, of Philadelphia, between the years 1850 and 1860.[229] The Otis Literary Society, which dates its origin back to 1842, was probably the first of these established.[230] Its purpose was said to be the advancement of literature.[231] The constitution of the Society called for the appointment of a librarian and the publication of a monthly journal, in which would be published original essays and translations, and which was to be called the "Literary Wreath."[232] In 1848, another similar society, the Bache Institute, was organized.[233] Its purpose was said to be to convey to all the knowledge which each member separately had acquired.[234] Like the Otis Society it was to have its librarian, and editor, the duty of the latter being to look after contributions to a magazine which was

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[227] *Manual For High Schools,* 1922, 27.

[228] *Ibid.*

[229] *Hist. of Central High School,* 237.

[230] *Constitution and By-Laws of the Otis Literary Society,* 1846. See title-page. Bound with pamphlets, *Public Schools of Phila.,* IV, 1849–50. [Archives of Central High School Alumni.]

[231] *Ibid.,* 4.

[232] *Ibid.,* 5.

[233] *Constitution and By-Laws of the Bache Institute of Central H. S.* [Alumni Archives.]

[234] *Ibid.,* 3.

TABLE IX.—*Offerings of certain four-year high schools, 1929–1931*[1]

Kingston	*Mount Pleasant*	*Muncy*	*Perkasie-Sellersville*
English	English	English literature	English
Instrumental music	Drawing	Music	Fine arts
Painting	Music	Art	Music
Spanish	Latin	Latin	Latin
German	French	Trigonometry	French
French	Algebra	Algebra	Algebra
Latin	Plane geometry	Advanced algebra	Plane geometry
Algebra	Trigonometry	Plane geometry	Solid geometry
Geometry	General science	Chemistry	Trigonometry
Trigonometry	Biology	Physics	General science
General science	Physics	Biology	Biology
Biology	Chemistry	General science	Chemistry
Chemistry	Physical education	Physical education	Physics
Physics	Cooking	Home relations	Physical education
Physical education	Sewing	Mechanical drawing	Woodwork
Home economics	Civics	Shop mathematics	Drawing
Home hygiene	European history	General shop work	Cooking
History	American history	Home nursing	Sewing
Economic civics	Problems of democracy	Home management	Civics
Problems of democracy	Bookkeeping	Cookery	European history
Commercial arithmetic	Typewriting	Problems of democracy	American history
Bookkeeping	Commercial law	United States history	Problems of democracy
Shorthand	Shorthand	Modern history	Bookkeeping
Typewriting	Commercial geography	World civics	Typewriting
	Agriculture	Bookkeeping	Stenography
		Shorthand	Business arithmetic
		Typewriting	
		Bible	
		Vocations	
		Environment	
		Practical English	
		Practical mathematics	
		Commercial arithmetic	
Curricula	*Curricula*	*Curricula*	*Curricula*
1. General	1. Academic	1. Academic	1. Academic
2. Commercial	2. General	2. Commercial	2. Commercial
	3. Commercial	3. General	3. General

TABLE IX.—(*Continued*)

Pottstown	*Quakertown*	*Sayre*	*West Lawn*
English	Public speaking	English	English
Freehand drawing	Business English	Music	Art
Painting	Music	Designing	Music
Music	Latin	French	Latin
Latin	German	Latin	French
French	French	Elementary algebra	Algebra
Algebra	Elementary algebra	Intermediate algebra	Geometry
Plane geometry	Advanced algebra	Advanced algebra	Trigonometry
Solid geometry	Plane geometry	Plane geometry	General science
Trigonometry	Solid geometry	Solid geometry	Biology
Biology	General science	Trigonometry	Physics
Chemistry	Biology	Biology	Civics
Physics	Physics	Physics	Citizenship
Physical education	Chemistry	Chemistry	American history
Mechanical drawing	Physical education	Physical education	Problems of democracy
Manual arts	Home economics	Sewing	
Sewing	Community civics	Cooking	
Cooking	Vocational civics	Woodwork	
World history	World history	Economic civics	
American history	American history	Problems of democracy	
Problems of democracy	Problems of democracy	American history	
Shop work	Business arithmetic	Modern European history	
Home making	Business law	Ancient history	
Commercial arithmetic	Bookkeeping	Commercial English	
Commercial geography	Typewriting	Commercial arithmetic	
Commercial law	Shorthand	Commercial law	
Bookkeeping	Office training	Bookkeeping	
Typewriting	Agriculture	Typewriting	
Stenography	Mechanical drawing	Stenography	
	Health instruction	Physical geography	
Curricula	*Curricula*	*Curricula*	
1. Academic	1. Academic	1. Academic	
2. Commercial	2. Commercial	2. General	
3. Vocational (Boys)	3. Vocational home economics	3. Commercial	
4. Home making (Girls)			

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[1] Compiled by author from material collected by the Commission on Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. [Office of E. D. Grizzell, chairman, University of Pennsylvania.]

to be published.[235] In 1854, the boys of Lancaster High School organized a literary society, which met once a week for purposes of declamation, composition and debate.[236] Erie High School had a similar society, in 1871.[237] In 1874, the "High School Literary Society" of Lock Haven petitioned the directors for permission to use "The High School Room" for their meetings, but the request was refused.[238] Corry reported a similar society in 1876.[239] From Wellsboro came the statement, in 1892: "The Academic Literary Society, composed of students and members of the faculty, has been in successful operation during the greater part of the past ten years. In this society, students have made much improvement in composition, declamation, writing, and extemporaneous debate."[240] Scientific, in addition to literary, societies soon began to appear. From Erie we hear, in 1880, of "a natural historical society" which was said to have become "a leading educational feature of our city,"[241] and Norristown High School, in 1882, had its "Agassiz Association," the purpose of which was the study of natural history and the collection of "specimens" relating to the different subjects.[242] A music club existed in the Harrisburg High School in 1872.[243]

Student publications.—The question of the value of student journals and publications was warmly debated in the *School Journal,* in 1854. The *Journal* condemned them editorially, stating that "everything about these productions is generally correct; exhibiting a reach of thought, a command of language, and a finished composition, attainable by few adults."[244] This was said to be deception, and to lead to "precociousness."[245] In the next issue of the *Journal,* they were defended by one who denied that they called for too much mental exertion, or encouraged dishonesty in the pupils, since all editors have to correct the compositions even of adults no less than of children.[246] The editor of the *Journal,* however, was convinced that the practice of "pruning" led students to disrespect the truth, as did also, he stated, public examinations where students answered questions on which they had been long rehearsed.[247]

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[235] *Ibid.,* 7.

[236] Calliopean Lit. Soc. [*P. S. J.,* II, March, 1854, 272.]

[237] Printed news item inserted in *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* March 30, 1871.

[238] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* March 20, 1874.

[239] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1876, 179.

[240] *Catalogue of Wellsboro Pub. Schools,* 1892–3. [Inserted in *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Dec. 8, 1884.]

[241] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1880, 210.

[242] *Ibid.,* 1882, 235.

[243] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Jan. 6, 1872.

[244] Juvenile Publications. [*Loc. cit.,* II, Feb., 1854, 236.]

[245] *Ibid.*

[246] Schneider Elias: Juvenile Publications. [*Loc. cit.,* March, 1854, 273–5.]

It has been noted that two of the earlier literary societies in the Central High School, of Philadelphia, proposed to publish journals. It is probable that this plan was never carried out. Edmonds describes a number of the early student publications.[248] The editor of the earliest journal on his list is said to have stated that the date of its first publication was 1849, and its title *The Minute Book.*[249] This seems to have been the only journal of the school, of which Edmonds had not seen a copy. The present writer has seen the second issue of the *Bush Eel,* dated June 12, 1857, and the second and third issues of *The Sun,* dated January and March, 1876.[250] Both were small four-page publications. These earlier publications were apparently short-lived, but, in November, 1885, a more fortunate effort was made, and *The C. H. S. Mirror,* which has had continuous existence to the present day, was published for the first time. Complete files of the *Mirror* from its beginning have been preserved in the archives of the alumni of the school. At the time of its first appearance, it had an editorial staff, correspondents, and officers selected from the four classes of the school. The "Salutatory" read in part: "This . . . venture is made under the immediate auspices of Class B of the Central High School of Philadelphia. It is not however intended to be a class journal, but the aim is to interest all the classes from H to A in the writing of Squibbs. . . . History is, however, against us. All our predecessors have died."

Similar activities were under way in a few other districts of the State in the seventies. We hear from Erie, in 1870, that: "The High School News, the educational organ of the school, is generally considered as one of the best school papers published in the country."[251] The following additional notice of this journal throws further light on its character:

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[247] Juvenile Publications. [*P. S. J.*, II, March 1854, 236.]

[248] *Op. cit.*, 231–39, 240–41.

[249] *Ibid.*, 231.

[250] In possession of Joseph S. Hepburn, of Hahnemann Medical College.

[251] Newspaper clipping recording Superintendent Jones' account of the schools. [Inserted in *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 28, 1870.]

The High School News. A neat Monthly Paper, Issued from the Erie Central High School. It is pronounced by good Judges to be the Best School Paper in the Country. It is conducted, edited and printed by the Scholars of the High School, and many first-class writers contribute to its Columns. Every teacher in the County should subscribe for it. Every farmer should subscribe for it for his sons, to show them how Young America manages things in the city. Every enterprising resident of the city or county should subscribe and help on the enterprise. Subscription price only *Fifty cents Per Year.*

Address "The News" No. 622 State St.,
Erie, Pa.[252]

In 1878, an announcement of similar activity came from Corry: "The high school literary society was continued throughout the year, and besides adding many volumes to the library, a bi-weekly paper was published devoted to local educational matters, which did much toward awakening an interest in the cause of popular education, and enlisting the sympathies of the people in the workings of the school."[253] Thus, literary societies and student publications were gradually appearing in our high schools as the nineteenth century was approaching its close.

Physical activities.—In 1839, Alexander D. Bache warmly recommended to the board of controllers, of Philadelphia, the establishment of playgrounds for the pupils of the public schools. These grounds ought, he stated, to be in charge of "a proper officer." He remarked further: "The gymnastic exercises which are so popular in Germany and Switzerland, have not been permanently introduced to any considerable extent, into any other country; but the games of our school boys are an adequate substitute for them."[254] In the following year "an extensive playground for gymnastic exercises" was added to the Central High School.[255] Bache, in his original recommendation, stated that such an addition would make the problem of discipline in the school room easier, and promote the health of the students, and the board, in announcing its establishment, stated that it would add to the "comfort and health as well as the amusement of the pupils."[256] The following statement of Bache is interesting, in that it probably throws some light on the beginnings of a form of sun worship characteristic of our modern beach-goers, and points back to a remote origin of a philosophy embodied in our present day student games:

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[252] *Erie City and County Directory*, 1870–71, 135.

[253] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1878, 188–9.

[254] *Rept. to Controllers on the Reorganization of Central H. S.*, 4–5.

[255] *Twenty-second Annual Rept. of Controllers*, 10.

[256] *Ibid.*

> The physical education of our pupils has been promoted by opening the play-ground adjoining the school. The ground was opened so late in the season that I apprehended, at first, unfavorable consequences to some of the boys, from exposure to the sun, but no case of the kind occurred, and the general appearance of those who frequented the ground was improved by the exposure. When the janitor has become more familiar with his duties, the results, in regard to moral discipline, to be derived from the free development of character by the boys in the play-ground, may be confidently looked for.[257]

In 1860, it was stated, however, that the students in the public schools of the city were being injured in health by too many studies and too little physical exercise, and the controllers were called upon to remedy the evil.[258] In the following year, the Committee on Grammar, Secondary and Primary Schools ''Resolved That the gymnastic exercise and drill proposed by Captain Fred C. Harvey . . . is highly approved . . . and as it entails no expense to the Board, we recommend the same to the Directors of the various Sections for their action.''[259] At this time, the subject was being presented for consideration throughout the State. A writer in the *School Journal,* in 1861, said that the purpose of education is ''a well trained mind and a well trained heart, in a well trained body.''[260] He noticed that many ministers and educated men were puny, and that many college graduates died within ten years after their graduation.[261]

With the Civil War, came an intense interest in the whole question of physical education. The editor of the *School Journal* enthusiastically recommended it, and the deputy State superintendent began to study the prevailing practices in the schools of the East.[262] In 1862, Governor Curtin addressing the State teachers, in convention, remarked: ''How much sickness and pain our young men are now suffering, in our camps as well as in our hospitals; while if they had been trained in body as in mind, they would have been better able to endure the vicissitudes of a campaign. Some exercises connected with military training—some means by which the physical man may be developed, so that he shall be capable of meeting all the proper demands of society—would hence seem to be requisite.''[263] The Governor said that he had frequent talks with the State superintendent regarding the expediency of providing military training for boys in ''Higher Common Schools.''[264] In the same year, the State superintendent spent seven weeks studying the ''Gymnasium in Boston,'' so that he might be able to recommend to the teachers of the State ''the most recent and approved methods of Physical Training.''[265] The first result seems to have appeared in Philadelphia, in 1863, when Dio Lewis' ''system of Gymnastics''[266] was recommended for introduction into the schools of the city[267] wherever ''practicable,'' and, in 1864, the controllers approved the recommendations.[268] There was nothing of a military character in Dio Lewis' gymnastics,[269] but the War appears to have led to the introduction of military exercises into some schools of the State.[270] Interest in physical education, in some form, continued, and the State Teachers' Association, in 1875, recommended the introduction of a system of physical training, as part of the curriculum of public schools.[271] The teachers on this occasion were probably influenced by an address of Lelia E. Patridge, who advocated the establishment of a gymnasium in every school, and the introduction of courses in physical training.[272] In 1876, the Teachers' Association adopted another resolution calling upon teachers to introduce physical exercise as a part of the regular school work.[273] Local school boards soon had the matter called to their attention. In 1880, B. Frank Pinkerton, principal of the public schools of Hollidaysburg, reminded the directors that ''Our boys and girls need a better physical training.''[274] He further stated: ''Scarcely one in ten is either erect or thoroughly well built. Strangers notice this and say, 'How crooked and narrow-chested the children of your town are.' . . . In short we think gymnastics should not only exist upon the *course of study,* but that teachers should be obliged to work them into realities.''[275]

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[257] *Twenty-Second Rept. of Controllers,* 1840, 23–4.

[258] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* 24th Sect., Dec. 24, 1860.

[259] *Min. Bd. of Control.,* Jan. 8.

[260] S. P. B: Physical Training. [*P. S. J.,* X, July, 1862, 15.]

[261] *Ibid.,* 15–16.

[262] Gymnastic Exercises in the Schools. [Editorial, *Ibid.,* 5–6.]

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[263] The State Ed. Convention. [*Ibid.*, X, Jan., 1862, 210–11.]

[264] *Ibid.*, 211.

[265] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1862, 16.

[266] See Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, II, 101 *ff.*

[267] *Min. Bd. of Control.*, Nov. 10.

[268] *Ibid.*, Feb. 9.

[269] See Woody: *Hist. of Women's Ed. in U. S.*, II, 101 *ff.*

[270] *E.g.*, Allegheny College—see Monthly Record of Pa. [*P. S. J.*, XV, July, 1866, 4]; W. L. B.: Military Drill in Public Schools. [*Ibid.*, XIV, May, 1866, 260–61.]

[271] The State Meeting at Wilkes-Barre. [*Ibid.*, XXIV, Sept., 1875, 111.]

[272] Physical Training in Public Schools. [*Ibid.*, 97–8.]

[273] State Assn. at West Chester. [*Ibid.*, XXV, Sept., 1876, 139.]

Evidence exists of the gradual introduction of some form of physical exercise into public high schools. ''Physical exercises'' were included in the work of Chambersburg High School, in 1866.[276] In 1876, the students of the Lancaster Boys' High School petitioned the directors for the use of the third floor of the high school building for a gymnasium.[277] The request was refused on the ground that such a use of the floor would injure the ceiling below.[278] In the following year, the students made a similar request, proposing to pay for all apparatus, none of which was to be attached to the roof of the building, and the directors acceded by a vote of sixteen to fourteen.[279] The directors of Hanover permitted the students and teachers to establish a gymnasium, in 1886.[280] The philosophy of a sound mind in a sound body was urged, in 1876, by the advocates of a gymnasium for the Lancaster High School,[281] but other motives were occasionally suggested to the teachers of the State. ''It was my good fortune,'' said one who addressed the State Teachers' Association, in 1886, ''to see the German Army return to its capital after the Franco-Prussian War. I saw them march past hour after hour, with swinging step, the muscles firmly knit, the form erect and stalwart. Shortly after I saw a part of the French Army under Chanzy, and in the slouching, shuffling step, the flabby muscles, and meagre and stunted forms, I could read, by contrast, the cause of the overthrow of France.''[282] By 1900, then, some form of physical training had come to be considered essential throughout the State. It remained, however, for schools of the present century to realize on a large scale the ideals that had taken shape in the last.

[274] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* May 10.

[275] *Ibid.*

[276] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Aug. 23.

[277] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Feb. 3.

[278] *Ibid.,* March 2.

[279] *Ibid.,* Jan. 4.

[280] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Sept. 14.

[281] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* March 2.

[282] Barnard: Defects in the Pa. School Laws. [*P. S. J.,* XXXV, Sept., 1886, 94.]

Libraries.—High school libraries probably began in the State when the directors of Carlisle, in 1837, undertook to collect and deposit, "in the School Room of the male High School," school books and "works on Education."[283] Soon, a library committee of the board had charge of the library.[284] Interest in the establishment of school libraries grew. In 1844, forty-six citizens of Deerfield township, Warren county, petitioned the legislature to establish school libraries, because children in rural districts were said to suffer because of "the want of books."[285] In 1850, the question of school libraries was discussed with interest at the State Teachers' Convention, in Harrisburg.[286] After 1870, frequent references to school libraries appear, not all of them, however, especially for high school students, since many of the earlier ones were established for the benefit of all pupils in the districts. Thus, for instance, special high school libraries existed at Millersburg, 1880;[287] at Allentown[288] and Troy,[289] 1883; at New Castle, 1884;[290] at Beaver, 1885;[291] at Butler, 1888;[292] and at Pottstown, in 1889.[293] Libraries serving the pupils of all the schools of a district were more frequent than high school libraries. We hear of such libraries at Osceola, in 1880;[294] at Mahanoy City, 1882;[295] at Wilcox, Benziger, Centerville, and Ridgway, in Elk county, in the same year;[296] and at Steelton, Middletown,[297] and Williamsport, in 1884.[298] The superintendent of Sharon, in 1882, reported:

> Our reference library consists of sixteen unabridged dictionaries, five Lippincott Gazetteers, and three sets of encyclopedias. The library of miscellaneous books contains about six hundred volumes. . . . The magazines, Scribner, Harper, Wide Awake, and St. Nicholas, are also supplied. A daily paper is also kept on file for the use of the high school. The important current events are reported and discussed almost daily in this school by both teachers and pupils. . . . The pupils draw books from the

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[283] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Jan. 16, 1837.

[284] *E.g.*, *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1843.

[285] *Petition*, dated Feb. 7, 1844. [State Archives.]

[286] *Rept. of Teachers' Convention*, Jan., 1850, 14.

[287] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 19.

[288] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 16.

[289] *Catalogue and Circular*, 11.

[290] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1884, 224.

[291] *Annual Catalogue of Beaver H. S.*, 1885–6, 2.

[292] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1888, 132.

[293] *Ibid.*, 1889, 144.

[294] *Ibid.*, 1880, 43.

[295] *Ibid.*, 1882, 230.

[296] *Ibid.*, 69.

[297] *Ibid.*, 68.

[298] *Ibid.*, 259.

library upon presentation of a card from the teacher, earned by good lessons, good conduct, and promptness in attendance.[299]

No attempt has been made in this study to trace completely and minutely the development of high school libraries in the State. Some facts regarding a few of them have been noted. Among the books purchased for Millersburg High School library, in 1880, were "Arabian Nights', Aesops Fables, Don Quixote . . . Rollins Ancient History, Plutarchs Lives . . . Tom Brown's School Days," and the poems of Longfellow, Whittier, Tennyson, Hood, Goldsmith, Gray and Milton.[300] Troy High School library, in 1883, contained "the leading historical works, Biographies, Standard Literature, Reference Works, Maps and Charts,"[301] and the Beaver High School library, in 1885, was said to contain "the best works on history, biography, travel, poetry and fiction, besides many miscellaneous works, books of reference and magazines."[302] Thus it will appear that the high school library development was well under way at the close of the century, although it is impossible to determine how excellent were the high school library facilities in the State as a whole.

In recent years, much interest in the growth of high school libraries has been shown by the State Department. An official publication reads: "Every high school should have a library properly catalogued and freely used for reference. . . . The adequacy of the library and the use that is made of it will be a strong factor in determining the classification of the schools."[303] For pupils of high school age, a general library of "not less than 400 volumes" has been recommended for third grade high schools, while larger libraries have been suggested for high schools of the second and first grade.[304] It was further recommended that a teacher, who had taken the teacher-librarian course in the state normal schools,[305] be given charge of the libraries in second and third grade high schools, while one who held a high school teacher's certificate, and who had taken at least a six weeks' course in library methods in an approved summer library school, "should have charge of the library in high schools of the first grade."[306] In 1929–30, a committee was appointed by the State Department to investigate the library situation in the State and to make recommendations for its improvement.[307] The Department, at the same time, decreed that no "new secondary school building" would be approved unless it provided facilities for a library.[308] Yet, in spite of this official interest, the writer has visited high schools in the State, where the wishes of the State authorities are not reflected in actual practice, and only an investigation of conditions as they exist in many individual schools of the State can disclose the general excellence of the modern high school library.

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[299] *Ibid.*, 1882, 255.

[300] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 29.

[301] *Catalogue and Circular*, 11.

[302] *Annual Catalogue*, 1885–6, 3.

[303] *Manual for High Schools*, 1922, 49.

[304] *Ibid.*, 50.

[305] Now colleges.

The present study does not undertake to describe the entire development of the various student activities of the past thirty years. It will be sufficient for the purpose of suggesting modern tendencies and practices to indicate that the present century has witnessed the evolution of a philosophy of student activities outside of the classroom, which assigns to them a place in the secondary school program as important as that of the classroom itself. "A thoroughly democratized school," reads an official publication, "will teem with social activities. In addition to the usual school paper, orchestra and athletics it will have many clubs devoted to all sorts of interests—literary, dramatic, artistic, scientific, scouting, mathematical, political, social, etc. . . .

"The Department strongly favors the organization of school activities and the gradual introduction of student participation in the administration and discipline of the secondary schools for the definite purpose of training in the principles and practices of democracy."[309]

Physical education has come to receive an increasing amount of official encouragement. The Bureau of Health and Physical Education assists and encourages secondary schools in the organization of a physical education program.[310] It issues a manual containing suggestions for organizing programs of physical activities, and sends out supervisors to confer with local authorities on the problems connected with these programs.[311] Great emphasis is laid upon the value of gymnastics, setting up exercises and games,[312] and athletics have become a recognized part of high school programs for which the student may receive athletic credit.[313] The demand for trained teachers of physical education has steadily increased. The number of such teachers in the State rose from 481, in 1924, to 1,302, in 1929.[314] Thus has the non-classroom phase of secondary education come to occupy a place of considerable importance in our schools, and developments in this field have been among the significant ones of the present century.

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[306] *Ibid.*

[307] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1930, 34.

[308] *Ibid.*, 35.

[309] *Manual for High Schools*, 1922, 98.

[310] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1930, 45.

[311] *Ibid.*, 45–6.

IV. *Organization*

Very few of our public high schools were established as four-year schools. We have seen that the Central High School, of Philadelphia, was thus organized from its beginning.[315] Pittsburgh High School was similarly organized, in 1855.[316] These, however, were rare exceptions. As a rule the high schools assumed their present form of organization by a slow evolutionary process. Montoursville High School, between 1880 and 1893, was a two-year school.[317] In the latter year, an additional year was added to the course,[318] and in 1908–1909, there finally evolved the four-year high school.[319] Altoona had a two-year high school in 1871[320] but, by 1898, it had developed into a four-year school.[321] Beaver Falls had a two-year high school, in 1878.[322] In 1890, it was still a two-year school, having below it, however, eleven grades.[323] In 1898, a four-year high school had taken the place of the earlier plan.[324] Similarly, Bellefonte High School was a two-year institution, in 1884, but had become a four-year school by 1898,[325] and the same process of development might be shown in the case of nearly every high school in the State. New Castle High School, organized on the four-year plan, in 1898,[326] was, in 1857, but the sixth and seventh grades, the highest grades then in the local organization.[327] Yet, in these grades, in this earlier year, were taught reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, elocution, rhetoric, logic, drawing, Watts on the mind, moral philosophy, physiology, book-keeping, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, botany, geography, the Constitution of the United States, history, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, Latin and Greek.[328] Similarly, as has been noted, Blairsville High School was, at its beginning, but the seventh grade in the system.[329] Our present plan of organization developed in a very gradual way, and required in many instances, a considerable number of years before it assumed anything approaching the present form. From 1860 on, a number of three-year high schools existed. Among them we find that of Allentown, 1867;[330] of Pottsville, 1870;[331] of Warren, 1874;[332] of Titusville, 1875;[333] of Phoenixville, 1878;[334] and of West Pittston, 1879.[335] As examples of four-year high schools, in the same period, may be submitted that of Reading, 1862;[336] of Mauch Chunk, 1868;[337] of York, 1870;[338] of Erie, 1872;[339] of Wilkes-Barre, 1873;[340] of Easton, 1874;[341] of Wellsboro, 1881;[342] of Mahanoy City, 1886;[343] and of Hazelton, 1887.[344]

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[312] *Course of Study in School Health,* Dept. of Pub. Instruction Bulletin, 1923.

[313] *Ibid.,* 131 *ff.*

[314] *State Supt. Rept.,* 1930, 45.

[315] *Supra,* 495.

[316] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* Sept. 21.

[317] *General School Register,* (Montoursville) 1880–1910, 16 *ff.*

[318] *Ibid.,* 115.

[319] *Ibid.,* 232.

[320] *Min. Bd. of Ed.,* June 26.

[321] *Annual Rept. of H. Sch.* [In State Dept. Archives.]

[322] *Annual Rept. of Beaver Falls Pub. Schools,* 1878, 14.

[323] *Ibid.,* 1889–90, 20–21.

[324] *Annual Rept. of H. S.* [In State Dept. Archives.]

[325] *Annual Rept. of H. S.* [State Dept. Archives.]

[236] *Annual Rept. of H. S.* [State Dept. Archives.]

In some few places five- or six-year high schools existed. The superintendent of schools in Bethlehem, in 1891, recommended extending the high school from a three- to a five-year school.[345] Fifteen years earlier, Danville High School had five "classes," a definite program of studies being fixed for each class.[346] It would appear that the work of each class called for one year of study. In 1880, Mifflinburg had a five-year school called a "Grammar School," the studies in the last four years of which

[327] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 10.

[328] *Ibid.*

[329] *Supra*, 504 *f*.

[330] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 14.

[331] *State Supt. Rept.*, 241.

[332] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 22.

[333] *Student Record Book*, 1875–1884.

[334] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 26.

[335] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 28.

[336] *Second Annual Rept. of Bd. of Ed.*, 200 *ff*.

[337] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 25

[338] *Annual Rept. of Public Schools of York*, 1871, 13 *ff*.

[339] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1872–3, 39 *ff*.

[340] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, *Third Dist.*, Aug. 6.

[341] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 13.

[342] *Annual Circular of W. Pub. Schools*, 1881–2. [Inserted in *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 24, 1881.]

[343] *Examination Record Book*, 1886–7.

[344] *Manual of the Common Schools of Hazleton*, 1887–8.

[345] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, March 2.

[346] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 6, 1875.

included higher English, mathematics, physical sciences and Latin.[347] In 1885, Scranton had a two-year high school, but below it a two-year ''Senior Grammar'' school of decidedly secondary character.[348] In the same year, a high school of six ''divisions'' for each one of which a definite program of studies was arranged, existed in Millersburg,[349] The studies in the two lower grades were, however, purely elementary.[350] An unusual form of organization existed in Johnstown, in 1887. Here we find seven grades below the high school, four in the high school proper, and two, called the ''Senior B'' and the ''Senior A'' classes above the high school but included under ''The High School Department.''[351] While it was stated that grades eight to eleven inclusive comprised the high school, it would seem that the school really included the upper six grades in the system.[352] Organization practices in the State are shown by the following facts submitted by high school principals to the State Department, in 1898:

Five Year High Schools	2
Four Year High Schools	102
Three Year High Schools	84
Two-and-a-half Year High Schools	1
Two Year High Schools	19
One-and-a-half Year High Schools	1
One Year High Schools	1
No definite statement	16[353]

The program of studies of most of these schools has been shown in Table VIII. The following table, showing the number of teachers employed in the schools whose studies have been presented, will throw additional light upon the condition of our high schools at the close of the century.

A wide divergence in practices of organization appears when one examines the number of grades below the high schools in the various districts. The elementary grades were sometimes divided into primary, secondary, intermediate, and grammar schools.[354] Often, however, the intermediate did not exist,[355] and the secondary, with the intermediate, were also frequently omitted, leaving the organization of schools in a system to be designated as

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[347] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 3.

[348] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 28.

[349] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Oct. 3.

[350] *Ibid.*

[351] *Sixth Annual Rept. and Catalogue of Pub. Schools of Johnstown*, 28 *ff*.

[352] *Ibid.*

[353] Compiled by the author from returns in the archives of the State Dept.

[354] *E.g.*, Reading system. [*State Supt. Rept.*, 1876, 202–3.]

[355] *E.g.*, Allentown system. [*Ibid.*, 1877, 648–9.]

TABLE X.—*Number of teachers employed in certain high schools in 1898*[1]

Two-year schools (19 schools)		Three-year schools (84 schools)		Four-year schools (102 schools)	
Number of teachers	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of schools
1	16	1	24	1	12
2	3	2	33	2	22
3	0	3	17	3	20
4 and more	0	4 and more	10	4 and more	48

[1] Compiled by author from returns made to the State Department by high-school principals

primary, grammar, and high school.[356] The multiplication of these separate units in the organization of schools probably resulted from the wild enthusiasm for grading which appeared after 1850, and which has been described elsewhere.[357] This plan of organization, embracing many distinct units, persisted until the end of the century. Thus, for instance, Youngsville, in 1893, had "First Primary," "Second Primary," "Intermediate," "Grammar" and "High School" divisions, covering periods of three, two, two, two, and three years respectively.[358] An occasional system, decidedly exceptional in character, presented a much more unified plan of organization. Thus, in Phoenixville, in 1878, we find a "Grammar Department" of six "classes," and a high school of three "classes."[359]

The following selected facts regarding the plan of organization in certain districts, at the dates indicated, will show a wide variety of practices throughout the State. In each case, the time required for the completion of each grade was, generally, said to be one year, and where not stated, presumably so. The first figure, in each case, represents the number of such grades below the high school, the second the number of years in the high school itself. A 6–3 plan of organization existed in Columbia, 1876;[360] and in Shamokin, 1878.[361] We find a 7–3 plan in Hazleton, in

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[356] *E.g.*, Hazleton. [*Ibid.*, 1876, 191.]

[357] *Supra*, 506 *ff.*

[358] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 15.

[359] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 26.

[360] *State Supt.*, *Rept.*, 175.

[361] *Ibid.*, 1878, 220.

1876;[362] in Athens, 1881;[363] and in Bethlehem, 1884.[364] An 8–3 plan of organization appeared frequently, as in Williamsport, 1869;[365] in Lock Haven, 1872;[366] in Titusville, 1874;[367] in Oil City, 1884;[368] in Steelton, 1885–8;[369] in Troy, 1886;[370] in Chester, 1887;[371]; in Wilkes-Barre, 1890;[372] and in Philipsburg, 1892.[373] An 8–4 plan was also popular. We find it in Meadville, 1872;[374] in the third district of Wilkes-Barre, 1873;[375] in York, 1875;[376] in Altoona, 1876;[377] in Williamsport, 1876;[378] in Greenville, 1880;[379] and in Pottstown, 1891.[380] Other plans of organization were a 9–2, which we find in Norristown, in 1877;[381] a 9–3 plan, followed in New Castle, 1875,[382] in Bradford, 1885,[383] in Steelton, 1889–1891,[384] and in Youngsville, 1893;[385] a 9–4 plan, which existed in Beaver Falls,[386] Lock Haven,[387] and Steelton,[388] in 1897, and an 11–2 plan which existed in Beaver Falls, in 1890.[389]

One must be careful to avoid the conclusion, from these facts regarding the number of years below the high schools, that our school organization in the nineteenth century had few serious breaks or gaps. In reality, it seems to have had not few but many gaps. Of York it was said in 1876: "Our entire course of study embraces a period of twelve years, divided as follows: High School, four years; Grammar School, three years; Secondary School, two years; Primary School, three years."[390] This plan we have described as an 8–4 plan, while it probably might be more fittingly described as a 3–2–3–4 plan. Similarly, the 9–3 plan of Youngsville, in 1893, might probably be better described as a 3–2–2–2–3 plan.[391] Facts regarding the tremendous elimination of students through the grades were frequently reported. The total number of pupils enrolled in the schools of Columbia, in 1878, was 1,301, while the number in the high school was only 56.[392] From Easton came the report, in 1880, that there were 1,024 pupils in the primary department, 912 in the secondary, 236 in the grammar, and 195 in the high school, showing a heavy elimination between the secondary and grammar departments.[393] From South Bethlehem, we hear a similar story, in 1892. Here we find 1,146 pupils in the primary department, 494 in the secondary, 230 in the grammar, and 88 in the high school. The greatest elimination in this system took place between the first and second steps.[394] This problem of elimination, in addition to other considerations, led to a dissatisfaction with the whole grading procedure as it developed during the century, and eventually led to the organization of the junior high school.

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[362] *Ibid.*, 1876, 191.

[363] *Manual of Course of Instruction for Athens Graded School,* 1881, 3–19.

[364] *State Supt. Rept.*, 185–6.

[365] *Ibid.*, 1869, 263.

[366] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 18.

[367] *State Supt. Rept.*, 205–6.

[368] *Ibid.*, 1884, 228.

[369] *Rept. of the Pub. Schools of Steelton*, 1885–8, 20 *ff.*

[370] *Catalogue and Circular of Troy Graded and H. S.*, 1886, 17–20.

[371] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 25.

[372] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 25.

[373] *Final Exam. Record*, 1 *ff.*

[374] *State Supt. Rept.*, 232.

[375] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Third Dist., Aug. 6.

[376] *Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools*, 1875–6, 20.

[377] *State Supt. Rept.*, 169.

[378] *Ibid.*, 214; we have just seen that, in 1869, this system followed the 8–3 plan.

[379] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 30.

[380] *State Supt. Rept.*, 161.

[381] *Ibid.*, 1877, 766.

[382] *Ibid.*, 1877, 760–1.

[383] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 20.

[384] *Rept. and Manual of the Pub. Schools of Steelton*, 1889–91, 26 *ff.*

[385] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 15.

[386] *Twentieth Annual Rept. of B. Falls Pub. Schools*, 15–19.

[387] *Rules, Regulations and Course of Study of L. Haven Pub. Schools*, 1897, 44½–45.

[388] *Rules and Manual of the Pub. Schools of Steelton*, 1897–1900, 52 *ff.;* we have just noted that the plan in Steelton, in 1889, was the 9–3 plan.

[389] *Thirteenth Annual Rept. of B. Falls Pub. Schools*, 20 *ff.;* we have just seen that the 9–4 plan was followed here, in 1893.

[390] *Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools of York*, 1875–6, 20.

The beginnings of the junior high school.—While in the case of some few districts[395] pupils were pushed into the high school in order to relieve congestion in the lower grades, definite requirements as to previous achievement, and sometimes as to age, as a rule, were established for admission. We have noted these requirements of the early high school in Carlisle,[396] and Philadelphia.[397] In 1850, the directors of the south ward, of York, laid down rigorous scholarship requirements, to be tested by a very formal examination, for admission into the high school.[398] In 1864, the principal of the Girls' High School, of Philadelphia, was severely censured, and recommended to the controllers for dismissal, because of the unfair nature of the examination which he conducted for girls from the grammar school, who sought admission to the high school.[399] Students were admitted by examination into the Pittsburgh High School, in 1869;[400] into the York High School, in 1870;[401] into the Warren High School, in 1874;[402] and into South Bethlehem High School, in 1891.[403] The superintendent of Columbia schools probably felt he was doing excellent work when, in 1875, he announced: "I have made the Primary, Intermediate and Grammar School departments, to consist of two divisions each, and shall promote by divisions, annually, upon a rigid examination of all the pupils."[404]

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[391] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Dec. 15.

[392] *State Supt. Rept.*, 185.

[393] *Ibid.*, 207.

[394] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Feb. 2.

[395] *Supra*, 508.

[396] *Supra*, 488 *f.*

[397] *Supra*, 494, 497.

[398] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 7.

[399] *Rept. of Com. Apptd. to Investigate into the Charges Preferred by Directors, Teachers, and Parents against the Girls' High and Normal School*, 1864.

This rigid examination system probably contributed heavily to the elimination of pupils from the various grades. Soon, schoolmen, and others, began to bewail this condition. Superintendent Jones, of Erie, in 1873, wrote: "The orthodox course of study begins with the elements of an education and extends through ten or twelve grades, each grade requiring a year's study; the pupil being examined at the close of the school year, and if he reaches a certain per cent. of correct answers he is promoted to the next higher grade, otherwise he must fall to the grade below."[405] He bewailed the fact that the "system of gradation is founded on the theory that the child enters school at six years of age and attends regularly until he is sixteen or eighteen, and that children differ but little in capacity for study."[406] All these assumptions he found to be erroneous, and he pleaded for greater elasticity in grading schools, in curricula, and in classifying and promoting pupils.[407] "The graded system as commonly managed," he said, "has not given sufficient care to the dull and backward, and many a child has been compelled to spend two years of study on that which could be accomplished in a year and a half or less."[408] In 1878, a commission, appointed by the Governor to study the question of city government, denounced the Philadelphia school system because they found that, in it, only twelve pupils in a thousand entered the high school, and four-fifths of all the pupils never went beyond the primary and secondary schools into the grammar schools.[409] In 1892, the principal of the Wrightsville schools remarked:

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[400] *First Annual Rept. of Supt. of Pub. Schools*, 1869, 48.

[401] *Annual Rept. of Pub. Schools of York*, 1871, 13.

[402] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 22.

[403] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 3.

[404] *State Supt. Rept.*, 176.

[405] *Ibid.*, 1873, 197.

[406] *Ibid.*

[407] *Ibid.*, 197–8.

[408] *Ibid.*, 198.

[409] The Municipal Commission on Education. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XXVI, Feb., 1878, 280–4.]

''Our High School does not have as many pupils now as it ought to have. . . . My trouble has been all along that the 1st Primary had too many and the High School not enough.''[410] The problem of elimination, then, had created serious discontent, and some looked upon examinations, and the rigidity of the graded system, as the chief causes. Soon, examinations began to be abolished. All examinations, except that at the end of the high school course, were abolished in Hazleton, in 1891,[411] and, in the same year, the superintendent in Easton tried the experiment of abolishing them in the grammar and high schools.[412]

Until the last decade of the century schoolmen in Pennsylvania seldom referred to the problem of overageness. The need for economizing time, that was being urged, throughout the country in the last quarter of the century by President Eliot and others,[413] was long before conceived as an ideal in Pennsylvania. John Wilson urged its necessity in criticising the practices of The William Penn Charter School, in 1769.[414] A committee of the State Teachers' Association in a report read, in 1854, remarked: ''In the organization of the school there should be as few classes as the different grades of scholars will permit. This will secure two most important objects connected with the art of teaching—the greatest amount of instruction with the greatest economy of time. In every arrangement these two objects should be kept constantly in view.''[415] Yet not much, of an effective nature, was done to economize time during the century. For the Central High School, of Philadelphia, the average age of pupils at admission rose exactly two years between 1838 and 1850.[416] The average age of students in eight high schools which reported to the State Department, in 1862, was 14⅝ years, while for eleven schools similarly reporting, in 1866, it was 14¼ years.[417] A cursory examination of the records of 331 students entering the Titusville High School, in the years 1872–1884, shows the lowest recorded age at admission to have been eleven, and the highest, nineteen years. The generality of students entered between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years.[418] In the decade 1884–1894, the youngest student, and this one alone in his class, to be admitted to the same school was thirteen years of age, and the oldest, eighteen. The generality of students in this period entered between the ages of fifteen and sixteen.[419] In 1891, the superintendent of York submitted a table to the State Department, showing the distribution of students of various ages throughout his schools. In the primary department, the ages were from six to sixteen years, the great mass, however, falling into groups below the age of thirteen. In the secondary department, the ages ran from eight to seventeen, the vast majority being from eleven to fourteen years of age. In the grammar grades, the students fell, as a rule, into the age period of thirteen to seventeen years. Of one hundred and sixteen pupils in the High School, all, except eleven, were between fifteen and nineteen years of age, the average age being a small fraction less than sixteen and one-half years.[420]

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[410] Principal's Report, [*Ms.*] April 4, 1892. [School Archives.]

[411] *State Supt. Rept.*, 139.

[412] *Ibid.*, 172–3.

[413] Jones: Changing Purposes of the Junior High School. [*Schoolmen's Week Proceedings*, 1931, 295–6.]

[414] *Supra*, 42, 122 *f.*

[415] Rept. on the Primary Schools. [*P. S. J.*, II, Jan., 1854, 230.]

[416] *Thirty-second Rept. of Controllers*, 102.

[417] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1862, 272; *Ibid.*, 1866, 33.

In the eighteen-eighties and nineties, a storm of protest broke over the whole system, and the practices of the preceding half century were violently condemned. Superintendent Jones, of Erie, addressing the State teachers, in 1887, denounced the rigidity and uniformity of our whole system, the practice of adhering to ''non-essentials'' in the curriculum, and to mere ''routine operations of the school.''[421] He proclaimed it to be the duty of the common school to ''hold as long as possible children differing more or less widely in race, heredity, surroundings, strength, health, and faculty of learning.''[422] One more from a long list of protests will have to suffice. Another superintendent addressing the State Teachers' Association, in 1895, remarked: ''The successful competitor for the world's business and work must be not only young but thoroughly trained and equipped. . . . The loss of a year of time may mean the loss of valuable rewards. I charge the public schools from the lowest to the highest grades with a needless and almost criminal misuse of time.''[423]

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[418] *Student Record Book,* 1872–1884.

[419] *Student Record Book,* 1884–94.

[420] *State Supt. Rept.,* 179.

[421] What is the object of Exams. in Graded Schools? [*P. S. J.,* XXXVI, Sept., 1887, 96.]

[422] *Ibid.*

A clear conception of the modern junior high school, and its place in our plan of organization, cannot be said to have developed before 1900, but some of the forces that eventually brought it into being had appeared, and were growing stronger as the century closed. The need for lessening elimination, for minimizing retardation, for removing non-essentials from the curriculum, for introducing greater flexibility into the grading system, and for economizing time had come to be felt in a way that presaged new developments. While, therefore, the junior high school, as a well-organized unit in organization did not appear until the present century, it had many forerunners in the nineteenth, some of them even designated junior high schools.

In 1867, the directors of Danville adopted a resolution to establish ''an intermediate High School.''[424] The purpose, at this time, was to relieve congestion in the high school.[425] The plan to establish this school was, however, rescinded a few months later.[426] In 1880, the directors of Carlisle adopted the following resolution: ''That we deem it advantageous to the interests of education . . . to open a new school to be called the Preparatory Department of the High Schools. The school to be composed of the scholars now known as the third class of the High Schools. The duties of the teacher shall be to prepare the scholars thoroughly in such studies as may be deemed necessary to qualify them to enter the 2d class of the high schools.''[427] In 1883, Superintendent Jones, of Erie, stated that the grammar schools of the city included the three highest of ten grades below the high school. He further stated that these had been ''brought into closer sympathy with the high school, through the special lessons and lectures given them by members of the High School faculty.''[428] He also said that, in 1881, ''some of the specialties of the high school'' were ''carried into the lower departments,'' a practice which ''had a tendency to make the relations between the high school and the lower grades more intimate and educational,'' the high school often being ''to seclusive.''[429] In 1882, Scranton had a ''senior high school'' and below it a ''grade'' called the ''junior high school.''[430] Whether this ''grade'' had its own building or not is not clear, but provision was made for the payment of salaries to the principal and assistant teachers in this particular ''grade'' or school. The name ''junior high school'' was not long retained, for it was soon called the ''preparatory department,'' comprising the upper two of ten grades below the high school.[431] The institution was short-lived, for, in 1885, it was resolved by the board ''That the studies of the first year, excepting Latin, Book-keeping, and Physiology, of the preparatory course be added to the common school department, and be taught therein under a grade to be called Senior Grammar, and that the studies of the second year of the preparatory course be added to the High School department and be taught therein by increasing the number of years of the High School course to three.''[432] This upper grade henceforth was attached to the various grammar schools, but it continued to be called the ''preparatory department,''[433] until 1896, when it disappeared from the system.[434]

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[423] Miller: Are Our Public Schools Meeting the Demands of the Hour? [*Ibid.*, XLIV, 117.]

[424] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Nov. 29.

[425] *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1868.

[426] *Ibid.*

[427] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Aug. 2.

[428] *Annual Rept. of Supt.*, 1881–1883, 43.

At the time the Scranton ''junior high school'' appeared, a committee recommended, in Easton, that (a) more stress be laid on the fundamentals in the high school, (b) that, to hold the students in school, the curriculum ought to be curtailed for the masses, (c) that there be established an ''advanced grammar school'' so that the quality of the high school work might be maintained and, (d) that the high school course ought to be ''an English course,'' without the classics.[435] The board did not approve the change at this time, but, one year later, the proposal was made that the one-year addition be made to the grammar school, and the high school be reduced to three years, with all the less practical studies postponed to the final year. The board now approved the change.[436] In 1883, the Wellsboro board established a ''Junior Academic Department . . . to be placed between the Academy and Senior Grammar Departments,'' but their object in making this addition was not stated.[437] This school or grade, covering one year, existed in 1892.[438] In 1887, the superintendent of Chester announced: "We have also made a change in the organization of the high school. A preparatory department has been added, including a year's course in the common branches together with algebra, book-keeping and physiology."[439] In Reading, at the same time, the Committee on the Boys' High School expressed regret that only two per cent. of the pupils in the public schools were in the Boys' High School. "As a remedy," they said, "for the danger ahead we would suggest . . . the idea of raising the standard of our Grammar Schools one or two years, which would afford pupils attending them a thorough education, including much of the higher mathematics, the sciences and, if desired, two years of Latin."[440] "Advanced Grammar Schools" were established, but they did not prove satisfactory to the superintendent, who stated that they accomplished nothing, and, if they were to continue, they "should be made special schools with a special course for a special purpose."[441] In 1891, the superintendent of Bradford said: "I would advise that algebra be commenced in the ninth grade, and that as soon as practicable make this grade a Junior or Preparatory High School in which Latin may be commenced."[442] The board took action according to his recommendations.[443] Finally, there was established in Chester, in 1895, a school which embodied many of the essential characteristics of the junior high school. The superintendent announced: "It is proposed to give the two higher grammar grades a separate and distinct organization under one roof. This new department, whether considered as a necessary preparation for the High School or as a final step into the broad area of active life, will assume hereafter a marked and definite character. The increased facilities for instruction and the concentrating of the energies of teacher and pupil betoken progress. Students will fit with greater ease for the advanced course under such training, and those pupils who cannot go through the thirteen years to graduation will be so held by the thorough equipment of this school, that they will desire to tarry long enough to secure the ninth year certificate.''[444] The school was known as "The Central Grammar School," and received the pupils of all the eighth and ninth grades in the city. It had a principal and six assistants when it opened, on September 2, 1895.[445] On its rolls, when it opened, were two hundred and twelve pupils. The studies, in the eighth grade, were reading, word lessons, orthography, higher English, composition, drawing, arithmetic, elements of algebra, physiology, geography with "commercial bearings," penmanship and music. In the ninth grade, instruction was given in the elements of English and American literature, civics, technical grammar, composition, arithmetic, algebra, elements of geometry, arithmetic, bookkeeping and music.[446] This program was said to prepare for the commercial and classical curricula of the high school.[447]

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[429] *Ibid.* 86.

[430] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 10.

[431] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1885.

[432] *Ibid.*

[433] *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1894.

[434] *Ibid.*, Aug. 10.

[435] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, June 15, 1882.

[436] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1883.

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[437] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, May 7.

[438] *Catalogue of W. Public Schools*, 1892–3, 9.

[439] *State Supt. Rept.*, 126.

[440] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, 1887–8, 71 *f.*

[441] *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1890.

[442] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, July 3.

[443] *Ibid.*

It would thus appear that the conditions and causes, underlying the reorganization of our schools, were fairly well understood in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and that, in some districts, actual attempts at reorganization had been made for the purpose of remedying defects in the grading system, that were gradually becoming more and more obvious. The result of these attempts appears in the establishment of schools or new organization units, such as have been described, some of them bearing the name of junior high school, and embodying some of its early purposes as well as certain characteristics of its organization.

Later junior high school development.—The junior high school movement was well under way at the close of the first decade of the present century. The departmental plan of instruction was being introduced into the upper grammar school grades in many districts especially after 1908,[448] one expressed purpose being to make the transition from the grammar to the high school easier for the pupil. Superintendent Scott, of Uniontown, remarked, in 1909, that as a result of establishing a central grammar school in which the departmental plan was used, "we have had a minimum of dropping out of sixth, seventh, and eighth grade pupils.''[449] In

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[444] *Manual of the Pub. Schools of Chester*, 1895, 38–9.

[445] *Ibid.*

[446] *Ibid.*

[447] *Ibid.*

[448] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1909, 158, 215, 249, 253; *Ibid.*, 1910, 245; *Ibid.*, 1911, 264; *Ibid.*, 1912, 215.

[449] *Ibid.*, 1908–9, 249.

1911, Superintendent Endsley, of Tarentum, remarked: "That eighth grade pupils were transferred to these rooms and the departmental method of instruction, in part, was tried with them. The plan worked well and we believe that, in consequence, the pupils just entering High School will more readily adapt themselves to the high school plan of instruction. In the past, many pupils have dropped out of High School in the early part of the first year, owing to the difference between the plans of instruction in the grammar schools and high schools."[450]

The establishment of central grammar schools, as distinct organization units, usually for the eighth grade pupils, had by 1910 become a practice in many districts. Thus Mahanoy township,[451] Norristown,[452] and Uniontown[453] reported such a practice in 1909; Lock Haven,[454] Sunbury,[455] and Tarentum,[456] in 1911; Homestead,[457] Steelton,[458] and Washington,[459] in 1912, and the practice continued to increase in popularity.

Attempts to provide for the needs of individual pupils were also apparent in the adoption of a more flexible promotion plan. In 1912, Superintendent Gibson, of Butler, reported: "We feel that our system of semi-annual promotions with supplementary classes promoted quarterly has greatly increased the number of graduates from grammar school. The flexibility of this system and the close articulation between the grammar school and the high school are largely responsible for the growing high school enrollment, which has now reached 500."[460] In the same year, it was reported from Dubois that a semi-annual promotion plan had been adopted both for the benefit of dull and bright pupils,[461] and, at the same time, Warren reported promotion by subject.[462]

Changes in curriculum were also being introduced in an attempt to bring the high school into closer relation with the elementary schools. In 1910, it was planned to introduce manual training and domestic science into the eighth grade in New Castle.[463] In the same year, the following report came from Norristown: "Departmental work in the eighth year grades which

[450] *Ibid.*, 1911, 264.
[451] *Ibid.*, 1909, 202.
[452] *Ibid.*, 215.
[453] *Ibid.*, 249.
[454] *Ibid.*, 1911, 216.
[455] *Ibid.*, 262.
[456] *Ibid.*, 264.
[457] *Ibid.*, 1912, 215.
[458] *Ibid.*, 284.
[459] *Ibid.*, 299 *f.*
[460] *Ibid.*, 181.
[461] *Ibid.*, 195.
[462] *Ibid.*, 295–6.
[463] *Ibid.*, 1910–11, 231.

are consolidated in two buildings continues to be effective. In this grade among other subjects the children are required to study elementary science, (physics and chemistry) and home civics. . . . Vocal music, drawing, manual training . . . have a place in our elementary and high schools as special subjects. . . . In the High School, four courses are maintained: the Regular, the Commercial, the Manual Training, and the Classical. . . . It is possible for a pupil to graduate in any one of the first three courses without pursuing a foreign language.''[464] Practices like these are but typical of the changes that were taking place at the beginning of the second decade of the present century. Soon the junior high school itself appeared very clearly on the horizon. In 1912, came the following report from Steelton:

> In the assignment of the grades a year ago, an important advance step was taken, in the organization of a central grammar school. This school was placed under the supervision of a competent principal with an efficient corps of teachers. The beneficial results of this action are manifest already in several directions. In the first place it has afforded the pupils of both sexes of the A and B grammar grades, the opportunity of being under the tuition of both male and female teachers, a consummation greatly to be desired. In the next place it has enabled the teachers in these grades to do departmental work along lines of their special fitness without being required to cover the entire curriculum of grade studies. In the third place it is bringing about closer articulation with the work of the high school. This it is accomplishing in two ways; first by familiarizing pupils with departmental work before they reach the high school and second by affording the teachers of the departments an opportunity to more readily confer with the teachers of the related subjects in the high school.[465]

In 1913, Superintendent Pollock, of Charleroi, announced the building of a new high school, in which would be housed the seventh and eighth in addition to the higher grades.[466] In the following year, he reported:

> The seventh and eighth grades have been formed into a junior high school. The pupils in the department receive instruction by the departmental plan which will prepare them thoroughly for their high school work. After a trial of one year, we are prepared to pronounce this plan a great success, although we met a number of perplexing problems. We believe that the advantages

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[464] *Ibid.*, 233.

[465] *Ibid.*, 1912, 284.

[466] *Ibid.*, 1913, 201.

greatly exceed the disadvantages and make it far superior to the old plan of the single teacher. Six excellent teachers are in charge of this work.[467]

In the same year, a junior high school was reported for New Kensington,[468] and Oil City was erecting a junior high school building to take care of the seventh and eighth grades as well as "a part of the present high school enrollment."[469] From this time on, superintendents in various districts of the State continued to report the establishment of junior high schools, although it probably took a number of years before all of the features of the present junior high school took definite form in the institutions thus established. Superintendent Gibson, of Butler, remarked in 1915, that crowded conditions in the schools of his district called for the erection of a new building. "The junior high school," he said, "seems the logical solution. Butler has for many years employed several features of the junior high school,—concentration of seventh and eighth grades in one building, modified departmental instruction, manual training, assembly exercises, amended program of studies to anticipate the high school curriculum. All of these features have proved practical and beneficial. The additional modification of the course of study and methods of instruction, and enrichment of courses to meet the ideals of the junior high school can be worked out cautiously and experimentally in actual practice. . . . The latter aim will be attained by unifying the first year of the present high school with the seventh and eighth grades for the formation of the junior high school. The step is contemplated under the realization that there has been no definite determination of the junior high school function and program in all its phases."[470] Lock Haven announced the adoption of the 6–3–3 plan, in this same year.[471] At this time also, one of the purposes of the junior high school, as now stressed, was beginning to find expression. Superintendent Hershberger, of New Kensington, said of the junior high school at that place: "In the industrial work the Junior high school affords us the 'trying out' or 'finding out' period before the student is permitted to enter the regular trade work in the Senior high school."[472] In 1917, Superintendent Rapp, of

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[467] *Ibid.*, 1914, 212.

[468] *Ibid.*, 293–4.

[469] *Ibid.*, 301.

[470] *Ibid.*, 1915, 195–6.

[471] *Ibid.*, 272.

[472] *Ibid.*, 299.

Berks county, reported the establishment of junior high schools at Shartlesville, Monocacy, Strausstown, and Bechtelsville, and remarked: ''The junior high school both in village and town is an opportunity more easily to break with traditions, to congregate and segregate groups homogeneous for similar training, to secure the true functions of the earlier stages of secondary education, to explore on the one hand, the interests, the aptitudes, and the capacities of the pupils, and, on the other hand, to explore for them the possibilities of each of the great fields of learning.''[473] The following description of the work of one of our early junior high schools came from Johnstown, in 1916:

> Last year a junior high school was opened in the new Garfield Building with an enrollment during the year of 433 pupils—148 in the seventh grade, 127 in the eighth, and 158 in the ninth. 114 took academic work, 178 industrial, and 141 commercial. The elective subjects beginning with the seventh grade were Latin, German, shorthand, typewriting, sewing, cooking, freehand and mechanical drawing. The seventh grade pupils did excellent work in all the above subjects and proved, what is generally accepted as a fact, that subjects requiring memory, like a foreign language or shorthand, can be advantageously begun when the pupil is young. The heads of the departments in the high school sent their outlines in Latin, etc. to the teachers of the junior high school each month and in a general way superintend the work. Architects are now drawing plans for another junior high school building that will accommodate twelve hundred pupils.[474]

While the 6–3–3 plan of organization was thus developing, the 6–6 plan was also under way. Erie[475] and Rochester[476] reported the adoption of this latter plan in 1915, and Warren, a somewhat similar arrangement at the same time.[477] At the close of the third decade of the century the 6–6 plan of organization was growing more rapidly in popularity than the 6–3–3 plan.[478] There has been a steady decline in the enrollment of pupils in schools organized on the 8–4 basis, and a corresponding increase in that of reorganized schools. The per cent. of pupils in the former decreased from 56.47, in 1925–26, to 41.00, in 1928–29; while that of the latter rose from 40.72 to 56.83 in the same period.[479] The

[473] *Ibid.*, 1917, 21.
[474] *Ibid.*, 1916, 275.
[475] *Ibid.*, 1915, 233.
[476] *Ibid.*, 335.
[477] *Ibid.*, 358.
[478] *Ibid.*, 1930, 20.
[479] *Ibid.*, 22.

old plan of organization has been largely abandoned, except in poorer districts, where it is still chiefly the practice.[480]

The junior college movement.—We have noted elsewhere that preparation for the sophomore and higher classes in college was frequently stated as a purpose of academies.[481] In this respect, they might be considered the first of our junior colleges. While public junior colleges have not yet developed in the State,[482] our State educational authorities seem to be inclined to encourage the movement. Section 627 of the school laws permits school directors to lease any part of their public school buildings and equipment to any approved college or university for the purposes of offering university or college courses.[483] The University of Pittsburgh has, accordingly, established junior colleges at Johnstown and Uniontown, which, because of their connection with the public schools, are not considered by the State Department as private institutions. They might appropriately be classed as semi-public in character.[484] In 1930, there were four private junior colleges in the State: ''Alliance Junior College, Cambridge Springs; Penn Hall Junior College, Chambersburg; Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport; Darlington Seminary Junior College, West Chester.''[485] The movement is, thus, in its infancy, both in its public and private aspects, but, as a phase of the work of reorganizing secondary education, it will probably receive an increasing amount of attention.

V. *Method*

The influences which appear very definitely as factors affecting practice in methods of teaching in high schools were: the formal disciplinary conception of education; the inflexibility of the system of grading; textbooks; educational theorists; the recognition of life needs; and a democratic philosophy.

The formal disciplinary conception and its persistence in educational thought has been touched upon elsewhere.[486] Not only did it affect the curriculum,[487] but it had a profound influence on method as well. John S. Hart, as principal of the Central High School, of Philadelphia, from 1842 on, was a strong advocate of "attention" and "work" for students. "'There must every day be,'" he said, "'the glow of hard work . . . vigorous and hardy labor, such as wakens the mind from its lethargy, summons up the resolution and will, and puts the whole internal man into a state of determined and positive activity.'"[488] A writer commenting on Hart's philosophy said: "Mr. Hart's own teaching has ever been in accordance with these views; and his class room . . . is a scene of extraordinary activity."[489] The formal study of rules and words was much stressed in language teaching. The examination questions in Latin, for the year 1846, stressed the why of the cases of nouns, and of the moods and tenses of verbs, in passages to be translated. Among the questions we find the following fairly typical one "optarim—where found? for what is it contracted? by what figure?"[490] Twenty years later the *Pennsylvania School Journal* condemned this stressing and memorizing of grammar, rules, and words, it being apparently still a common practice in the teaching of Latin, as probably in all language studies at the time.[491]

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[480] *Ibid.*, see second table on page 22 of the *Report* of the superintendent.

[481] *Supra,* 316.

[482] Johnstown in 1887 had advanced high school grades resembling somewhat the junior college. [*Supra,* 565.]

[483] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1930, 166.

[484] *Ibid.*

[485] *Ibid.*

[486] *Supra,* 319 *ff.*, 526 *ff.*

[487] *Ibid.*

Considerable emphasis upon the memorization of rules, of definitions, and of forms continued, however, to be stressed in high schools. Among the examination questions answered by the graduating class of the West Chester High School, in 1872, we find that, in arithmetic, the students were asked to define "Minuend, Factor, Multiple;" in geometry, to define "Cylinder, Sphere, Pyramid, Chord, Proportion, Axiom, Rectangle, Scalene Triangle, Angle, Scholinm," and the definition probably had to be in textbook form;[492] in geography, to name the highest mountains, the five largest indentations in the coast line, the seven longest rivers and the six largest lakes in North America;[493] in "philosophy," to define "science, physics, molecular force, imbibition;" and in astronomy, to define "conjunction, transits, occultation, latitude and refraction."[494] In history, they were asked such questions as to give the date of the Reign of Terror, and to state for what Aix-la-Chapelle, Runnymede, Marathon, Thermopylae, and Waterloo were remembered.[495] The questions in English grammar were particularly significant in that they throw much light on the reason for considering the subject an excellent means of mental exercise. The following questions appear on this list:

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[488] John S. Hart. [Editorial, Barnard's *Journal*, V, 95–6.]

[489] *Ibid.*, 96.

[490] *Twenty-eighth Rept. of Controllers*, 179.

[491] Reading Latin. [Editorial, *P. S. J.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 101–2.]

[492] Exam. Questions. [*Ibid.*, XXI, March, 1873, 290–1.]

[493] *Ibid.*, 291.

[494] *Ibid.*

> 1. Write a sentence containing a relative pronoun in the possessive case, a pronominal adjective, and a verb in the Subjunctive form of the Potential Mood. . . .
>
> 4. Punctuate the following:
>
> Polonius do you know me my lord Hamlet excellent well you are a fishmonger
> Pol not I my lord
> Ham then I would you were so honest a man
> Pol honest my lord
> Ham ay sir to be honest as this world goes is to be one man picked out of ten thousand
> Pol that is very true my lord
> Ham have you a daughter
> Pol I have my lord
>
> 5. Correct the following
>
> 1. "A featherless biped" was Plato's definition of a man. . . .
> 10. She lived a life of virtue, and died of cholera morbus, caused by eating green fruit, in the full hope of a blessed immortality, at the age of twenty-one. Reader, go thou and do likewise.[496]

In English literature, they were asked such questions as: "Name three works of Scott, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Byron and Milton; . . . Name one work of Hume, Oliver Goldsmith, Pope, Hugh Miller, Charlotte Bronte, Charles Lamb, Gibbon, Halleck, Swift and John Locke. . . . Name ten female writers in England. . . . Name the author of Culprit Fay, Sleepy Hollow, Evangeline, Marble Faun, Last of the Mohicans, Salamagundi. . . ." The questions in Latin dealt with parsing, scanning, declining, comparing, the principal parts of verbs, and translating from the third, fifth, and sixth books of Virgil.[497]

In the light of this emphasis on form, and the evident need of a considerable amount of pure memorizing in order to pass such examinations, it is not surprising that we occasionally hear of the need of disciplining students, of the evils of the cramming system, and of the granting of rewards and prizes for scholarship. John S. Hart, of the Central High School of Philadelphia, stated, in 1846: "For certain offences or failures in his lessons, the pupil is required to remain in school during the long recess. Of this regulation the class is officially notified; and each pupil has the means of ascertaining officially whether any failures are recorded against him."[498] In addition, a monthly record of each student was also kept and, in cases where it was not good, parents were notified.[499]

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[495] *Ibid.*, 292.

[496] *Ibid.*

[497] *Ibid.*

Contributing with the old disciplinary theory to make the method in high school as arduous and disagreeable as possible was the rigidity of the grading system, and the dependence upon examinations exclusively as a test of the right of a student to be promoted. The examination requirements for admission to high schools have been described elsewhere as extremely rigorous.[500] In the high schools themselves, they retained that same character. In 1877, it was decreed that students of the Central High School of Philadelphia falling below a certain standard, as measured in examinations, should be demoted to the next lower class.[501] Thus, the traditional faith in the theory of discipline, the worship of a purely mechanical system of grading, and an unswerving confidence in the value of examinations, as a test of a student's right to promotion, led to a practice of cramming which, while frequently assailed, would seem to have endured throughout almost the entire century. The attacks on this practice were usually directed, not especially against the practice of high schools, but rather against cramming in general, as if it were a very common procedure everywhere. In Philadelphia, the controllers, in 1861, decreed that, for pupils in the grammar schools, the amount of home-work be greatly curtailed, "and that no greater amount of matter shall be daily assigned . . . than can be committed to memory or performed, by scholars of average ability, in an hour and a half."[502] Not a word was said about cramming in the high school, where the old method was probably still flourishing. A similar step was reported, in 1866, to have been taken in Reading.[503] In 1870, another attack on cramming was made by a Philadelphia newspaper. It was pointed out that it killed children, and that teachers who used the method murder children. In place of it, the writer would substitute "one hundred square feet of black board, crayons, and a teacher . . . able to walk without crutches, patient, and loving labor enough to teach youth to walk without such aids."[504]

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[498] *Twenty-Eighth Rept. of Controllers*, 173.

[499] *Thirty-Sixth Rept. of Controllers*, 123–4.

[500] *Supra*, 490, 497, 569.

[501] *Min. Committee on Central H. S.*, April 23.

[502] *Min. Bd. of Control*, July 8.

An essential element in the cramming practice was the very general reliance of teachers on textbooks. The practice of teaching in Germany without textbooks, as reported by Horace Mann, was brought to the attention of teachers through the *School Journal,* in 1852,[505] and highly approved. From its beginning, the *School Journal* attacked the text-book method. Soon after its first appearance, it published the following dialogue between two school boys:

> Q. Have you a good school in your district?
> A. If long sessions and long tasks make a good school, we have.
> Q. What is the object of this task exercise?
> A. I know of no object but to keep us in employment, and afford the teacher leisure.
> Q. How does it afford him leisure?
> A. Why, with book in hand, he has only to see that we recite as it is there.
> Q. Does he offer no explanations, nor require any?
> A. I should not know the meaning of "explanation" if I had not learned it out of school.[506]

Thomas Burrowes, in 1854, addressing the teachers of Perry county, remarked: "Nor, in the *modes* of instruction have the violations of the principles of his nature been less injurious. The teacher—the living mind—has been made inferior to the book with its lifeless word. The dark rule has usurped the place of the clear principle; and memory—the great first-born power—has been so tasked and left unassisted by the other faculties, that the acquisition of knowledge, which should be a delight, is generally a burden and a toil, and the attempt too often an entire failure."[507] And the following plaintive girl's appeal, in 1863, seems to have had a reasonable occasion in the practices of the time:

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[503] Monthly Record of Pa. [*P. S. J.*, XV, July, 1866, 4.]

[504] Cramming. [*Ibid.*, XIX, July, 1870, 21–2. Reprint from *Phila. Day.*]

[505] Mehaffy: Text-Books. [*Ibid.*, I, Nov., 1852, 238–40.]

[506] The Good and Bad Teacher. [*Ibid.*, I, Aug., 1852, 141.]

> Night sacred to rest, brings to me no repose,
> For a huge pile of books reaching up to my nose,
> Absorb my whole waking, afflict me in sleep,
> And e'en in my dreams most audaciously creep.
> My head aches, my side aches, my cheeks have grown pale,
> Yet study I must, or certainly fail.
>
> Dear Mr. Directors! think you, will it pay,
> Thus to fritter the bloom of our girlhood away,
> And find in the end that with brains overwrought
> We do not possess an original thought.[508]

Prizes and other motives were introduced as a stimulus to effort in those strenuous days of old. Thus, in 1858, the Scranton school board adopted "a system of awards in the High and Grammar Schools for Scholarship."[509] This plan of artificial stimulation soon created questioning and opposition. In 1861, the Luzerne County Teachers' Association adopted the resolution: "That the system of offering prizes or rewards to scholars, is injudicious, having an unhealthy influence on the character."[510] From another source, in 1864, came the following denunciation: "I think all educators will agree with me, that at present too many unworthy motives are urged upon the attention of the pupil, . . . and our country boys and girls are taught to believe, that if only they secure an education, they will be released from the honest toil of the farm and the kitchen, and become merchant princes, leading professional men, powerful statesmen, or their wives. The duty, rationality, and pleasure of cultivating the God-given faculties we possess are lost sight of, because apparently less powerful in moving the will."[511]

Little or no evidence has been found regarding the extent to which corporal punishment was resorted to in high schools. It was probably popularly considered inseparable from any plan of effective teaching. A teacher of the eighteen-twenties tells us, in 1853, that his ''great offence'' was that he never had a whip in his school, and that most of his employers were dissatisfied with him for that reason.[512] Opposition to this practice was growing strong in the eighteen-fifties and later. In 1853, the following resolution was adopted by the Teachers' Institute of Schuylkill county: ''Whereas, The frequent use of the rod, in enforcing discipline in schools, produces wrong impressions on the minds of the young . . .

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[507] Burrowes: Address. [*Ibid.*, III, Dec., 1854, 181.]

[508] N: A School Girl's Appeal to the Directors. [*Ibid.*, XI, Jan., 1863, 216.]

[509] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, April 7.

[510] Home Events for April: Proceedings of Luzerne Co. Teachers Assn. [*P. S. J.*, IX, May, 1861, 324.]

[511] McFarland: What Means May be Properly Used to Induce Pupils to Aim at a High Standard of Intellectual Culture. [*Ibid.*, XIII, Sept., 1864, 85.]

''Resolved, That we discontinue this punishment as far as possible.''[513] Old-time popular attitudes made it difficult to abolish it everywhere. In Erie, it was gradually dispensed with until 1870, when it was entirely eliminated. Superintendent Jones, in 1871, said of this action of the board: ''It seemed to a fair majority of the board, that it would not be difficult to pass from a little whipping to none; and although the passage of the rule was objected to by some of the most active directors, and not a few patrons were stoutly opposed to the innovation, the rule allowing no physical pain, or the fear of it, to be used in governing, the schools passed through a year of successful management. Doubtless it has been harder for the teachers, for when child and parent are hand in hand in favor of the rod, and the teacher cannot use it, up-hill work is certain.''[514] In 1871, the following view was expressed editorially in the *School Journal:*

> It will be agreed also that a teacher who trains his pupils to govern themselves, does infinitely more for them than one who keeps them in subjection by threats and punishments. . . . Corporal punishment may be necessary at times in schools constructed as ours are, but its necessity is always evidence of imperfect administration somewhere. No child with a healthy organization rightly trained from the cradle needs such punishment. But whether this is true or not, every thinking person will admit that the whole economy of the school should be such as to make it a self-working, self-governing body.[515]

In 1888, the Lancaster board abolished the practice ''in all cases where good order can be procured by milder means.''[516]

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[512] Corporal Punishment—30 Years Since. [*Ibid.*, I, April, 1853, 399.]

[513] Educational Societies. [*Ibid.*, 395.]

[514] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1871, 222–3.

[515] Future Educational Development. [*P. S. J.*, XIX, June. 1871, 346.]

[516] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Jan. 5.

That corporal punishment was commonly used in high schools might be inferred from statements like the one which follows. Superintendent Streeter, of Titusville, addressing the State Teachers' Association, in 1886, said:

> The only use of this part of the law, [that a teacher has the same right as a parent to correct a student] so far as I remember, has been to drive home the "correction" nail; and I want to ask you, who have "the high school question" at heart, if it is not possible in the high school to make more of the parent clause? We can be *Christians,* we can be cultured, we can be teachers. But what I want is to develop more and more the genuine spirit of genuine home life. Manhood—Womanhood—is not brought out by a system of strait-jackets and studying for marks. . . . There can be—there should be—more of the home influence in the high school.[517]

It must not be concluded that the method of drill, and memorization of the contents of textbooks, was the only one in use in our early high schools. We find that special methods were used in teaching certain subjects. Oral and written instruction were used in the teaching of morals in the Central High School, of Philadelphia, in 1840; lectures, in the teaching of natural philosophy; and the conversational method, in the teaching of French.[518] The lecture method became a prominent feature of the practices in this school. In 1846, thirty lectures per week, nearly all of them written and carefully prepared, were being delivered by the teachers of various subjects.[519] Moreover, it was stated at this time that oral instruction accompanied the recitation upon textbooks.[520] In Lancaster, in 1854, the board established rules governing lectures on "the natural, intellectual, and moral sciences," to be delivered at regular times before the students of the high schools. Directors, teachers and citizens were to be admitted with the students. The regulations further prescribed that: "Each pupil of the higher class of each high school shall be required to take notes of every lecture, and be examined upon the subject of it before the delivery of the next lecture on the same science."[521] The lecture method does not seem to have been used in many high schools, and, in the examples cited, it would seem to have been extremely formalized. Theorists and theories of method began to appear frequently from the late fifties on. Edward Brooks, a teacher at Millersville Normal School, in 1857,[522] expounded a philosophy of method embodying some of Pestalozzi's ideas. He said, in discussing the proper method of teaching mathematics: ''The third method, which is undoubtedly the true one, seeks a harmonious development of thought and expression. . . . The very moment the mind attains an idea, there is a necessity created for the expression of it.''[523] In 1863, Pennsylvania teachers heard of the Pestalozzian method of teaching geography, as expounded by Arnold Guyot, a student of the Pestalozzi-Ritter method. The *School Journal* quoted, in 1863, an article from the *Maine Teacher,* which announced that, in future, geography must be a subject dealing with the relation of the physical world to man, and that textbooks which give ''ten thousand useful facts'' of geography must be eliminated.[524] In the following year, the relative merits of Pestalozzi's teaching by objects and the textbook method were debated at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, and the weight of opinion was favorable to the Pestalozzian viewpoint. A representative of the clergy spoke strongly in favor of the old principle of authority, saying that the mind could not rise from mere objects to principles: ''We are told,'' he said, ''to make everything about the school as pleasant as possible. By what power does a man put himself to the study of anything? By an exercise of his will. Are we then to reverse the order, by making the study so interesting as to strew the pathway of science with flowers? It is only as the will is forcibly bent to some point, that education acquires a proper character. I prefer the rule of our forefathers, who trained up their children on the principle that their wills must be whipped into what is right and good.''[525]

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[517] The High School Question. [*P. S. J.*, XXXV, Sept., 1886, 128.]

[518] *Twenty-Second Rept. of Controllers,* 19–20.

[519] *Twenty-Eighth Rept. of Controllers,* 149.

[520] *Ibid.*

[521] *Min. Bd. of Ed.*, Sept. 21.

The tide, as far as theory is concerned, had by this time begun definitely to turn. The county superintendent of Susquehanna county, in 1864, proclaimed that all knowledge comes through the senses; that ''all our cognitions, inferences, reasonings, and deductions, are founded upon facts thus obtained,'' and that for this reason teaching by objects is of primary importance.[526] A certain amount of scepticism still persisted in the minds of the old disciplinarians. The editor of the *School Journal,* in 1868, advised parents not to select an academy which advertised too loudly the ''lecture system or the object method, or any other plan of instruction, which addresses itself to some faculties and neglects the rest.''[527] The Centennial Exhibition probably did much to clarify thinking on the question of the basic principles of method. A French visitor, M. Buisson, remarked: ''One believes himself in a dream when he sees, for example, in the copybooks of Pennsylvania schools, entire pages of words selected from the sciences—words which the scholars will never employ a single time in their whole lives, and which they are required to learn with great trouble—such words as 'inexpungability,' 'incommunicability,' 'protozoa,' and hundreds of others more difficult and more useless.''[528] He noted, however, that we were progressing: ''These new methods of teaching,'' he said, ''extend to all branches of study, and the exhibit of Pennsylvania shows that they have been introduced largely in that State. . . . One of the exercises which enables us the better to illustrate this point is composition, the writing of letters, compiling and book-keeping. It is remarkable that in places where the textbook and literalism have not stunted the mental growth of children in the primary school, we find that their compositions and other original exercises prove that they possess an intelligence and a vivacity of mind perfectly charming; while in other places where the mania of learning answers 'by heart' still reigns, the scholars even at the age of fifteen or sixteen years are scarcely able to express their thoughts upon the most familiar subjects, to write a letter, to give an account of a walk, or, without help, to describe a scene that they have witnessed.''[529] The *School Journal* admitted the fairness and truth of Buisson's criticism.[530] The Polytechnic College of Pennsylvania received a prize at the Exhibition for its work in natural history and, in 1877, the State superintendent solicited from the President of the College information regarding the method of teaching that subject in the College. He was told, in reply, that field-work had been largely substituted for textbooks, and that minerals, and the things themselves were presented to the students.[531] A few months later, the editor of the *School Journal* suggested that normal schools, high schools, and academies of the State adopt the practice of exchanging minerals, fossils, and specimens of various kinds.[532]

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[522] Wickersham: *Op. cit.*, 623.

[523] The Method of Teaching Mathematics. [*P. S. J.*, V, Feb., 1857, 261.]

[524] A: Guyot's Method of Teaching Geography. [*Ibid.*, XII, Dec., 1863, 188–9.]

[525] Procs. of State Teachers' Assn. [*Ibid.*, XIII, Sept., 1864, 72.]

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[526] Weston, E. A.: The True Object and Mode of Ed. [*Ibid.,* XII, April, 1864, 314–6.]

[527] Selection of an Academy. [Editorial, *Ibid.,* XVI, May, 1868, 309.]

[528] The Educational Exposition at Phila. What a Frenchman Thinks of It. [*Ibid.,* XXV, March, 1877, 315.]

[529] *Ibid.*

[530] Buisson's Articles. [Editorial, *Ibid.,* XXV, May, 1877, 404–5.]

Interest in principles and practices of method did not abate after this time. We find men talking about the importance of stimulating the students' interest, of using the topical method of recitation, of bringing "the actual transactions of the business world . . . into the school room for the purpose of drill in practical work," and of using school apparatus more frequently.[533] In keeping with this philosophy, we find a printing press introduced into Bradford, and an attempt made to recreate, in the school, the actual situations of the printing trade.[534] In 1889, Dr. Philips, of the West Chester State Normal School, recommended to the Delaware county teachers that they establish school savings banks, after the fashion of that established in Long Island City, in 1885[535] The first actual high school bank in the State was probably that established in Pottsville, in 1886. Of this it was stated: "The object was to teach the pupils in a practical way, some of the principles of banking, especially those relating to depositing money and drawing out the same by means of checks," and to cultivate the habit of saving.[536] It was further stated: "Deposits of all amounts are received from five cents upward. Money is loaned out, notes are discounted, and all the usual bank forms are used or explained. Even a syndicate has been formed in the bank's short history, and enough preferred stock bought up by one class to control the management of the bank. The bank has also once been robbed. So you will see it is full-fledged."[537] Chester reported a similar institution, in

[531] Nat. Hist. at the Polytechnic College. [Editorial, *Ibid.*, XXV, March, 1877, 336–7.]

[532] Editorial Department. [*Ibid.*, May, 1877, 398.]

[533] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1887, 151.

[534] *Ibid.*, 1884, 188.

[535] *Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Session of the Del. Co. Teachers Inst.*, Nov., 1889, 33.

[536] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1889, 145.

[537] *Ibid.*

1890, but this was on a much larger scale, having total deposits of nearly $3,500, and depositors to the number of 1,565. Here the bank was established for the whole school district,[538] while in Pottsville the activity was confined to the high school. Thus by the end of the century the method of teaching in our high schools had been, here and there, modified by new educational attitudes and by a new consciousness of the actual needs of life.

The recognition of individual differences might be traced back to the distinctions between men which Plato would adopt in his visionary republic, and probably beyond. Our philosophers of women's education saw, for a time, many fundamental differences between men and women,[539] but the significance of these differences from a general educational standpoint was evidently not often recognized until the eighteen-fifties, when the grading system brought them into prominence. That recognition, whether it should be called a bi-product of our common school system or not, was democratic in nature and sound pedagogically. And here let us drag out of the mists of the past another Plato, who had dreams about republics. He tells us he saw a teacher in a Philadelphia grammar school instruct his pupils, by a purely memorizing method, in the Constitution of the United States. That night, he dreamt of an ideal school, the whole of which "was organized into a small Republic," with students filling every office and position in and under the government, in order to fit them for "the various duties required by republican citizens; that when they come to be men, they would not be embarrassed in transacting the business required of the members of a free government."[540] Such a dreamer must have felt keenly the need, as did the older Plato, for a scheme of education in keeping with each student's capacity and future place in society. In 1852, the Rev. J. W. Yeomans, in an address at Danville, remarked: "Among the facilities of study which are of chief importance to our schools . . . we must mention a suitable classification. . . . The diversity of talents in children is almost infinite, and where children of diverse capacities are placed in the same class, to be kept there month after month . . . they must be subjected to some disadvantages which however serious, are unavoidable.''[541] And he further stated that one of the evils of this arrangement was that the mediocre child would set the pace, while the bright ones would be retarded, and the slow ones left behind. In the same year, another, addressing the students of Strasburg Academy, remarked: ''If your classes are made up of pupils whose knowledge of the science you are teaching differs widely, you cannot teach all at once; and my word for it, you will not be able to command the attention and respect of the class. Your instruction will either be too simple or too mystical for portions of the class. You will, therefore, institute a thorough examination of every pupil before making a classification; and should you succeed in accomplishing this desirable end in three or four days, you have done well.''[542] In the eighties, the question was frequently discussed, and educators were listing the differences between students, and indicating their causes.[543] With the recognition of these differences came supervised study and demands for individualized instruction. The following rules for the Soldiers' Orphan Schools, after the Civil War, are a significant indication of the feeling with regard to the importance of supervised study, and some form of individualized instruction:

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[538] *Ibid.*, 1890, 127.

[539] *Supra*, 362 *ff.*

[540] Humanitas: Practical Ed. [*P. S. J.*, XVI, July, 1867, 13–4.]

> *The Principal Teacher shall not, as a general rule, set a task, or hear a lesson, but shall confine himself to the giving of oral instruction and assistance in the study of the text books, in the main study hall. . . .*
>
> Thousands of youth have become disgusted with study and lost their interest in learning, just for want of such aid. And this aid it is, which is indispensable to reconcile the extremes of the ancient mode of instruction which was all oral, with the modern, which is all text-book, and retain the benefits of both. Accordingly it will be the duty of the Principal Teacher of each of these schools:
>
> 1. To afford to each pupil, in his seat, and while studying his next lesson for recitation, on being requested by signal or otherwise, any needed explanation, suggestion, advice or aid, as the case may need; but always so imparted as at the same time to overcome the difficulty, yet to do so in such a manner as to cause the pupil to exercise his own faculties as much as possible in the effort. . . .[544]

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[541] *Ibid.*, I, Nov., 1852, 256.

[542] Sound and Practical Suggestions. [*Ibid.*, I, Oct., 1852, 220 *f.*]

[543] *E.g.*, Higbee, E. E.: The Child who is to be Taught. [*Ibid.*, XXXIII, Feb., 1885, 297–8]; Harris: Education and Heredity. [*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 95–100.]

[544] Soldiers' Orphan Schools—School Room Principles and Rules. [*Ibid.*, XV, Nov., 1866, 105–6.]

Supervised study was introduced into schools, below the high school, in Philadelphia, in 1869.[545] In Erie, a plan of supervised study was adopted for each high school class, in 1880.[546] Closely connected with the subject of supervised study was that of individualized instruction. A writer, in 1874, basing his conclusions on an analogy between the school and the family, recommended small instructional groups, and that "each individual pupil should receive especial instruction according to his personal requirements, peculiar deficiencies, particular gifts, and prospective work."[547] In 1882, group recitations were condemned, and the practice of business colleges recommended: "This is not the practice," it was stated, "with the Business College, but . . . the practice which has obtained . . . is to admit the candidate almost regardless of his previous training and then pursue the method of *individual instruction* which, after all, is much more successful and satisfactory than the class system."[548] In 1895, a speaker, after enumerating several other reasons for abolishing examinations, condemned them because they ignored the individual capacity and needs of students, and made plausible the objection that " 'The public school machinery requires uniformity in every child.' "[549] The cry against examinations and the injustice of teachers' marks had become loud and persistent from 1880 on. One speaker, in 1886, remarked: "What is the use of having any [examinations] in the high school? Why isn't it possible to make an estimate of a pupil's knowledge of a study without any such nonsense."[550] With regard to teachers marks, he stated: "There is nothing definite about them. No two teachers would mark the same paper alike; and I have sometimes wondered how much a night's rest or a breakfast has had to do with papers marked 98 and 99 on the one hand, and 15 and 0 on the other."[551] Greater regard for the rights and needs of the individual were thus having their effect upon theories of method, and probably upon practices in many districts.

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[545] All Hail: Philadelphia. [Editorial, *Ibid.*, April, 1869, XVII, 269–70.]

[546] *State Supt. Rept.*, 210.

[547] Pettengill: Individual Teaching. [*P. S. J.*, XXII, 351–3. Reprint from *Am. Annals of the Deaf and Dumb.*]

[548] *The Business College as a Successful Educator*, 5–6. [Pamphlet issued by The Bryant and Stratton Bus. Coll., 1882.]

[549] Are Final Exams. Best for the Children. [*P. S. J.*, XLIII, 311.]

[550] Streeter: The High School Question. [*Ibid.*, XXXV, 128.]

[551] *Ibid.*

In connection with the growing distrust in the value of marks and the justice of the examination system, it is fitting to direct attention to the feeling of needs that eventually resulted in the modern measurement movement in education. Superintendent B. F. Patterson, of Pottsville, wrote in 1888:

> We have always thought that there should be some means by which we would be enabled to compare our work, one with another. . . . What we would like to have is some test by which we can measure work. . . . Let us all stop talking and compare our work. . . . But we would like to have comparative statistics on other subjects, for instance: How long should it take the average pupil, in reading, to reach the fourth reader? Again, what per cent. of our monthly enrolment are in fourth readers or beyond it? At what average age should pupils be expected to readily solve miscellaneous problems in the fundamental rules; such problems as they will meet in any ordinary calling. Each borough superintendent has the means of knowing the comparative standing of each school of the same grade in his own district; but we are all unable to compare our own schools with those of any other district in the State.[552]

Recent developments in method.—While this study does not propose to trace the development of method in the present century, it would seem, from a cursory examination of the educational literature of the period, that educators have come, more and more, to think in terms of the rights and needs of the individual. Thought with regard to method has been directed, to a considerable extent, by this philosophy. Yet, the rights and needs of a democratic society have not been ignored, and the most highly individualized modes of instruction have provided for those socializing activities, without which the primary purpose of public education would be defeated. The following principles embodied in the work of the South Philadelphia High School for Girls, one of our modern progressive schools, and organized on the Dalton plan, may be taken as representative of this point of view: "(1) Individualized instruction, *but* in a socialized environment; (2) freedom, *but* with responsibility."[553]

Attempts to provide more adequately for the needs of the individual, and at the same time to guard the interests of society appear in such practices as homogeneous grouping,[554] supervised study,[555] socialized recitation,[556] the "project method,"[557] the laboratory method,[558] the Dalton plan of instruction, or some modified form of it,[559] and, lastly, the general program of "directed learning," to the success of which the "unit" plan of instruction, it is claimed, will contribute significantly.[560] If we except homogeneous grouping, which does not necessarily call for the abandonment of the old textbook method of instruction, provision is made, in theory, under the other plans enumerated, for the individual pupil as an active and self-educating being, for whom the teacher acts in the capacity mainly of a guide and stimulator of interests.

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[552] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1888, 163–5.

[553] Wilson: Effect of Individualized Instruction on the Administration of the School. [*Schoolmen's Week Proceedings,* 1926, 157.]

To what extent these modern theories of method have been actually embodied in practice throughout the State, cannot be determined except by an extensive study of the work of the schools themselves. It is probable, however, that practice, as it generally exists, has not been affected, to any considerable degree, by advanced and progressive educational philosophies. Deputy State Superintendent William H. Bristow states: "The attempt to evaluate the exact extent of individualization would be very difficult. I can only say that a majority of the more progressive schools of Pennsylvania are making a definite attempt to place the instructional program on a directed learning basis. Procedures, however, vary with the school."[561] The general program of individualized instruction has received the commendations and encouragement of the State Department, as the following official statement indicates: "There is continued interest in the state in the development of teaching procedures which include modification of the unit plan of teaching, the Dalton plan, etc. Outstanding work has been done in connection with the South Philadelphia High School for Girls, where experiments have been conducted over a period of years using modification of the individual plan of instruction. The courses of study of Ambridge Junior and Senior High Schools have also been organized on this basis. . . . The realization on the part of the teachers of the necessity of devising plans which will teach pupils to think is one of the most hopeful developments in modern secondary school practice.''[562]

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[554] See a series of addresses on this subject in *Ibid.*, 1929, 247 *ff.*

[555] *Manual For High Schools,* 1922, 85–6.

[556] *Ibid.,* 85–8.

[557] *Ibid.,* 88.

[558] Hartley: The Laboratory Method in Social Studies As Used in Donora High School. [*P. S. J.*, LXXVI, 155–6.]

[559] Fausold: The City-Wide Use of the Ambridge Contract Method of Instruction. [*Schoolmen's Week Proceedings,* 1927, 49 *ff.*]; Worthington: The Study Program in the Cheltenham Junior High School. [*Ibid.*, 108 *ff.*]; Hindman: The Dalton Plan and the High School Library. [*Ibid.*, 1930, 382 *ff.*]

[560] Bristow: Directed Learning in the Secondary School. [A mimeographed outline of suggestions by a deputy superintendent in the State Department, and representing the most recent expression of official attitude on the question of individualized instruction in secondary schools.

[561] Letter to the author, November 17, 1931.

In keeping with the general drift of thought, the educational measurement movement has become largely diagnostic and remedial in its purpose.[563] To what extent practice in this field has kept pace with theory, the writer does not undertake to say, for the answer to the question can only be found by an investigation of the actual use of tests made by many schools of the State. Occasionally, we hear that some schools are using tests for the purpose of discovering the difficulties of individual pupils and aiding in overcoming them.[564] Yet, the following official statement, from a publication of the State Department, of 1927, does not embody this most progressive philosophy of testing, and justifies a doubt about the use made of tests generally throughout the State:

> The use of standard tests will stimulate teachers to better work. Tests provide teachers with an objective means of impartially judging the results of their own instruction. They make it possible for a teacher to compare the results of her own work from year to year and to compare her work with the records of other teachers. Tests also provide a means of the teacher's evaluation of the work done by her different classes of pupils. Finally, teachers can compare their work with generally accepted norms of achievement obtained from large numbers of schools. Teachers will find that the parent will generally have more confidence in the objective measurement of the pupil's work than in the teacher's subjective estimates.[565]

To what extent methods of teaching, as they relate to the needs of individuals, have been improved by the measurement

[562] *State Supt. Rept.*, 1930, 31.

[563] See a series of addresses on Educational Diagnosis and Remedial Instruction in *Schoolmen's Week Proceedings*, 1927, 213 *ff*.

[564] Worthington: Diagnosis Through the Use of ''Home Made'' Instructional Tests in Ninth Grade Algebra. [*Ibid.*, 1930, 198 *ff*.]

[565] *Manual For Junior High Schools*, 1927, 98.

movement, must, then, remain in doubt until a careful investigation of modern practice in the schools has been made. The opinion, on this question, of two men who have been long and intimately in contact with the schools of Eastern Pennsylvania, is of some value and is presented here. Dean John H. Minnick, of the School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, remarks:

> In so far as I have observed the administration of standardized tests in our public schools, very little use is made of them for the purpose of individual or class diagnosis. Occasionally, I have found individual teachers who will use them for this purpose, but for the most part, I have found them used for the purpose of comparison with other institutions and with norms rather than for the purpose of setting definite teaching problems in the case of a class or an individual student.[566]

Professor Le Roy A. King, of the same institution, states:

> The testing movement has changed very definitely from the general survey type of procedure to the so-called diagnostic type of measurement. . . . Diagnostic analyses are being constructed in the various fields, and remedial procedures are being developed by the school people cooperating with the Bureau of Educational Measurements of the University of Pennsylvania, indicating that the measurement movement has been taking hold in the field of classroom instruction in a most definite way. . . . While traditional administration practices and classroom procedures may be in general the practice over the State, there is much evidence in the schools of certain localities, that the changed program is more and more coming into practice.[567]

Thus were many developments of the twentieth century, in curriculum, organization and method, foreshadowed in the thought and practice of the century that has passed, and thus was the way prepared for the tremendous expansion of secondary education, in all its various aspects, which has been the distinguishing educational achievement of the thirty years of the present century that have passed into the realm of history.

[566] Letter to the author, November, 1931.

[567] Letter to the author, November, 1931.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

From the historical viewpoint, secondary education in Pennsylvania has not been a fixed and definite thing, but a something that is seen rather in the process of becoming than of actual being. It has been a phenomenon, which, like the environment in which it appeared, has been marked by change. That characteristic is just as manifest to-day as it was in any other period of our history. *Tempora mutantur, et nos et institutiones nostrae mutantur in illis.* The best laid schemes of men, even more than mice, are not applicable to the morrow. Historically, secondary education appears as the embodiment of an ideology or attitudes that are traceable back to their origin in the economic, social, political and religious forces of the environment. Changes in environmental forces have produced corresponding changes in our attitudes and in our interpretation of life and its needs, and educational practices have changed accordingly.

In the colonial period, religion played an important rôle in the drama of life, and the chief secondary schools of the time were largely the reflection of denominational idealism and needs. Economic, political and social developments gradually created a need for other types of institutions, and others appeared. The private, or proprietary, teacher, with his pronounced emphasis on utilitarianism and the social graces, came in answer to new demands, and soon the Philadelphia Academy appeared, as an embodiment of the utilitarian philosophy and of a new political idealism, which had been gradually forced upon the Quaker colony. Sectarianism had become a menace to the fullest development of political life, and the demand for a non-sectarian and semi-public institution, which would maintain due respect for fundamental religious feelings common to all sects, was met, albeit not very successfully, by the semi-public academy, which our State, in the first half century of its independence, encouraged and, to an extent, supported.

This new institution marks the transition, in a development, from the denominational type of secondary school to the purely public and secular high school of the present time. Just as the political force had much to do with the philosophy embodied in the academy, so, but to a much greater extent, it determined the nature of our latest institution, the public high school. In every step of the development changing economic, social and religious conditions acted very positively in favor of, or less positively against, the newer institution and its various practices.

The change from the older to the newer institution was not a sudden change. It was rather a gradual transformation, and some of the characteristics of the earlier one survived in that which succeeded it. In many cases, the newer one was but engrafted on the older stem, for many academies were transferred to school districts where they became the nuclei of public high schools. Nor have the older types of secondary schools entirely disappeared. The denominational secondary school still flourishes, although it holds a relatively much less important place than it formerly held. A few schools, too, of the non-sectarian academy type have succeeded in weathering the storms before which others have fallen. This type, however, passed over much more readily into the public type than did its antecedent, the denominational school, which promises to remain the chief competitor of the high school. In competition, however, with the tax-supported public secondary school, it has become increasingly difficult for the older types to survive.

The rise and development of the proprietary secondary school reflect not only the inability of other types of institutions to satisfy all popular demands of a social and educational nature, but also the lack of any well organized system of religious or governmental control, and point to the religious freedom and extremely decentralizing tendencies of democratic government in the past. The increasing urge of political, social and economic needs, resulting in the gradual development of a keen State and national consciousness, brought the public high school to greater and greater perfection, and the private school, deprived of the chief reason for its existence, the imperfections and inadequacies of its competitors, disappeared slowly from a scene where for a long time it played a prominent part.

From the viewpoint of control, the development, almost from the beginning, has been marked by a variety of types of schools.

Prior to the Revolution four distinct types appeared. One of these, the community school, while not numerous, marks a significant change from the denominational school, and may be considered a forerunner of the community academies which were frequently established after 1850. This community school was established and controlled by the leading men of a few communities, probably for the benefit of their own children exclusively. While the academy antedates the Revolution, its dominance, among secondary institutions, came in the period following that event. As regards control, there were four general types of academies: the county, the semi-county, the community, and the denominational. Of the denominational academies, chartered by the legislature, only one, the Episcopal Academy, of Philadelphia, received a grant from the State. From the beginning the new legislature threw almost its entire support to the non-sectarian institutions, the county type being the one most favored. The nature and amount of public support was, however, decidedly meagre and, with a few exceptions, these academies were always in poverty.

While from the beginning, provision was made in colonial denominational schools, and, later, in the academies, for the education of a limited number of poor students gratis, secondary education was, until the high school appeared, a class education. Our earlier secondary schools represent the attempt of groups on the higher social or economic levels, or of denominational groups, to provide an exclusive education for their children. They were open to those only who could afford to pay, and to a few whose sense of pride was not hurt by the acceptance of a charity. Nor in their curricular aspects were our earlier secondary schools designed to meet the needs of the children of the common people. The high school was well under way before any significant attempt was made to bring secondary education into touch with the life of our laboring class, and the desire to interpret the meaning of secondary education in terms of the needs of the manual laborer, as well as of other classes, was forced upon us by the struggle among the nations for commercial and industrial supremacy, and by our own rapidly developing industrial civilization. Purely democratic considerations were not of themselves sufficient to produce the change. The beginning of the actual break with social traditions came in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, and was closely linked up with the industrial revolution and the growing consciousness of political power in the common people. The recognition of the rights of the common man was followed by the establishment of the common school, and the principle of equality of opportunity for the children of rich and poor alike was gradually accepted. The realization of that ideal, however, came about slowly, and the expansion of the common school upward met with considerable opposition, as did, to an extent, the common elementary school itself. Traditions of many kinds, and resultant prejudices, made it difficult for the new institution, the public high school, to secure that sympathetic popular support which was essential to its progress. While it began to emerge in the thirties, its right to supplant the academy was being questioned until far into the century, and local communities continued to establish academies, and to support them for four decades after the State legislature had ceased to aid them. The popularity of the high school came slowly, and it was not until after the close of the century that its growth assumed considerable proportions in the State as a whole. The century closed with a relatively small high school enrollment, and with many high schools poorly supported and as poorly organized. In 1900, the non-public secondary schools of the State were almost as numerous as the public high schools. The increase in the percentage of public school students attending high schools is marked by an advance from 57.4, in 1910, to 855.5, in 1928. The growth of the public high school since 1900 has been phenomenal.

In keeping with humanistic traditions, and well-rooted convictions regarding the education of ecclesiastical and civil leaders, considerable emphasis was placed upon a study of the ancient classics in our colonial secondary schools. Yet, not only was the value of the humanities questioned almost from the beginning of the colony, but there was also evident a break with the traditional classical emphasis in schools like the English School of the Penn Charter system, and in a number of proprietary schools, in all of which a utilitarian purpose was embodied. The needs of such practical fields of activity as commerce, seafaring and surveying were thus recognized, and met, before the

Philadelphia Academy was planned or established. In the Presbyterian school, at New London, taught by Francis Alison, an attempt was made to teach the *realia* side by side with the classics. The "sciences" which were spoken of in connection with this school probably included mathematics and natural philosophy only. Franklin's Philadelphia Academy represents an attempt to embody in one institution, and to enrich, many earlier curricular practices. The almost total failure of this new institution to respect the realistic philosophy of its founder bears witness to the strength of the classical tradition, if it does not also point to the conclusion that a servant of society, as this Academy was, cannot do more than the master permits it to do. Franklin's educational views were evidently too far in advance of the commonly accepted views of the men of his day to have much influence in shaping the development of the new institution.

The new type, the academy, as it developed in the last decades of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century, was characterized by curricular offerings of many varieties. Catering, as it did, to many needs of a middle class in our society, and receiving, on the whole, a parsimonious support from those whom it served, it provided for students widely different in age and attainments. Here, one might receive not only the very rudiments of an education, but be prepared for advanced classes in college, for professional schools, for teaching or business. Efforts to standardize the institution were unavailing, and, after the establishment of the public school system, it continued to overlap the work of the public elementary school, on one side, and of the college, on the other. Deprived eventually of all State recognition and support, and forced to scatter its energies in an effort to serve too many ends, it eventually was compelled to surrender the field to the public high school.

Almost universally, our high schools arose as a gradual expansion upward of the common school for the purpose of providing a better preparation for the practical affairs of life. For some decades there was apparent an attitude of indecision regarding the most desirable relation of the new institution to the college. Very few of our high schools, in the earlier years of their development, attempted to meet the admission requirements of the colleges. As the popularity of the academies, which, in spite of Franklin's philosophy, had become subservient to the colleges, began to wane, and as many of them, voluntarily or involuntarily, surrendered their property and chartered rights and duties to the directors of the public schools, it became more and more essential that the new institution ought to provide for the needs of that class of students who had formerly been prepared for college in the academies. Similarly, the duty of preparing teachers for the public elementary schools passed, with the decline of the academy, to the high school. The new public institution inherited the duties and, with them, many of the practices of the academy. Representing, however, the advanced grades of the common school system, there was much less time devoted in it to the purely elementary studies. The presence of such subjects as reading, writing, spelling and elementary arithmetic in the program of some high schools indicates probably the practice of reviewing earlier studies, or of further work in them for those preparing to be teachers, rather than the actual admission of unqualified students into our high schools. There is a considerable amount of evidence that our early high schools had very definite admission requirements, and that students were promoted by rigorous examination from grade to grade in local systems.

From 1850 on, the necessity for grading the public schools became one of the most common topics of discussion among public school men. Provision for the grading of the schools was made by the law of 1854, and, as the practice of grading developed, the upper grade or grades in district schools came to be called the "high school." Sometimes the fifth, sixth, or seventh grade was known as the high school. It usually had no building of its own, but merely a room in the graded school building, designated as the "high school room." Here were taught more advanced English subjects such as composition, rhetoric, logic and elocution, to which were added such studies as algebra, geometry, trigonometry, history, geography, natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy. Latin and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Greek soon came to be demanded, and were gradually added, as were many other studies, until the program of the high school presented an appearance very much like that of its forerunner, the academy. Soon, special curricula began to evolve. The Central High School, of Philadelphia, offered three such curricula for some years after its establishment. In smaller communities one curriculum, or course, leading to graduation and a diploma, was the rule. Such a curriculum, in our earlier high schools, had no more definite goal in view than that of better preparation for life in a very general and indefinite way. From the eighteen-seventies on, it became an increasingly common practice for high schools to offer special curricula, such as the classical, the general, the Latin-scientific, and the commercial. Designated by a variety of names, they indicate the gradual drift of the high school toward a goal marked by many purposes, and based alike upon the needs of individuals and of society.

While our high school curriculum evolved without any effective direction by State educational authorities, very marked tendencies appeared in its growth, and, at the end of the nineteenth century, English and American literature, history, civics, physical geography, algebra, geometry, physics and Latin were almost universally among the offerings of high schools. Presenting more sharply marked central tendencies than did that of the academy, the high school curriculum was also more limited in the number of its offerings than was that of its predecessor. From a definite and very limited program of studies in our colonial secondary schools, practice ran to the opposite extreme in the academies, and showed a tendency toward greater fixity and definiteness in the high school, as it developed. Yet, the wide variety of offerings of the new institution is one of its noteworthy characteristics.

In the matter of organization, there has been a drift from the very loose and informal plan of colonial schools and academies to the standardized and mechanical procedure of the public high schools. In the colonial schools, and academies, with a few exceptions, there were no entrance requirements. In them, students were instructed individually or in small groups, arranged on the basis of single subjects of study, which they were pursuing, rather than of a group of subjects forming a curriculum. Nor was there any time or age fixed for beginning or completing the work of the school or any part of it. A student chose his studies, and continued to pursue them at his own speed, paying for his tuition a fixed rate per subject or small group of subjects. If he were pursuing studies leading to college, the more rapidly he prepared himself for the college entrance examination, the lower would be the expense to his parents. Students of a century ago spent much less time, as a rule, in preparing for college than our high school students do now, due largely to the greater stress that was placed then upon the mastery of a few formal subjects.

With the growth of the public school system, and the increasing population of the schools, the need for a definite plan of organization soon made itself felt. As the practice of grading the public schools progressed, various plans of organization appeared, the most common being that of an eight-grade elementary school, on which was superimposed a high school of four grades, each grade in the entire scheme representing a year's study. In their eagerness to perfect the grading scheme, schoolmen, for a time, sacrificed the individual student in the interest of the machine. Rigorous standards were maintained by as rigorous examinations, and numbers of students, voluntarily or involuntarily, dropped, yearly, out of the public schools, victims no doubt, in many cases, of a too highly mechanized organization and uniform standards of achievement. A relatively small percentage of public school students in the last century reached the high school. In the eighties and nineties, schoolmen turned their attention to the problem of elimination. The necessity for making easier the transition of the student from the elementary school to the high school was gradually recognized. From 1870 on, the practice of establishing central grammar schools, sometimes called junior high schools, was adopted in some few districts, for the purpose of providing more adequately for the needs of students in the seventh and eighth, or the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. This new unit, it was felt, would make for a greater retention of students; would fit more adequately for life those who did not go beyond it; and would bring the high school into closer touch with the grades below it, making the transition to the high school easier for the student.

As grading and organization in the eighteen-fifties had become one of the chief concerns of public school officials, so, forty years later, a very complete reorganization of the graded system became one of the goals to be attained. The junior high school movement, which had its beginning in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, began to assume significant proportions after

1915, and, to-day, reorganization on the 6–6 plan, or 6–3–3 plan has been effected in nearly all, except the poorer, districts of the State. While the high school, as it evolved, was the upper grade or grades in a system which had any number of grades from six to thirteen, this expansion upward showed a very definite tendency to terminate with the twelfth grade. Twelve years of schooling were probably found to be sufficient to prepare students for various forms of life activity or for higher institutions. Below the high schools, the number of grades gradually came to be eight, in general practice. The junior high school represents an expansion downward of the secondary school to include in its organization all grades from the seventh to the twelfth inclusive, a plan approved by the school laws of the State. The expansion of the public secondary school upward to include in its organization the junior college can scarcely be said to have begun in Pennsylvania, although the State Department seems to be inclined to encourage such a development.

With regard to changing attitudes toward the student, and the method of instructing him, thought has progressed from the decidedly disciplinary conception of education, in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, to that of education as a process of development of the interests and abilities of the student, a conception very widely accepted in theory to-day. For more than a century and a half, parents and teachers felt that great minds and desirable character could be formed only by a program of rigorous mental and moral discipline, to which the student must be subjected. The teacher and his text were the chief instruments of mental discipline. The formal education of the school consisted in the memorization and application of rules and forms as contained in textbooks. Repetition, drill, and application, fostered sometimes by rewards, and sometimes by the stern attitude of the master, were the means which were used as most conducive to the disciplining and supposed strengthening of the mind. School hours were long, holidays were few, tasks were difficult and probably seldom interesting, and parents and teachers were devoid of sympathy. The individual student who could not fit into the educational groove soon found himself fortunately cast out into the more interesting school of life activities. In colonial secondary schools, and, later, in the academies, classes were usually small, and, consequently, there must have been a considerable amount of individualized instruction. Yet, as long as the educational process remained one of pouring into the heads of students the dry rules, definitions, forms and words of textbooks, and of the exact reproduction of them orally or in writing, this earlier attention to the individual was not so commendable as it might at first appear. The fact that boys were scarcely removed from their mothers' laps when they were subjected to the discipline of the teacher of Latin is indicative of an attitude toward the individual student that was not marked by Pestalozzian sympathy. Against the rigorous disciplinary character of the schools, and their multitudinous prohibitory rules, students sometimes rebelled, and corporal punishment, for infraction of rules, was frequently resorted to.

From 1820 on, one can notice a gradual change in attitude toward the student, and the mode of instructing him. The importance of individual differences was slowly recognized. From colonial times, differences between girls and boys, many of them merely imaginary, led to different practices in the education of both sexes. Other differences were, for a long time, either not thought of or ignored. In the eighteen-fifties, educators talked frequently of the varying capacities of students, and the necessity for recognizing them in the work of the school. Grouping students according to ability was then being suggested as indispensable to successful teaching. In practice, this was probably seldom done, and those students who progressed to the higher studies in academies or early high schools were probably those only whose talents fitted them unusually well for academic work. Supervised study was attracting attention in the seventies, and, in theory, at least, the individual student soon came to be the centre of attention. The old textbook method was singled out for special and frequent condemnation. The Pestalozzian object method of teaching soon began to replace the textbook method, especially in the field of natural science. Thus, an education of interest was gradually supplanting the older education of effort, not only in theory, but to a limited degree in practice. Theorists were declaiming violently against the ''cramming'' system in the eighties, and against the use made of examinations in promoting students from grade to grade.

As each older practice was seen to be opposed to the welfare of the individual student it soon came to be condemned. Modern theory, as regards method, is a negation of the disciplinary theory which influenced so considerably the practices in the earlier schools of the State. Students are no longer spoken of as things to be moulded according to a uniform and preconceived plan. They are rather looked upon as active and self-educating agents, for whom the teacher acts in the capacity of a guide or director. Individualized instruction, as embodied in the Dalton or similar plans, has attracted much attention in recent years, and the testing and measurement movement has become diagnostic and remedial in its emphasis. Yet, while, in theory, the individual student has become the centre of interest, it is extremely doubtful that practice has, to any marked degree, kept pace with theory. While much has undoubtedly been done, much still remains to be accomplished.

A significant change in attitude regarding method is reflected in the great emphasis that has come to be placed on the so-called extra-curricular activities. While student journalism and other forms of spontaneous activity had made their appearance in The William Penn Charter School, before the Revolution, they probably received no encouragement from the school authorities. In some of the academies, literary and scientific societies existed, and, an occasional academy boasted of some form of student publication. From 1860 on, the educational value of these activities came to be very clearly recognized by progressive educators. The students of the Central High School, of Philadelphia, from an early date, organized many clubs, some of which published journals. Other high schools, here and there through the State, before the close of the century, provided for similar activities. From the eighteen-twenties on, the need for some form of physical activity was being recognized, and an occasional school encouraged or permitted its students to indulge in such activities, but, generally throughout the State, little had been done in regard to physical activities before the close of the century. To-day, the value of extra-classroom activities is definitely recognized, and a bureau of the State Department gives much of its attention to the encouragement of athletics, while other activities, more closely related to actual classroom work, are said to have become widely adopted.

A special phase of secondary educational development has been confined to the field of girls' education. The admission of girls to all the educational advantages of secondary schools that, from the beginning, belonged to boys, marks a unique change from earlier practices. From a belief, of earlier days, that women differed radically in nature and ability from men, we have gradually, although probably reluctantly, passed to the acceptance of Plato's philosophy of the equality of the sexes. From an earlier conviction that woman's sphere of activity should be the home, we gradually became reconciled to her entrance into many and widely different fields of activity, traditionally reserved to men. From an earlier belief that the education of a girl ought to be confined to the moulding of her heart and character, and the habituation of her hand to domestic arts, we passed to the acceptance of the principle that she had a mind like a boy's to be trained, and we were forced to go farther. We came eventually to recognize that girls, in a world revolutionized by new economic forces, needed an education which would enable them to meet conditions in a newly industrialized society. In the colonial period, private masters and tutors provided the chief educational opportunities for the education of girls, in subjects above the mere rudiments. They catered to girls' demands for a knowledge of French, literature, music and the accomplishments demanded by society. Boarding schools for girls, first established by the Moravians, soon became popular, and denominational and non-sectarian seminaries gradually arose and increased in number. State grants to female seminaries were provided in 1838, but were soon withdrawn, as were those to academies. The female seminary marks the recognition of the rights of girls to improved educational advantages. While the ''solid'' and disciplinary subjects were gradually introduced, as a result of the belief that a girl had a mind like a boy's to be trained, the curriculum of the female seminary continued to be marked by very many purely ornamental offerings. Until the eighteen-fifties, the female seminary was the last outpost in the education of girls, but woman's demands for an education like a man's was soon answered by the establishment of female colleges, and the adoption of the practice of co-education in academies, normal schools, high schools and men's colleges.

Thus have modern institutions and practices evolved. While nearly all of them had their beginning in the nineteenth century or earlier, the ideal of secondary education as the right of all youths of the State, both boys and girls, has approached its realization, with noteworthy strides, in the past thirty years of the present century.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. A. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of Athens Academy.

C. A. C. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia.

E. A. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy of Philadelphia.

G. A. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of Germantown Academy.

H. S. P.—Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

P. C. S. M.—Minutes of the Overseers of the William Penn Charter School.

P. S. J.—Pennsylvania School Journal.

T. U. P. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

W. A. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of Waterford Academy.

Y. C. A. M.—Minutes of the Trustees of York County Academy.

Y. C. I.—York Collegiate Institute.

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